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ARABIAN BANDITTI IN SIGHT OF A CARAVAN.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

SYRIA.

PALMYRA

LADY Hester Stanhope is reported to have paid five hundred pounds for leave to visit the ruins of Palmyra. Her liberality has procured for her among the Arabs the title of *El Malaka*, or the queen: while others, we are told, favour her with the appellation of the Virgin Mary! * Our readers will have a better bargain: we shall transport them thither, as by the lamp of Aladdin, without the fatigue of a four days' journey across the burning Desert, nor demand any *beckshish* for our escort. The annexed view of the grand arch, at which the avenue of columns terminated, that led to the Temple of the Sun,—a portico upwards of 1200 yards in length,—will convey some idea of the general effect of this magnificent city in the Desert, so as to enable them to fill up the outline of our description.

* Irby and Mangles, pp. 253, 275. Mr. Bankes paid 1,200 piastres; Captains Irby and Mangles, 600 piastres.

Captains Irby and Mangles, who visited Palmyra in 1818, crossed the Desert from Homs. Nineteen days were spent in previous negociations with the Arabs, whose exorbitant demands fell, during that period, from 3000 to 600 piastres. At length, they set forth with three camels and as many conductors; their whole baggage consisting of a sheep-skin coat, the woolly side inward, and the other side coloured red with ochre, and greased to keep out the rain.* This was but a sorry caravan, but it was deemed expedient to assume so humble an appearance, in order to hold out no temptation to either pilferers or plunderers.† They set out at one P.M., and travelled five hours, their guides singing nearly the whole time a favourite Arab song. On arriving at a Bedouin camp, the travellers scrupled at first to enter any of the tents; but, to their surprise, they were welcomed as *Frangi* by both men and women; and the latter, smiling, retired to their part of the tent, to prepare supper. The second day they proceeded at eight A.M., and marched till four, stopping at another Arab camp, where they were again well received. On the third day, they started at dawn.‡ The tract now assumed the appearance of a heath, covered with abundance of aromatic shrubs, with many dwarf trees, of which the country had hitherto been destitute, and occasionally the surface was diversified by hill and dale. The soil seemed exceedingly rich, but no water was to be seen, and every species of cultiva-

* Exod. xxv. 5.

† "All the accidents I have heard of in this country, have arisen from the temptation held out to the Arabs, by the appearance of much baggage or merchandise."—Dr. HOWEL'S *Journal*, p. 184.

‡ It was the last week of January.

tion had ceased a few hours from Homs. When breakfast was to be thought of, one of the Arabs suddenly quitted the party, and darting forward, was soon out of sight: on coming up with him, the travellers found that he had collected brushwood, and made a blazing fire. Presently some butter was melted and sweetened with honey;* in this they dipped their bread; and what with the Arabs' voracious mode of eating, and these time-saving measures, the meal did not detain them ten minutes. The principal guide, armed with a rusty matchlock and *no powder*, affected to be very vigilant in reconnoitring from all the heights for robbers, although the party were travelling under the protection of their own chiefs, who commanded the whole country. There was, probably, some affectation in this; but hostile parties of Arabs not unfrequently cross each other's districts; and the Turks have, no doubt, good reasons for the dread in which they hold these banditti of the Desert. The first persons who visited Palmyra in modern times, were some English merchants from Aleppo, who, in attempting to reach the ruins, in 1678, were attacked and plundered by the Arabs, and obliged to return without accomplishing their design; but they were more successful in a second attempt, made thirteen years afterwards. Sheikh Ibrahim (Burckhardt) was also robbed and stripped in his first attempt. The annexed plate will give an idea of the imposing appearance which is made by these Arabian banditti, when first descried advancing towards a caravan.

It was about four P.M. on the third day, that the travellers reached the valley in which was stationed

* Isa. vii. 15.

the camp of the Sheikh under whose protection they were travelling. "As we approached," says Captain Mangles, "we beheld a very animated and busy scene. The girls were singing, and the children busied in running down the young partridges with dogs, as they were as yet able to fly only a short distance at a time.* Presently we heard a hue and cry from all quarters, and soon perceived a large wild boar, with his bristles erect, beset by all the dogs, and every one running eagerly to the pursuit. He was found behind one of the tents; they chased him all through the camp, and two Arabs on horseback, armed with spears, soon joined in the pursuit. The animal, however, kept both men and dogs at bay, and finally got off with only one wound. We now approached the Sheikh's tent, and found Mahannah with his two sons, Sheikhs Narsah and Hamed, together with about thirty Arab chiefs of various camps, seated round an immense fire. Sheikh Narsah was leaning on a camel's saddle, their customary cushion. He did not rise to receive us, although we afterwards observed that he and the whole circle rose whenever a strange sheikh arrived. We attributed this cool reception to the low estimation he held us in, in consequence of the unusually small sum we had paid for visiting Palmyra, and from the plainness of our dress and appearance. All the assembly kept a most profound silence while Narsah alone addressed us. Mahannah, his father, was a short, crooked-backed, mean-looking old man, between seventy and eighty years of age, dressed in a common sort of robe. His son, Narsah, to whom he had, in consequence of his age, resigned the reins of government, was a good-

* 1 Sam. xxvi. 20.

looking man, about thirty years of age, with very dignified and engaging manners. He had the Koran open in his hand when we arrived, to give us, as we suppose, an idea of his learning. He was well dressed, with a red pelisse and an enormous white turban. We observed much whispering going forward between Narsah and every stranger that arrived; and all our guides were separately questioned respecting us. Narsah asked us, why the English wished so much to see Palmyra, and whether we were not going to search for gold? We told him, he should have half of any that we might find there. He questioned us about Bonaparte, and the occupation of France by the allied troops. I suspect that his knowledge of these matters proceeded from his correspondence with Lady Hester Stanhope. As the evening advanced, the Arab guests increased to the number of fifty, all giving way as new faces arrived. Their mode of saluting their chiefs, is by kissing each cheek; not the hand, as in Nubia. It appeared they had arrived only the day before. They are constantly shifting their quarters, in order to provide food for their numerous camels, sheep, and goats: the scarcity of water and the dryness of the pasturage prevents them from having cows and oxen. Some of the partridges which the children had caught, were now brought in: they roasted them on the fire, and part was given to us, Sheikh Hamedy *throwing* a leg and a wing to each of us. They afterwards gave us some honey and butter mixed together, with bread to dip in it. Narsah desired one of his men to mix the two ingredients for us, as we were awkward at it: the Arab having stirred up the mixture well with his fingers, shewed his dexterity at consuming as well as mixing, and recompensed himself for his trouble by eating half of it.

Both at sunset and at eight o'clock, the whole assembly were summoned to prayers; a man standing outside the tent, and calling them to their devotions in the same manner as is done from the minarets of the mosques. Each man rubbed his face over with sand, a heap of which was placed in front of the tent for that purpose, to serve as a substitute for water for their religious ablutions. We could not but admire the decorous solemnity with which they all joined in the Divine worship, standing in a row, and bowing down, and kissing the ground together.* An immense platter of roast mutton with *pillau* of rice, was then brought in for supper. The assembly fed apart, while a separate portion was brought for Narsah and us. We observed that the elderly men gave their half-gnawed bones to those around them; and were told, that they have a complimentary adage in favour of the practice. A black slave was perpetually pounding coffee from the moment we entered the tent till we went to sleep; and he began the same task the next morning at day-light. Late at night, Narsah began to address the whole circle of sheikhs, who, we found, had been convened in order that they might hear his request, that some portions of grazing land, called 'the Cottons,' might be delivered up to him. Being tired with the length of his discourse, we removed to a corner of the tent and fell asleep. We heard afterwards, that his harangue lasted till three in the morning.

"On the following day, we wished to proceed, according to a promise which Narsah had given the preceding evening, 'by his head,' to let us depart be-

* Gen. xxiv. 52. Nothing tends to impress the Moslems more unfavourably with regard to the religion of Christians, than their general neglect of morning and evening worship.

fore sunrise. But the chief did not make his appearance before ten o'clock, when, instead of letting us go, he desired us to follow him. Proceeding to a small vale contiguous to his tent, we found the Arabs assembling from all quarters, and following us in great numbers. We were quite at a loss to know the meaning of all this; presently, however, we came to a tent, and found an immense feast of rice and camel's flesh prepared for the whole assembly. We were conducted to a smaller tent apart, and had our share sent to us. We found the meat both savoury and tender, being part of the hump, which is considered as the best; there was little fat, and the grain was remarkably coarse: however, we made a hearty breakfast. The feast was conducted with much order and decorum. The sheikhs sat apart in a double row, with several immense platters placed at equal distances between them; and a rope line was drawn round, to keep the people from pressing in. Narsah was at the head of the row, with a small select circle, among whom we were called, after we had breakfasted, he having perceived us among the spectators. When the sheikhs had finished, the people were regaled with the remains. Portions were also distributed to the different tents of the camp, which consisted of about two hundred, for the women and children.* We believe that several camels were cooked, from the immense quantities of meat which we saw. This feast was, no doubt, intended to give weight to the proceedings of the preceding evening. About eleven we set out; our camels were changed for dromedaries of a heavy sort, which set off with us at full trot up hill and down dale, each of us having his Arab con-

* Esth. ix. 19; i. 9.

ductor mounted behind him. One of Narsah's men, who was called a guard, accompanied us, mounted on a white dromedary, decorated with tassels, and armed with another old matchlock gun.* We found the pace of the animals, on level ground and up hill, easy enough; but, in descending, we were dreadfully jolted. We continued till four o'clock in the afternoon, and slept in an Arab tent as usual.

"At dawn (on the fifth day) we proceeded. Our new guard had endeavoured to make us start at midnight, but we would not submit to this, as the nights were very cold and frosty. We trotted this day at the same rate as the preceding, and were jolted and bruised almost beyond endurance. At two P.M. we arrived at the object of our wishes.'

Messrs. Wood and Dawkins, who travelled in 1751, crossed the Desert to Palmyra, from Hassia, a village four days' journey N. of Damascus, and the residence of an aga whose jurisdiction extends as far as Palmyra. It is on the great caravan road from Aleppo to Damascus, near Antilibanus, and at a few hours' distance from the Orontes. "We set out," they say, "from Hassia with an escort of the aga's best Arab horsemen, armed with guns and long pikes, and travelled in four hours to Sudud, through a barren plain scarcely affording a little browsing to antelopes, of which we saw a great number. Our course was a point to the S. of E. Sudud is a poor, small village, inhabited by Maronite Christians. Its houses are built of no better materials than mud dried in the sun. They cultivate as much ground about the village as is requisite for their bare subsistence, and make a good red wine.

* Travels in Egypt, &c. by the Hon. C. J. Irby and J. Mangles, pp. 262—7.

We bought a few manuscripts of their priest, and proceeded after dinner through the same sort of country, in a direction half a point more to the S., to a Turkish village called Howareen, three hours from Sudud. Howareen has the same appearance of poverty as Sudud; but we found a few ruins there, which shew it to have been formerly a more considerable place. A square tower, with projecting battlements, looks like a work of three or four hundred years (ago); and two ruined churches may be of the same age, though part of the materials, awkwardly employed in those buildings, are much older. In their walls are some Corinthian capitals and several large Attic bases of white marble. These and some other scattered fragments of antiquity which we saw here, have belonged to works of more expense and taste. We set out (on the next day) from Howareen, and in three hours arrived at Carietein, keeping the same direction. This village differs from the former only by being a little larger. It has also some broken pieces of marble, which belonged to ancient buildings, as some shafts of columns, a few Corinthian capitals, a Doric base, and two imperfect Greek inscriptions. It was thought proper we should stay here this day, as well to collect the rest of our escort, as to prepare our people and cattle for the fatigue of the remaining part of our journey, which, though we could not perform it in less time than twenty-four hours, could not be divided into stages, as there is no water in that part of the Desert. Our caravan was now increased to about 200 persons, and about the same number of beasts for carriage, consisting of an odd mixture of horses, camels, mules, and asses.....Our course from Carietein to Palmyra was a little to the E. of N. through a flat sandy plain, without either tree or water the whole way, about

ten miles broad, and bounded to our right and left by a ridge of barren hills, which seemed to join about two miles before we arrived at Palmyra. In nine hours from Carietein we came to a ruined tower, on which we observed in two or three places the Maltese cross. Near it are the ruins of a very rich building, as appeared from a white marble door-case, the only part standing, and not covered with sand. At midnight we stopped two hours for refreshment, and about noon (on the fourth day from Hassia) we arrived at the end of the plain, where the hills to our right and left seemed to meet. We found between those hills a vale, through which an aqueduct, now ruined, formerly conveyed water to Palmyra. In this vale, to our right and left, were several square towers of a considerable height, which, upon a nearer approach, we found were the sepulchres of the ancient Palmyrenes. We had scarcely passed these venerable monuments, when the hills opening discovered to us, all at once, the greatest quantity of ruins we had ever seen, all of white marble, and beyond them, towards the Euphrates, a flat waste as far as the eye could reach, without any object which shewed either life or motion. It is scarcely possible to imagine any thing more striking than this view. So great a number of Corinthian pillars, mixed with so little wall or solid building, afforded a most romantic variety of prospect."

Captain Mangles agrees in representing the first view of the ruins as most magnificent, although he was disappointed in the details. "On opening upon the ruins of Palmyra," he says, "as seen from the Valley of the Tombs, we were much struck with the picturesque effect of the whole, presenting altogether the most imposing sight of the kind we had ever seen. It was rendered doubly interesting by our having tra-

velled through a wilderness destitute of a single building, from which we suddenly opened upon these innumerable columns and other ruins, on a sandy plain on the skirts of the Desert. Their snow-white appearance, contrasted with the yellow sand, produced a very striking effect." Great, however, he proceeds to say, was their disappointment, when, on a minute examination, they found that there was not a single column, pediment, architrave, portal, frieze, or other architectural remnant worthy of admiration. None of the columns exceed forty feet in height, or four feet in diameter: those of the boasted avenue have little more than thirty feet of altitude. Whereas the columns of Baalbec have nearly sixty feet in height, and seven in diameter, supporting a most rich and beautifully wrought epistylium of twenty feet more; and the pillars are constructed of only three pieces of stone, while the smallest columns at Palmyra are formed of six, seven, and even eight parts. In the centre of the avenue, however, are four granite columns, each of one single stone, about thirty feet high: one only is still standing. "Take any part of the ruins separately," says this Traveller, "and they excite but little interest; and, altogether, we judged the visit to Palmyra hardly worthy of the time, expense, anxiety, and fatiguing journey through the wilderness, which we had undergone to visit it. The projecting pedestals in the centre of the columns of the great avenue have a very unsightly appearance.* There is also a great sameness in the architecture, all the capitals being Corinthian, excepting those which surround the Temple of the Sun. These last were fluted, and, when deco-

* Yet, when these pedestals were surmounted by statues, the effect must have been extremely grand.

rated with their brazen Ionic capitals, were doubtless very handsome; but the latter being now deficient, the beauty of the edifice is entirely destroyed. The sculpture, as well of the capitals of the columns as of the other ornamental parts of the door-ways and buildings, is very coarse and bad. The three arches at the end of the avenue,* so beautiful in the designs of Wood and Dawkins, are excessively insignificant: the decorated frieze is badly wrought, and even the devices are not striking. They are not to be compared to the common portals of Thebes, although the Egyptians were unacquainted with the arch. Every thing here is built of a very perishable stone: if it deserves the name of marble, it is very inferior even to that of Baalbec; and we are inclined to think, the ruins of the latter place are much more worthy the traveller's notice than those of Palmyra." †

If inferior, however, to Baalbec, and not to be compared to Thebes, it is only by comparison that these remains of ancient magnificence can be with any propriety thus slightly estimated; and when this Traveller speaks of them as hardly repaying the toils and expense of the journey, it must be recollected that he was already satiated with the wonders of Egypt. Yet, taken as a *tout ensemble*, he admits that they are more remarkable by reason of their extent, (being nearly a mile and a half in length,) than any which he had met with; they have the advantage, too, of being less encumbered with modern fabrics than almost any ancient ruins. Exclusive of the Arab village of Tadmor, which occupies the peristyle court of the Temple of the Sun, and the Turkish burying-place, there are

* See Plate.

† Burckhardt expresses a similar opinion. See our account of Baalbec, vol. i. p. 212.

no obstructions whatever to the antiquities. The temple itself is disfigured, indeed, by modern works, but it is still a most majestic object. The square court which enclosed it, was 679 feet each way, and a double range of columns was continued all round the inside. In the middle of the vacant space, the temple presents another front of 47 feet by 124 in depth. Around it runs a peristyle of 140 columns, and, what is very extraordinary, the gate faces the setting, not the rising sun. The soffit of this gate, which is lying on the ground, presents a zodiac, the signs of which are the same as ours. On another soffit is a bird similar to that of Baalbec,* sculptured on a ground of stars. "It is a remark worthy the observation of historians," says M. Volney, "that the front of the portico has twelve pillars, like that of Baalbec; but, what artists will esteem still more curious, is, that these two fronts resemble the gallery of the Louvre, built by Perrault long before the existence of the drawings which made us acquainted with them: the only difference is, that the columns of the Louvre are double, whereas those of Baalbec and Palmyra are detached." †

Captain Mangles speaks of the tombs as very interesting, their construction being different from any thing he had seen: they consist of a number of square towers, three, four, and five stories high, not ornamented on the exterior, but adorned within, in many instances, with sculpture and fluted Corinthian pilasters. In one, the ceiling was ornamented, like that of the peristyle court of the Temple of the Sun at Baalbec, with the heads of different deities, and dis-

* See vol. i. p. 204. † Volney, tom. ii. p. 263.

posed in diamond-shaped divisions : the paint was still very perfect. The marble folding-doors of some of the grander tombs within the walls were still erect ; they were carved in panels, but ill executed. "The uncommon magnificence of their monuments for the dead," says Mr. Wood, "seems borrowed from Egypt, to which country they, of all people, come nearest in that sort of expense. Zenobia was originally of Egypt ; she spoke their language perfectly well, and affected much to imitate in many things her ancestress Cleopatra. But, that they borrowed some of their customs from Egypt before her time, seems plain from a discovery we made, to our great surprise, of mummies in their sepulchral monuments. We had been in Egypt a few months before, and by comparing the linen, the manner of swathing, the balsam, and other parts of the mummies of that country with those of Palmyra, we found their methods of embalming exactly the same. The Arabs told us, there had been vast numbers of these mummies in all the sepulchres, but they had broken them up in hopes of finding treasure. They were tempted, by the rewards we offered, to make strict search for an entire one, but in vain ; which disappointed our hopes of seeing something curious in the sarcophagus, or, perhaps, of meeting with hieroglyphics. Among the fragments we carried off, is the hair of a female, plaited exactly in the manner commonly used by the Arabian women at this time. Thus we see that this people copied after great models in their manners, their virtues, and their vices. Their funeral customs were from Egypt, their luxury was Persian, and their letters and arts were from the Greeks. How much is it to be regretted that we do not know more of a country which has

left such monuments of its magnificence; where Zenobia was queen, and where Longinus was first minister!" *

With respect to Palmyra, as well as Baalbec, history is almost entirely silent. Except what can be learned from the inscriptions, all our information respecting them amounts to little more than probable conjecture. "It is the natural and common fate of cities," remarks Mr. Wood, "to have their memory longer preserved than their ruins. Troy, Babylon, and Memphis are known only from books, while there is not a stone left to mark their situation. But here we have two instances of considerable towns outliving any account of them. Our curiosity about these places is raised by what we see, rather than by what we read; and Baalbec and Palmyra are, in a great measure, left to tell their own story. Shall we attribute this to the loss of books, or conclude that the ancients did not think those buildings so much worth notice as we do? If we can suppose the latter, it seems to justify our admiration of their works. Their silence about Baalbec gives authority to what they say of Babylon; and the works of Palmyra, scarcely mentioned, become vouchers for those so much celebrated of Greece and Egypt."

That Palmyra † occupies the site of the Tadmor (or Thedmor) of the Scriptures, we learn from Josephus ;‡

* It is not certain that Longinus was a Palmyrene, though he was probably a Syrian: "But which argues the most flourishing state of letters in a country—to have given birth to a great genius, or to have given him honour and support?"

† So the name is spelt in the inscriptions, though Pliny writes it Palmira, and Josephus Παλμυρα.

‡ Antiq., book viii. chap. 6. Tadmour, according to Josephus, signifies the same as Palmira, "the place of palm-trees."

and, in fact, it still retains among the Arabs its ancient name. The natives firmly believe, Mr. Wood informs us, that the existing ruins were the works of King Solomon; and they affect to point out his seraglio, his harem, the tomb of a favourite concubine, with several other particulars. "All these mighty things," say they, "Solyman Ebn Daoud (Solomon, the son of David) did by the assistance of spirits." King Solomon is the Merlin of the East; and to the genii in his service, the Persians, as well as the Arabs, ascribe all the magnificent remains of ancient art. From the dates in the inscriptions, however, in which the era of Seleucus is observed, with the Macedonian names of the months, it appears that none of the existing monuments are earlier than the birth of Christ; nor is there any inscription so late as the destruction of the city by Aurelian, except one in Latin, which mentions Dioclesian. Two of the mausolea, which still remain tolerably entire, preserve on their fronts two very legible inscriptions. The one informs us, that Iamblichus, son of Mocimus, built that monument as a burial-place for himself and his family, in the year 314 (answering to A.D. 3): the other states, that it was built by Elabelus Manaius, in the year 414 (A.D. 103.) All the inscriptions are in a bad character; some are sepulchral, but they are mostly honorary. The names in the older inscriptions are all Palmyrene; those of a later date have Roman *prænomina*. "As to the age of those ruinous heaps," says Mr. Wood, "which belonged evidently to buildings of greater antiquity than those which are yet partly standing, it is difficult even to guess; but if we are allowed to form a judgment, by comparing their state with that of the monument of Iamblichus, we must conclude them extremely old; for that build-

ing, erected 1750 years ago," (Mr. Wood published in 1753,) "is the most perfect piece of antiquity I ever saw, having all its floors and stairs entire, though it consists of five stories. But those buildings which we saw and measured, seem neither to have been the works of Solomon, as some have thought, nor of any of the Seleucidæ, according to others; and but few of them, of any of the Roman emperors; but mostly of the Palmyrenes themselves, as we may conclude from their inscriptions. The monument erected by Iamblichus seems to be the oldest, and the work of Dioclesian the latest, taking in about 300 years between them. The other rich and expensive buildings were, no doubt, erected before the last of these dates, and probably after the first; perhaps about the time Elabelus built his monument. It is reasonable to suppose, that when private persons could erect monuments of such extraordinary magnificence merely for the use of their own family, about the same time of opulence, the community may have been equal to the vast expense of their public buildings. We are at a loss what to think about the repairs of Adrian: those of Aurelian were considerable and expensive." [Some singularities in the architecture of the Temple of the Sun, which, it is thought by Mr. Wood, could scarcely have entered into the original plan, are conjectured to be the work of this emperor.] "What remains there are of the wall, do not look unlike the work of Justinian, and may be the repairs mentioned by Procopius. The highest antiquity any thing else can claim, is the time of the Mamalukes."

"Upon the whole," continues Mr. Wood, "I think we may conclude, that as soon as the passage of the Desert was found out and practised, those plentiful and constant springs of Palmyra must have been

known ; * and that, as soon as trade became the object of attention, such a situation must have been valuable, as necessary to the keeping up an intercourse between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, being about twenty leagues from that river, and about fifty from Tyre and Sidon on the coast. This, no doubt, must have happened very soon, from the situation of this Desert, in the neighbourhood of the first civil societies we know any thing of ; and we have positive authority, from the writings of Moses, for a very early intercourse between Padan-Aram, afterwards Mesopotamia, and the land of Canaan. The expeditious journey of Laban and Jacob from Haran to Mount Gilead, will admit of no other road than this through the Desert. As Laban may have used extraordinary diligence, and exerted himself in the pursuit, we shall not venture to say what he could have done in seven days ;† but Jacob's journey will admit of a pretty exact calculation, nor could he easily have arrived at the nearest part of Mount Gilead, even through the Desert, in less than ten days, as he must have kept the common caravan pace observed by the present inhabitants ; for he travelled with the same incumbrances of family, flocks, and, in short, all his substance, carrying his wives and children upon camels,‡ as the Arabs now do, who retain a surprising similitude of manners and customs to those of the patri-

* Josephus gives this as Solomon's reason for building here. Antiq., book viii.

† "And it was told Laban on the third day, that Jacob was fled. And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days' journey ; and they overtook him in the Mount Gilead." Gen. xxxi. 22.

‡ "Then Jacob arose, and set his sons and his wives upon camels." Ibid. xxxi. 17.

archs, and much greater than is observable between any other ancient and modern people. How much the East India trade has enriched all the countries through which it passed, from Solomon to the present time, is evident from history. The immense riches of that prince, of the Ptolemies, and indeed of Palmyra, are to be accounted for from no other source. The grand passage for the India merchandise, before the Portuguese discovered that by the Cape of Good Hope, was, no doubt, by Egypt and the Red Sea. The cities Eziongeber, Rhinocolura, and Alexandria, were the different marts for this trade, as it passed through the hands of the Jews, Phenicians, and Greeks. But there were formerly other channels less considerable, as there are to this day.* At whatever time we may

* Volney remarks, that the King of Jerusalem would never have directed his attention to so distant and isolated a station, without some powerful motive of interest; and this interest could be no other than that of an extensive commerce, of which it had already become the emporium; a commerce extending to India, and having the Persian Gulf as its principal focus. "Various facts," he adds, "concur in corroborating this opinion, and compel us, moreover, to recognise the Persian Gulf as the centre of the commerce of that Ophir concerning which so many false hypotheses have been framed. Was it not, in fact, in this Gulf that the Tyrians carried on a flourishing trade from the earliest ages, and where they had settlements, of which the islands of Tyrus and Aradus remained the monuments? If Solomon sought the alliance of these Tyrians, if he stood in need of their pilots to steer his vessels, must not the object of the voyage have been the places which they already frequented, and to which they repaired from their ports of *Phœnicum oppidum*, on the Red Sea, and perhaps from Tor, in which name we seem to have preserved a trace of their own? Are not pearls, which were one of the principal articles of the commerce of Solomon, almost the exclusive produce of the coast of the Gulf between the isles of Tyrus and Aradus (now called Barhain) and Cape Masandoum? Have not peacocks, which were so much admired by the Jews, been always supposed natives of that province of

suppose that Palmyra became a passage for the commodities of India, it seems very reasonable to attribute their wealth to that trade, which must have flourished considerably before the birth of Christ; as we find by the inscriptions, that about that time they were rich and expensive; and Appian expressly calls them India merchants in Mark Antony's time. As ancient authors are entirely silent about this opulent and quiet period of their history, we are left to conclude that, entirely intent upon commerce, they interfered little in the quarrels of their neighbours. The Desert was in a great measure to Palmyra, what the sea is to Great Britain, both their riches and defence. The neglect of these advantages made them more conspicuous and less happy. We no not meet with any mention of this city in the Roman history, until Mark Antony's attempt to plunder it, which they escaped by removing their most valuable effects over the Euphrates, and defending the passage of the river by

Persia which adjoins the Gulf? Did they not procure their monkeys from Yemen, which was in their way, and where they still abound? Was not Yemen the country of Saba, or Sheba, the queen of which brought to the Jewish monarch frankincense and gold? And is not the country of the Sabeans celebrated by Strabo for producing great quantities of gold? Ophir has been sought for in India and in Africa; but is it not one of those twelve Arabian districts or tribes mentioned in the genealogical annals of the Hebrews? and ought it not, therefore, to be looked for in the vicinity of the countries they inhabit? In short, do we not distinctly perceive the name of Ophir in that of *Ofor*, a town of the district of Oman, on the pearl coast? There is no longer any gold in this country; but this is immaterial, since Strabo positively asserts that, in the time of the Seleucidæ, the inhabitants of Gerrha, on the road to Babylon, obtained from it a considerable quantity."—*Voyage en Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 269.

The Tadmor of Solomon is stated (by John of Antioch) to have been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, before he besieged Jerusalem.

their archers. The pretence he made use of, to give such conduct a colour of justice, was, that they did not observe a just neutrality between the Romans and the Parthians; but Appian says, his real motive was, to enrich his troops with the plunder of the Palmyrenes, who were merchants, and sold the commodities of India and Arabia to the Romans. Pliny has very happily collected, in a few lines, the most striking circumstances with regard to this place, except that he takes no notice of the buildings. 'Palmyra is remarkable for situation, a rich soil, and pleasant streams; it is surrounded on all sides by a vast sandy desert, which totally separates it from the rest of the world, and has preserved its independence between the two great empires of Rome and Parthia, whose first care, when at war, is to engage it in their interest. It is distant from Seleucia ad Tigrim 337 miles, from the nearest part of the Mediterranean 203, and from Damascus 176.'* What soil remains is extremely rich. The hills, and, no doubt, a great part of the Desert, were formerly covered with palm-trees. Abulfeda mentions the palm as well as fig-trees of Palmyra; and the merchants who went thither from Aleppo in 1691, take notice of several, though we could find but one left in the country.

"We hear nothing of this city in either Trajan's or Adrian's expeditions to the East, though they must have passed through it or near it. Stephanus, indeed, mentions Palmyra as being repaired by Adrian, and called from that, Adrianople. It seems odd that we should have no better authority for this, while that emperor has been so much complimented for less con-

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. v. These distances Mr. Wood considers as "tolerably exact, though something too great."

siderable works in several parts of Greece. Palmyra is called, upon the coins of Caracalla, a Roman colony.* We find, from the inscriptions, that they joined Alexander Severus in his expedition against the Persians. We do not meet with Palmyra again until the reign of Gallienus, when it makes a principal figure in the history of those times, and in a few years experienced the greatest vicissitudes of good and bad fortune. The facts relating to this interesting period are imperfectly and variously handed down to us, by Zosimus, Vopiscus, and Trebellius Pollio.

"The Roman affairs in the East had been for some time in a declining state, when Odenathus, a Palmyrene, made so proper a use of its situation between the two great rival empires of Rome and Persia, as to get the balance of power into his hands. It appears that he declared in favour of different interests, as alterations in the face of affairs made it necessary. The alliance which gained him most reputation, was with Gallienus. His courage, activity, and remarkable patience of fatigue, were the very opposite of the shameful negligence of that emperor, who seemed even pleased with the captivity of his father Valerian, prisoner of Sapor, King of Persia, and treated by him

* Gibbon says: "Palmyra insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city; and, connecting the Roman and the Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe a humble neutrality, till, at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sank into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than 150 years in the subordinate though honourable rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticoes of Grecian architecture, whose ruins, scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers."—*Decline and Fall*, ch. xi.

with the greatest indignity. Odenathus joined the shattered remains of the Roman army in Syria, routed Sapor, and advanced as far as Ctesiphon, the capital of his empire, victorious in several engagements. He returned from this expedition with great applause and a considerable booty, and was for his services declared by Gallienus, Augustus and co-partner of the empire. Another considerable piece of service done to the Roman emperor by Odenathus, was the defeat of Ballista, one of the many pretenders to the empire in those times of confusion. The last public action of Odenathus was, his relieving Asia Minor from the Goths, who had overrun several of its rich provinces, committing great ravages, but who retired upon his approach. He is generally supposed to have been murdered in pursuing them, by Mæonius his kinsman. Herodes, his son by a former wife, whom he had joined with him in the empire, suffered the same fate. All we know of him is, that he was delicate and luxurious to a great degree, much indulged by his father, and as much hated by his stepmother, Zenobia. Mæonius, the murderer of Odenathus, survived but a little while: he was saluted emperor, and soon after cut off by the soldiers.* Odenathus left behind him

* Gibbon says, "he was sacrificed by Zenobia to the memory of her husband;" and he treats as very unjust the suspicions cast on Zenobia, as accessary to her husband's death. He states, that Mæonius's treason was dictated by private revenge for a punishment inflicted upon him by his uncle Odenathus. He had presumed to dart his javelin, in hunting, before that of his uncle, and, though admonished of his error, had repeated the same insolence; on which, Odenathus took away his horse, and chastised him by a short confinement. The occasion which Mæonius chose for the consummation of his treason, was a banquet given by Odenathus at Emesa, after his successful expedition against the Goths.

his queen Zenobia, and two sons by her, Herencanius and Timolaus : others add Vabellathus, supposed by some to be the son of Herodes.

" Zenobia is said to have consented to the murder of her husband and stepson ; but Trebellius Pollio gives it only as a report. All that we know of her family is, that she boasted of having descended from the Ptolemies, and was fond of reckoning Cleopatra among her ancestors. She was accounted a woman of extraordinary beauty and uncommon strength. She used no carriage, generally rode, and often marched on foot three or four miles with her army. And if we suppose her haranguing her soldiers, which she used to do in a helmet, and often with her arms bare, it will give us an idea of that severe character of masculine beauty, which puts one more in mind of Minerva than of Venus.* The picture of her mind may as justly claim the same resemblance. She understood several languages, spoke the Egyptian perfectly well, and knew the Latin, though she did not care to speak it, from a modest diffidence, but read and translated it into Greek. She was acquainted with history, and so particularly well versed in that of Alexandria and the East, that she is said to have made an abridgement of it for her own use. With these masculine virtues, she discovered a female fondness of show and magnificence. She imitated, in her way of living, the royal pomp of Persia ; in her banquets she copied after the Romans, but, like Cleopatra, drank out of gold cups set with gems. She often drank with her officers, and could, in that way, get the better of the Persians and

* The Emperor Aurelian, in his letter to the senate, preserved in Pollio, gives her the honour of her husband's victories over the Persians. It seems that she was accustomed to attend him in the field.

Armenians, although she was generally moderate in the use of liquor.

"Zenobia (after the death of Odenathus) took upon herself the government, in the name of her sons.* Her views were inconsistent with any longer alliance with the Romans. Upon what pretence she broke through the engagements her husband was under to them, is not clear; but she attacked and routed Heraclianus, the Roman general, sent by Gallienus with an army against the Persians, who narrowly escaped, after a sharp engagement, leaving her in possession of Syria and Mesopotamia. In the same year, Gallienus was murdered at Milan. While his successor, Claudius, was taken up with affairs nearer home, Zenobia, finding a party for her in Egypt, supported by one Timogenes, sent Zabdas, an experienced officer, to make the conquest of that country, to which she, perhaps, claimed an hereditary right. He came to a battle with the Egyptians, the success of which put him in possession of that province, where he left a body of 5000 men, and returned to Palmyra. This revolution happened in the absence of Probus, prefect of Egypt, who was then on a cruise against the pirates who infested the neighbouring seas. Upon the news of it, he returned, and drove the Palmyrene troops out of the country. This sudden turn of affairs brought back Zabdas again with his army. Probus engaged and beat him; but, not content with this success, attempted to cut off the retreat of the Palmyrenes, which proved fatal to him; for, having with

* "She bestowed on her three sons (Vabellathus is included) a Latin education, and often shewed them to the troops, adorned with the imperial purple. For herself she reserved the diadem, with the splendid, but doubtful title of Queen of the East."—GIBBON.

that view got possession of those heights near Babylon which command the present town of Cairo, Timogenes, better acquainted with the country, shewed the Palmyrenes an unguarded road up to that part, by which they surprised and destroyed his army. Probus, taken prisoner, and driven to despair by the misfortunes his mismanagement had occasioned, killed himself, and Zenobia became mistress of Egypt.

"Claudius resolved to march against Zenobia, about the latter end of the second year of his reign, but was taken off by the plague at Syrmium in Pannonia. Aurelian was elected in his room; a mere soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest rank in the army, rose to be general of the cavalry. While the first two years of his reign were successfully employed against the Goths, Germans, and Vandals, Zenobia added a great part of Asia Minor to her dominions. She had now arrived at the highest pitch of her glory. A small territory in the Desert, under the government of a woman, had extended its conquests over many rich countries and considerable states. The great kingdoms of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, had become part of the dominions of a single city, whose name we in vain looked for in their history. At length, Aurelian, having entirely subdued the Goths, marched to the relief of the Eastern empire. He crossed the Bosphorus at Byzantium, and, except at Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, which he took by stratagem, met with no opposition in his march to Antioch. At this city and at Emesa, were fought the two battles by which Zenobia was reduced to take shelter within the walls of her own capital. Aurelian proceeded to Palmyra, greatly harassed in his march by the Syrian banditti; and having taken proper precautions to have his army supplied with provisions,

besieged the town. The obstinacy with which the garrison defended it, is particularly taken notice of in a letter from Aurelian, as an apology for the length of the siege. At last, tired out with unsuccessful attempts, he was resolved to try the effect of negotiation, and accordingly wrote to Zenobia, but in a style which commanded, rather than proposed terms. Notwithstanding the desperate state of her affairs, she treated his offers as insolent, bade him remember that Cleopatra preferred death to a dishonourable life, and even insulted him with the advantages the Syrian banditti had got over his army. This haughty answer greatly inflamed Aurelian; he immediately ordered a general attack with more fury than ever, and, at the same time that he pressed them so vigorously in the town, he intercepted their Persian auxiliaries, and bought off the Saracens and Armenians. Besides this, provisions began to fail in the town, while the enemy was well supplied; a circumstance greatly discouraging to the besieged, who had placed their chief hopes in the difficulty Aurelian would find of subsisting his army in the Desert. In this distress, it was resolved, in council, to let the Persians know the desperate state they were in, and to implore their assistance against the common enemy. Zenobia undertook to transact this affair in person, and set out for Persia on a dromedary; but she found it impossible to escape the vigilance of the besiegers. Aurelian, informed of her escape, dispatched a party of horse, which overtook her just as she had got into a boat to pass the Euphrates. We are told that the sight of the captive queen gave the Roman emperor infinite pleasure: at the same time, his ambition suffered some mortification, when he considered that

posterity would always look upon this as only the conquest of a woman.

"Zenobia being taken, the citizens of Palmyra submitted themselves to the Emperor's mercy, though a considerable part were for defending the city to the last. He spared them upon their submission, and marched to Emesa with Zenobia and a great part of the riches of Palmyra, where he left a garrison of 600 archers."

Zenobia is accused of having purchased a dishonourable life at the expense of her advisers, who were put to death, she being reserved to grace the Emperor's triumph. Among those who suffered was the celebrated Longinus. He was accused of having dictated the haughty letter which his mistress wrote to the Emperor. The intrepid steadiness with which he met his fate, shews that he was as brave as he was learned. The misfortunes of Palmyra did not end here. The inhabitants having risen upon the Roman garrison, Aurelian, who was on his road to Rome, returned with uncommon expedition, and took and destroyed the town,* putting to death most of the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex. Zenobia, after gracing the Emperor's triumph, was allotted some lands at Conche, near the road from Rome to Tibur, where some ruins are still shewn as the remains of her villa. The ex-queen of the East is said to have married there, and to have had children. "She insensibly sank," says Gibbon, "into a Roman matron, her daughters married into noble families, and her race was not yet extinct in the fifth century."

* He afterwards gave orders for repairing the Temple of the Sun, which had been damaged by the soldiers, appropriating a very considerable part of the spoils to that purpose.

From this time, Palmyra had a Roman governor. The first Illyrian legion was quartered at Palmyra about A.D. 400. But Procopius states, that the place had been for some time almost entirely deserted when Justinian repaired the town, and supplied it with water, for the use of a garrison which he left there. We hear no more of Palmyra in the Roman history; and the ecclesiastical historians supply us with no information respecting its subsequent fortunes. That it has been made use of as a place of strength by the Saracens and Turks, appears from the alterations made in the temple, as well as from the modern castle on the hill. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited it about A.D. 1172, states that it then contained about 2000 Jews.* Abulfeda, prince of Hamah, who wrote about A.D. 1321, mentions very briefly its situation, referring to its many ancient columns, its palms and fig-trees, its walls and castle: he only calls it Tedmor. So little were these ruins known to modern writers before the latter end of the seventeenth century, that, says Mr. Wood, "had their materials been employed in fortifying the place, which might have been a very natural consequence of a war between the Turks and the Persians, Palmyra would scarcely have been missed." "If the Turks do not seem to know its value," he adds, "it is only because the weakness of the Persians has encouraged them in their neglect of it, especially as the Arabs would make it a little troublesome to support a garrison there. However, if they lose Bagdadt, their present extended frontier, they will, no doubt, fortify Palmyra." Its present aspect is thus described:—

* Captain Mangles mentions a Hebrew inscription which he saw on the architrave of a building, but he did not copy it.

" Palmyra is situated under a barren ridge of hills to the W. and open on its other sides to the Desert. It is about six days' journey from Aleppo, and as much from Damascus,* and about twenty leagues west of the Euphrates, in lat. 34° N. according to Ptolemy. Some geographers have placed it in Syria, others in Phenicia, and some in Arabia.† The walls are flanked by square towers, but are so much destroyed, that, in most places, they are level with the ground, and often not to be distinguished from the other rubbish. We could see no part of them to the S.E.; but had great reason to think, from the direction of what we had traced, that they took in the great temple: if so, their circuit must have been at least three English miles. The Arabs shewed us some ground about the present ruins, which might be about ten miles in circumference, a little raised above the level of the Desert. This, they said, was the extent of the old city; and that, by digging in any part of it, ruins were discovered. There appeared to us better reasons for this opinion than merely their authority. Three miles was a small compass for Palmyra in its prosperity, especially as most of that space is taken up by public buildings, the extent of which, as well as the great number of magnificent sepulchres, are evident proofs of a great city. We therefore concluded, that the walls enclose only that part of Palmyra which its public buildings occupied during its flourishing state; and that, after its decay, its situation still

* From Hamah, four days' journey. Mr. Wood states, that there is a much shorter road from Damascus than by Hassia, but a more dangerous one.

† Roman Arabia, in the third century, was a province including Trachonitis and Auranitis, and having Bostra for its capital.

recommending it as the properest place to stop the incursions of the Saracens, Justinian fortified it, as we learn from Procopius, and most probably contracted its walls into a narrower compass. Palmyra was no longer a rich trading city, where he was obliged to attend to private convenience, but a frontier garrison, where strength alone was to be considered. Besides that the manner in which the wall is built looks a good deal like the age we give it, another observation which occurred to us on the spot, seems to strengthen the same opinion. We found that in building this wall towards the N.W., they had taken the advantage of two or three sepulchral monuments, which answered so conveniently, both in shape and situation, that they converted them into flanking towers. As we had no doubt that the wall was posterior to the sepulchres, so we conclude that it was built when the Pagan religion no longer prevailed there; for it was not only contrary to the veneration which the Greeks and Romans had for their places of burial, to apply them to any other use, especially to so dangerous a one; but it also breaks through a general rule which they observed, of having such places without the city walls. This was ordered at Rome by a law of the twelve tables, and at Athens, by a law of Solon ;* and we found it religiously observed all over

* "The Romans, in the earlier times of their commonwealth, dispensed with this law, only as a particular compliment to merit; though afterwards the same compliment was paid to power. But the Athenians refused to let Marcellus be buried within their walls; and told Sulpitius, when he asked that favour, *Religione se impediri.* (*Cicero. Epist. ad Famil.* lib. iv.) It is true, the Lacedemonians differed in this from the other Greeks; and Lycurgus, who took all occasions to inculcate a contempt of death, appointed the most public streets for burying places, to make such objects familiar to the Spartan youth."

the East. We suppose, then, that this wall (which, for the foregoing reasons, we call Justinian's) not only leaves out a great deal of the ancient city, particularly to the S.E., but also takes in something more than belonged to it, to the N. and N.W. That part of the wall which has no towers, has been added long after the rest.

"Upon the top of one of the highest of the hills to the north-west of the ruins, is a castle, to which there is a very rude and steep ascent. It is enclosed by a deep ditch, cut out, or rather quarried out of the rock, which we passed with some difficulty, as the draw-bridge is broken down. In the castle is a very deep hole cut in the rock, which, though now dry, looks as if intended for a well. The building of this castle is so very bad, that it is not only evidently posterior to Justinian, to whom some ascribe it, but unworthy of the Mamelukes. The English merchants who visited this place in 1691, were informed that it was built by Man Ogle, a prince of the Druses in the reign of Amurath III. (A.D. 1585.) We were told by the Arabs, that it was the work of a son of the famous Faccardine, who, while his father was in Europe, built this for a retreat. Neither of these accounts is at all agreeable to the history of the Druses. The hill commands a most extensive prospect of the Desert towards the south, which, from this height, looks like the sea; and westward, we could see the top of Libanus, and take very distinctly the bearings of some part of Antilibanus, which we had observed at Hassia. To the E. and S. of the Temple of the Sun are a few olive-trees and corn intermixed, defended from the cattle by mud walls. This might be made a very agreeable spot, by a proper distribution of two streams, which are now entirely neglected by

the Arabs. They are both of hot, sulphureous water, which, however, the inhabitants find wholesome and not disagreeable. The most considerable rises westward of the ruins, from a beautiful grotto at the foot of the mountains, almost high enough in the middle to admit us standing upright. The whole bottom is a basin of very clear water, about two feet deep. The heat, thus confined, makes it an excellent bath, for which purpose the Arabs use it. The stream, which runs from it in a pretty smart current, is about a foot deep, and more than three feet over, confined in some places by an old paved channel; but, after a very short course, it is soaked up in the sand eastward of the ruins. The inhabitants told us, this grotto had always the same quantity of water; and that though we could see but about a dozen paces into it, yet it extended much further. While Palmyra flourished, this beautiful source must, no doubt, have been of great value. We learned from an inscription close by it, upon an altar dedicated to Jupiter, that it was called Ephea, and that the care of it was committed to persons who held that office by election.

"The other stream, whose source we could not see, contains nearly the same quantity of water, and runs through the ruins in an ancient aqueduct under ground, near the long portico, and in the same direction: it joins the first to the east of the ruins, and is lost with it in the sands. The Arabs told us, there was a third stream, not quite so considerable as these two, and conveyed in an aqueduct under ground through the ruins, as the last, but that its passage was so broken and choked up with rubbish, that it had not appeared for some time. We were the more inquisitive about these streams, as the little notice the merchants from Aleppo have taken of them, has

puzzled some persons to account for the loss of the river mentioned by Ptolemy, which they attribute to an earthquake. There seems no reason to suppose that the water of Palmyra has suffered any alteration but that which negligence has produced. If the English merchants thought those streams too contemptible to deserve the name of a river, they should for the same reason have denied that honour to the Pactolus, the Meles, and several rivers of Greece, which do not contain so much water, except immediately after rains. Besides these sulphureous streams, there has been a large quantity of well-tasted water conveyed formerly to the town by the aqueduct, which is built under ground in a very solid manner, with openings at the top at certain distances, to keep it clean. It is now broken about half a league from the town. The general opinion of the Arabs is, that this aqueduct extends to the mountains near Damascus. There seems not the least foundation for such an opinion, as there is plenty of good water at Cariatein, between Palmyra and Damascus.

"About three or four miles to the S.E. of the ruins, in the Desert, is the valley of Salt, (supposed to be the place where David smote the Syrians, 2 Sam. viii. 13,) which now supplies, in a great measure, Damascus and the neighbouring towns with that commodity. We went to see it, and found they had hollowed the ground in several places deep enough to receive a foot or more of the rain water, which, when once lodged, covers the part so hollowed with a fine white salt. Wherever we could thrust the Arabs' pikes into the ground, we found it was impregnated with salt to a considerable depth.'

* The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, folio. London, 753, pp. 33–41.

Captains Irby and Mangles were conducted back to Homs by a different road; they reached it on the fourth evening. One night, they were under the necessity of bivouacking in the Desert, and the Arabs were afraid even to light a fire. Sleep was out of the question, as it was freezing hard, with a strong, cutting wind; but, by lying down between two of the camels, who rest in a kneeling posture, the travellers contrived to shelter themselves in some measure from the cold air. From Homs they set off for Damascus, which they reached on the fourth day.* The first

* The journey from Damascus to Aleppo is performed by the caravans in eleven days, but may be easily performed in nine. The road of the Itinerary crossed the mountains to the N.W., and went by Baalbec and Laodicea ad Libanum; but the modern caravan road lies to the east of the mountains. Pococke mentions the following places in the road which he took. Two leagues from Damascus (N.E.), a large village called *Touma*; three hours further, a ruined khan called *Adra*, from a village of the same name near it, at the foot of the hills called *Outala-saphire*; three hours and a half to *Kteiphe*, a pleasant village with a very fine khan. This is stated to be the last place in this road under the Pasha of Damascus. On the E. side of the plain is a salt lake *(moia-bechr)*: "the soil being salt, the water evaporates in summer and leaves a cake of salt on the earth; but, as this salt is not wholesome, they are supplied from Tadmor." A day's journey from Kteiphe, is the village *Nephte* (Nebbek); at the foot of the hill on which it stands, are a fine khan and mosque. Between three and four hours from Khan Nephte, is *Caraw*, ("probably the Ocurura of the Tables,") finely situated on a hill. Pococke was told, that it was called Carinthia when the Franks had possession of it. A league to the W. is the ruined convent Deir-Mar-Yacob. From Caraw, it is between seven and eight hours to Hassia, then, together with Caraw, governed by an independent aga. It stands on the edge of the elevated plain stretching to Palmyra, and is described as a miserable place, with only "some bad water in the pond." The road now turns westward to *Khan Shemsir*, distant about three hours. About a league further, the plain of Baalbec opens. Somewhat further to the N.W. the

day's journey lay over rich plains, and round the point of a branch of the Antilibanus. The road then traversed a mountainous country, till at length, within about seven hours of Damascus, they arrived at the brow of a descent, commanding the extensive and beautiful plain in which that capital is situated. To the eastward, it extends as far as the eye can reach: in other directions it is shut in with hills, Lebanon towering conspicuous above them all. The land here is highly cultivated. In two hours they had descended into the plain. The road for the last three hours is extremely beautiful, passing through rich olive groves and gardens, generally enclosed by walls of sun-burnt brick, and surrounded and irrigated by streams of water, partly natural and partly conducted by art. The best view of the city, however, is obtained from the mountain Salehiyeh, to the west of the plain, at about two miles' distance, over which the road from Sidon and Baalbec passes. It is about 1000 feet above the level of the town. On the highest point is erected a small, unfinished structure, resembling a sheikh's tomb, called *El Kobat el Nassr*, the Arch of Victory, connected with which is the following legend: "The Turks relate that their Prophet, coming near Damascus, took his station at that place for some time, in order to view the city; and considering the ravishing beauty and delightfulness of it, he would not tempt his frailty by entering into it, but instantly

Orontes forms a large lake *(nahr el Aazy)* extending towards Homs. As there is no mention made of this lake by ancient authors, Pococke supposes that, like the lake of Mantua, it has been formed in later times, by some stoppage of the waters of the river. The Orontes is stated to rise about twenty miles N. of Baalbec. From Khan Shemsir, the road runs in a more northerly direction to Homs.

departed with this reflection: that there was but one paradise designed for man, and for his part, he was resolved not to take his in this world." *

DAMASCUS.

"CERTAINLY," says Maundrell, who gives the above story, "no place in the world can promise the beholder, at a distance, greater voluptuousness. It is situate in an even plain of so great an extent, that you can but just discern the mountains that compass it on the further side.† It stands on the west side of the plain, at not above two miles' distance from the place where the river Barrady breaks out from between the mountains, its gardens extending almost to this very place. The city itself is of a long, straight figure, its ends pointing nearly N.E. and S.W. It is very slender in the middle, but swells bigger at each end, especially at that to the N.E. In its length, as far as I could guess by my eye, it may extend nearly two miles. It is thick set with mosques and steeples, the usual ornaments of the Turkish cities, and is encompassed with gardens, extending not less, according to common estimation, than thirty miles round, which makes it look like a noble city in a vast wood. The gardens are thick set with fruit trees of all kinds,

* "There is not," Dr. Richardson remarks, "the slightest foundation for such a story. Mahommed never had it in his power to enter Damascus; for it was not taken till two years after his death, when Khaled and Yezid, the two generals of Abubekr, his successor, defeated Heraclius in a pitched battle near Damascus, which they took, after a siege of six months, A.D. 634. Though the story be apocryphal, the prospect from the mountains is extremely beautiful."

† "Towards the N.W., the mountain Ashloon bounds it in the distance; and, in a south-easterly direction, its continuity is broken by the mountains of Haouran."—DR. RICHARDSON.

kept fresh and verdant by the waters of the Barrady. You discover in them many turrets, and steeples, and summer-houses, frequently peeping out from among the green boughs, which may be conceived to add no small advantage and beauty to the prospect.* On the south side of this vast wood is a place called Solhees, where are the most beautiful summer-houses and gardens. The greatest part of this pleasantness and fertility proceeds, as I said, from the waters of the Barrady, which supply both the gardens and the city in great abundance. The river, as soon as it issues from the cleft of the mountain, is immediately divided into three streams, of which the middlemost and biggest runs directly to Damascus, through a large open field, called (by the Franks) the *Ager Damascenus* (Agro Damasceno), and is distributed to all the cisterns and fountains of the city. The other two (which I take to be the work of art) are drawn round, one to the right hand, and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let as they pass by little currents, and so dispersed all over the vast wood: insomuch that there is not a garden but has a fine, quick stream running through it, which serves not only for watering the place, but is also improved into fountains and other waterworks, very delightful, though not contrived with that exquisite art which is used in Christendom. What small part of the river escapes, is united, as I was informed, in one channel again, on the S.E. side of the city, and, after about three or four hours' course, finally loses itself in a bog there, without ever arriving at the sea."

* "This is the only part of Syria where there are detached pleasure-houses in the open country. The soil, which is poor, gravelly, and of a reddish colour, is ill adapted to corn, but is the better suited to fruits."—VOLNEY.

It flows, in fact, into a hollow of the Desert, where its waters form the morass called *Bahr el Marje*, the Lake of the Meadow.

"The streams of water," Dr. Richardson states, "are not perceptible from the mountain; nor does the plain exhibit that rich and luxuriant vegetation that adorns the banks of the Jordan and the Nile. It is only in the immediate environs of the city that this is so conspicuous." The effect of the view from the mountain is derived from the verdure of foliage, varying from the deepest shade to the lightest tint of green, together with the bright sun and cloudless sky that light up the scenery of the Eastern world, and, so long as the verdure of the fields remains unscorched, diffuse throughout the landscape a charm unknown in countries where a dense and hazy atmosphere prevails. With all the advantage of cloudless skies, the environs of Damascus, however, in point of natural scenery, extent, and cultivation, are not, in this traveller's opinion, to be named in comparison with the environs of London; any more than a river about thirty yards broad is to be compared to the majestic Thames; or a continuous and almost uninhabited wood, of five or six miles in extent, is to be compared to the beautiful and populous environs of the British capital. The view from Salehiyeh is immensely inferior, he thinks, to that from Richmond Hill, or even from Hampstead. "Yet, nothing can be more delightful," he adds, "than such an extensive shade in such a country. The environs of Damascus are cool, and refresh the eye with a perpetual verdure. Riding, or walking, or reposing among these plantations, is the most gratifying of all enjoyments to a native of this country. Hence, the grateful eulogies

that have been bestowed on her gardens and her pleasant fields. She has been called the noble, the beautiful, *El Sham shereeff*, a perfect Eden, a terrestrial paradise. And when we consider these epithets, as applied to it by the enthusiastic Arabs, the thirsty inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, who had never seen any thing of the kind before, we may believe that the persons who employed them really spoke as they felt." *

Damascus is a site of the highest antiquity. It is at least as old as the time of the patriarch Abraham, in whose history it is mentioned,† though it may be doubted whether he was the founder of it. Josephus ascribes its origin to Uz, the great-grandson of Noah; his father Aram, the son of Shem, having possessed himself of Syria, which from him received the name of Aram. And the Latin Christians implicitly believe, that the appellation *El Sham*, which is given to both the country and its capital by the natives, is derived from the name of the son of Noah! The Hebrew name of the city was Damasek or Demesk, by which it is still known, and from which is formed the Damascus of the Greeks and Latins. The name generally given to it by the Turks and Arabs, of El Sham, is comparatively modern; and it forms one of the very rare instances in which the more ancient appellation of a town has been superseded. It is called also the Mouth of Mecca, on account of its being the grand

* The valley of Damascus (or Gutha) is, according to Abulfeda, the first of the four terrestrial paradises. The gardens, which are private property, answer to what we call orchards in this country, rather than to gardens. They abound with the walnut, the citron, the orange, and the pomegranate. For a general description of Syrian gardens, see vol. i. p. 306.

† Gen. xiv. 15; xv. 2.

rendezvous of all the Syrian pilgrims proceeding to Mecca, and its pasha is the conductor of the sacred caravan. This city has been more fortunate than most of its contemporaries. It never attained the elevation or celebrity of Nineveh or of Babylon, nor has it ever fallen so low. It has been often captured, and several times demolished, but has always risen again to splendour and dignity, and has in all ages been celebrated as one of the most delightful situations in the world. It was conquered by David, king of Israel, who left a garrison in the place, but revolted towards the latter part of the reign of his son, and was governed by its own princes, till the invasion of Tiglath Pileser.* After that period, it shared the fate of Syria in being transferred to successive conquerors. Under the Romans, it was the capital of that part of Cœlo-Syria, which was called from it Damascene. In the division of the country established by Constantine and his successors, it was included in *Phœnicia Libanica*, which had for its chief town, Heliopolis (Baalbec).† When the country fell into the hands of the Arabians, it was restored to its former rank, being made the capital and residence of the Saracen monarchs of the Ommiade race, who removed to this place from Medina, in the seventh century, about forty years after the death of Mahommed. It is 136 miles N. of Jerusalem, 195 S. of Antioch, and 276 S.S.W. of Diarbekir. Long. 36° 30′ E. lat. 38° 30′ N.

The modern town contains no objects of antiquarian interest, and its pretensions to architectural beauty are about on a par with those of most Turkish cities.

* 2 Sam. viii. 3—6. 1 Chron. xviii. 3—6. 1 Kings xi. 23. 2 Kings xvi. 9.

† Malte Brun, vol. ii. p. 157.

It greatly surpasses Grand Cairo, however, both in cleanliness and in comfort. It is encompassed with ramparts defended by towers, now in a ruinous condition. According to Niebuhr, the walls are something less than a league and a half in circumference. Pococke makes them extend about two miles from east to west, and a mile and a half from north to south; but, as usual, he is incorrect in the bearings, and the town is much longer than it is broad. The city is said to contain above 500 large and magnificent houses, entitled to the name of palaces; but all their beauty and splendour are confined to the interior. The number of mosques and chapels is very great, but the great mosque, the ancient cathedral, is the only building worthy of particular attention. The population is estimated at from 100,000 to 150,000. Dr. Richardson estimates the Christian inhabitants at about 12,000. Mr. Connor says: "The Greeks under the Patriarch of Antioch may amount to 20,000; and of these, about 4000 are in Damascus." He supposes that, of the other sects, the Greek Catholics, Latins, and Maronites may amount to 16,000; the Armenians to 150; and the Nestorians to 70; making upwards of 20,000.* But this is confessedly a very rough calculation, and it is impossible, he says, to ascertain the exact number. The Jews, he computed at 2,500. The rest are Mussulmans. The Greek patriarch of Antioch ordinarily

* This agrees with Pococke, who makes them consist of 8,000 Roman Catholic Greeks, 1,000 Maronites, 200 Syrians or Jacobites, 30 Armenian families, and the remainder Greeks. This was, however, a century ago. Each of these sects had a church, except the Catholic Greeks, who were not allowed by the Pasha either to go to the Latin church, or to have separate congregations, owing to recent circumstances. All the Christians bore a very bad character.

resides here: he has under him forty-two archbishops and bishops. The patriarchate is reckoned to be worth forty purses a year. This revenue arises "partly out of a tenth of what the bishops receive from every family throughout the whole patriarchate, (which is from 4*s.* to 20*s.* a year,) and partly out of what the patriarch receives at Antioch and Damascus, his own particular diocese, in fees; being fifteen piastres for a license to bury, and five for every marriage." The patriarch of the Syrian church resides at Mosul. There are three convents of Franciscan monks, in whose churches the Catholics have Divine service. The fathers of the Latin convent in which Mr. Connor lodged, in 1820, were all Spaniards: they expressed their joy at the prospect of receiving a supply of the Arabic Scriptures for their flocks. Seraphim, the Greek patriarch, also, readily and warmly promised to promote, to the utmost, throughout the patriarchate, the sale and distribution of the Scriptures. There are eight synagogues of Jews, who are better treated and possess more liberty throughout the pashalics of Damascus and Acre, than in any other parts of the Turkish dominions. The kiayas, or prime ministers of the two pashas, are Jews and brothers; and, by their power and influence, which are great, they shield their nation, to a considerable degree, from oppression and violence. Neither the Christian nor the Turkish inhabitants bear the best of characters. The Arabs, by a play upon words, express the proverbial character of the several cities of Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo, thus: *Shami shoumi, Halepi tshelebi, Masseri harami:* The Damascenes are false, the Aleppines foppish, the Masserines (Massera is the common name by which Cairo is known) vindictive. Pococke states that the Christians of Damascus are reported to have all the

vices of the Turks, only with this difference, that they are more ashamed of them. "As the Christians are worse here," he adds, "than in any other parts, so the Turks indulge in those vices here to the highest degree for which they are generally infamous. The Damascenes are much addicted to pleasure, and love to pass their time in a lazy, indolent manner. They do not want parts, and most of them have fine black eyes, and, when children, are of a surprising fairness and beauty; but, by the heat of the climate, their vices, the great use of bagnios, and the custom of wearing their beards, they lose their comeliness when they arrive at maturity. It is said that their women are the most beautiful in the world." Whether the Turks of Damascus are really more vicious than the citizens of other Turkish capitals, may, however, reasonably be doubted. Seetzen contradicts this unfavourable representation. But this is certain, that they have always been distinguished by their detestation of Franks: it used to be quite impossible to appear in a European dress, nor is it now safe. "Our merchants," says Volney, "have been unable to form any establishment there. This hatred which the people of Damascus bear the Christians, is maintained and increased by their communication with Mecca. Their city, say they, is a holy place, since it is one of the gates of the Caaba: for Damascus is the rendezvous for all the pilgrims from the north of Asia, as Cairo is for those from Africa. Their number every year amounts to from 30 to 50,000: many of them repair hither four months before the time, but the greater number only at the end of the Ramadan. Damascus then resembles an immense fair; nothing is to be seen but strangers from all parts of Turkey, and even Persia; and every place is full of camels, horses, mules,

and merchandise. At length, after some days' preparations, all this vast multitude set out confusedly on their march, and, travelling by the confines of the Desert, arrive in forty days at Mecca, for the festival of the Bairam. As this caravan passes the country of several independent Arab tribes, it is necessary to make treaties with the Bedouins, to allow them certain sums of money for a free passage, and to take them for guides. There are frequent disputes on this subject between the Shiekhs, of which the Pasha avails himself to make a better bargain; but, in general, the preference is given to the tribe of Sardia, which encamps to the south of Damascus, along the Haouran. The Pasha sends to the Sheikh a mace, a tent, and a pelisse, to signify he takes him as his chief conductor. From this moment it is the Sheikh's business to furnish camels at a stated price; these he hires likewise from his tribe and his allies; the Pasha is responsible for no damages, and all losses are on his own account. On an average, 10,000 camels perish yearly; which forms a very advantageous article of commerce for the Arabs.

"It must not be imagined that the sole motive of all these expenses and fatigues is devotion. Pecuniary interest has a more considerable share in this expedition. The caravan affords the means of engrossing every lucrative branch of commerce; almost all the pilgrims convert it into a matter of speculation. On leaving their own country, they load themselves with merchandise, which they sell on the road; the specie arising from this, added to what they have brought with them, is conveyed to Mecca, where they exchange it for muslins and India goods from Malabar and Bengal, the shawls of Cashmire, the aloes of Tonquin, the diamonds of Golconda, the pearls of

Barhain, pepper, and a great quantity of coffee from the Yemen. Sometimes the Arabs of the Desert deceive the expectation of the merchants, by pillaging the stragglers, and carrying off detached parties of the caravan. But, in general, the pilgrims arrive safe; in which case their profits are very considerable. At all events they are recompensed in the veneration attached to the title of Haji (Pilgrim), and by the pleasure of boasting to their countrymen of the wonders of the Caaba, and Mount Arasat; of magnifying the prodigious crowds of pilgrims, and the number of victims, on the day of the Bairam; and recounting the dangers and fatigues they have undergone, the extraordinary figure of the Bedouins, the Desert without water, and the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, which, however, is neither suspended by a load-stone, nor the principal object of their pilgrimage. These wonderful tales produce their usual effect, that is, they excite the admiration and enthusiasm of the audience, though, from the confession of sincere pilgrims, nothing can be more wretched than this journey. Accordingly, this transient admiration has not prevented a proverb, which does little honour to these pious travellers. 'Distrust thy neighbour,' says the Arab, 'if he has made a Hadj; but, if he has made two, make haste to leave thy house:' and, in fact, experience has proved that the greater part of the devotees of Mecca are peculiarly insolent and treacherous, as if they wished to recompense themselves for having been dupes, by becoming knaves.

"By means of this caravan, Damascus is become the centre of a very extensive commerce. By Aleppo, the merchants of this city correspond with Armenia, Anatolia, the Diarbekir, and even with Persia. They send caravans to Cairo, which, following a route fre-

quented in the time of the patriarchs, take their course by Djesr-Yakoub, Tabaria, Nablous, and Gaza. In return, they receive the merchandise of Constantinople and Europe, by way of Saide and Beirout. The home consumption is balanced by silk and cotton stuffs, which are manufactured here in great quantities, and are very well made; by the dried fruits of their own growth, and sweetmeat cakes of roses, apricots, and peaches, of which Turkey consumes to the amount of near a million of livres (about 40,000*l.*) The remainder, paid for by the course of exchange, occasions a considerable circulation of money in custom-house duties, and the commission of the merchants. This commerce has existed in these countries from the earliest antiquity.* It has flowed through different channels, according to the changes of the government and other circumstances; but it has every where left very apparent traces of the opulence it produced." †

Maundrell had the good fortune to witness the ceremony of the hajjies setting out on their pilgrimage to Mecca. "For our better security," he says, "from the insolence of these over-zealous votaries, we hired a shop in one of the bazaars through which they were to pass. In this famous cavalcade there came first forty-six dellies, that is, religious madmen, carrying each a silk streamer, mixed either of red and green, or of yellow and green; after these came three troops of segmen, an order of soldiers amongst the Turks; and next to them some troops of spahees, another order of soldiery. These were followed, by eight companies of mugrubines (so the Turks call the

* Three caravans, each attended by upwards of 2500 men, go three times a-year to Bagdadt, a journey of thirty days: caravans to Aleppo go two or three times a month.

† Volney, vol. ii. pp. 272—7.

Barbaroses) on foot : these were fellows of a very formidable aspect, and were designed to be left in a garrison, maintained by the Turks somewhere in the Desert of Arabia, and relieved every year with fresh men. In the midst of the mugrubines, there passed six small pieces of ordnance. In the next place came on foot the soldiers of the castle of Damascus, fantastically armed with coats of mail, gauntlets, and other pieces of old armour. These were followed by troops of janizaries, and their aga, all mounted. Next were brought the Bassa's (Pasha's) two horse tails, ushered by his aga of the court ; and next after the tails followed six led horses, all of excellent shape, and nobly furnished. Over the saddle there was a girth upon each led horse, and a large silver target gilded with gold.

" After these horses came the mahmal. This is a large pavilion of black silk, pitched upon the back of a very great camel, and spreading its curtains all round about the beast down to the ground. The pavilion is adorned at top with a gold ball, and with gold fringes round about. The camel that carries it wants not also his ornaments of large ropes of beads, fish-shells, fox-tails, and other such fantastical finery hanged upon his head, neck, and legs. All this is designed for the state of the Alcoran, which is placed with great reverence under the pavilion, where it rides in state both to and from Mecca. The Alcoran is accompanied with a rich new carpet, which the Grand Signior sends every year for the covering of Mahomet's tomb, having the old one brought back in return for it, which is esteemed of an inestimable value, after having been so long next neighbour to the Prophet's rotten bones. The beast which carries this sacred load, has the privilege to be exempted from all other burdens ever after.

"After the mahmal * came another troop, and with them the Bassa himself; and last of all, twenty loaded camels, with which the train ended, having been three quarters of an hour in passing."

Captain Mangles, in travelling from Aleppo to Hamah, fell in with a large caravan which had formed part of the hajji to Mecca, returning from Damascus. "It was," he says, "an interesting sight. They had the green flag flying, the Prophet's banner. There were few camels, the animals being mostly horses and mules; and having all bells attached to them, they made a merry ringing. There were among them several *takterwans*, the only species of vehicle in the East, which supplies the place of four-wheel carriages. We had seen one of them in the great Morocco hajji, which arrived at Cairo in the September preceding: it resembled a sedan-chair, supported before and behind by horses instead of men. But those which we saw this day, differed from it; one being a species of tent-bed placed cross-way on the back of a mule, and the other resembling two cradles, fitted like panniers on the back of a camel. These takterwans are enclosed with curtains, and are generally used by women or sick people. Nearly the whole of this and the next day, we passed divisions of the hajji. All the animals were laden with some private venture of the pilgrims."

Damascus was once famous for the manufacture of sabres, which appear to have been made of thin *laminæ* of steel and iron, welded together, so as to unite great flexibility with a keen edge. The art of making them is lost since Tamerlane carried off the artisans to Persia. Sabres are still, indeed, made here, but they

* "Of the seven different pilgrim caravans which unite at Mecca, two only bear the Mahmal; the Egyptian and the Syrian: the latter is the first in the rank."—BURCKHARDT.

are of inferior quality. The cabinet work of fine wood, inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, is said to be very admirable. A large quantity of excellent soap is manufactured here: it is chiefly exported to Egypt. Leather is another article of manufacture; but no linen is now made. The general circulating medium is the *para*, a base silver coin, twenty of which are equal to a sixpence of our currency. They are so thin and small, that they are apt to stick together, which makes it difficult to count them. The Turkish dollar, and the *rubi*, a small gold coin, equal in value to about half-a-crown, are also in general circulation.

Dr. Richardson, who passed a fortnight in Damascus in the year 1818, in the capacity of physician to Earl Belmore, had a very favourable opportunity of seeing the interior of the town; and he has furnished us with the following additional particulars.

"After entering the town, we proceeded a little way along the street which is called Straight,* and which is so named because it leads directly from the gate to the castle or palace of the Pasha. Leaving it, we turned to the right, and proceeded along a narrow street, lined with houses built of unburnt brick on each hand; and we were much disappointed by their mean and even ruinous appearance. Yet, through the windows of these ruined hovels, we saw the people carrying on the beautiful manufacture of Damascus silk. One old man, bending over his web, struck us particularly. His countenance was the very colour of the clayey mansion he inhabited; his beard and turban were white; and Tithoneus himself, in becoming etherealized, could hardly have parted with less to the material world. If a spider had moved the frame

* Acts, ix. 11.

of the loom, the effect would not have appeared more unlikely than from the touch of his bloodless hand. This man and his work seemed the extremes of luxury and famine. But we had not long time to indulge in reflection; for a short turn to the left brought us to the door of the Franciscan convent, which is a large substantial building, as convents generally are.

"The Earl and Countess of Belmore were accommodated in the house of M. Chaboiçeau, a French surgeon of eminence, and a most agreeable, well-bred man; the rest of the party were domiciled in the convent. The house of this worthy gentleman gave us the first idea of the habitations in Damascus, and taught us not to judge of them by what was to be seen in passing by. A rough lime-cast wall fronted the street: we entered by a small door that led into a court paved with marble, in the middle of which was a small fountain of fresh water constantly playing. Opening into it on the one side, was his principal room; on the other, was an arcade raised above the level of the court, and furnished with carpets and cushions. From the Pasha and the Bey, down to the shopkeeper and the mechanic, all their habitations are constructed after this manner. The interior of some of them is extremely magnificent; yet, all of them present a dead wall to the street; and all are entered by a small door of a very ordinary description. In the houses of the grandees, immediately within this door, is an outer court, which is occupied by the porter and other domestics. From this, on the one hand, an entrance goes off to the haram, which has a court appropriated to itself; and, on the other, into the principal court, which is one of great splendour,

paved with marble, and cooled by one or two fountains of water, and shaded by clumps of evergreens. Off this court is the principal room, which, in the lower part, is cooled and ornamented with a fountain of water; and, in the upper part, furnished with a divan for the accommodation of visiters. The interior of the walls is generally niched, or provided with shelves, on which is exhibited a display of china plates, jars, basins, and bowls, such as are used at table. In this department the stranger is generally received on his first introduction; but the places of common reception are the large arcades that open into the court, one of which is laid round with a divan, which is moved to the other as the sun comes round, or according to the pleasure of the possessor or his company. These arcades are extremely agreeable, both from the free circulation of air, and the delightful softening of the light to the eye, by reason of the evergreens. This method of constructing houses renders them peculiarly private: each family enjoys itself apart from the noise and bustle of the town. The streets of Damascus are the most noiseless possible. There are no gentlemen's carriages in it whatever, and hardly any carts: such as there are, have wooden wheels unshod with iron; and the occasional step of a Christian's ass,* a camel, a mule, or more rarely of a horse, has but little in it to disturb the solemn repose of a Turk. Every man's house is his castle; and, in case of an irritated mob threatening to attack

* Maundrell complains that Franks were obliged either to walk, or to ride upon asses, "the insolence of the Turks not allowing them to mount on horseback. To serve them upon these occasions, here are hackney-asses always standing ready equipped for hire." It is the same at Cairo.

any of its oppressors, he can shut himself up in his habitation, and remain till the governing power send a force to protect him.

" The first visit that we paid in Damascus, was to Ahmet Bey, the son of Abdallah, the late Pasha. This gentleman is said to be a philosopher : we smiled at the idea of a literary Turk, and proceeded thither with no small anxiety to see the spectacle. His Excellency received us with great politeness. Pipes, coffee, and sherbet of lemonade were immediately produced. Having welcomed the party to Damascus, he begged the noble visiter to inform him of the different places that he had visited in his extensive tour, of all of which he received a succinct and animated account. After which, the Bey was anxious to hear his Lordship's opinion on some points of philosophy, and very boldly asked him whether he thought the earth moved round the sun, or was stationary. His noble visiter asserted the rotatory motion of the earth; to which his Excellency replied, 'Yes, that is the opinion of some people here ; but, for his part, he considered that if the earth really turned round, it must sometimes happen that the water was undermost : how then did it not fall off ? ' This he considered as an unanswerable objection to the rotatory motion of the earth ; and it is impossible to express the looks of approbation that passed between him and his friends, while he watched the effect that the interpretation of his reply would produce on the countenance of his noble visiter, and joined heartily in the laugh which it occasioned ; imagining that his objection defied all explanation, and had completely set the question at rest. Having finished the philosophical part of the conversation, he commenced the medical, a subject in which he was more intimately concerned.

His sense of hearing had been impaired for a considerable time; he had now become so deaf, that he could not enjoy conversation as he had formerly done, and he was extremely depressed in spirits, as he thought the complaint was getting worse. A consultation with his medical adviser was fixed for the following day. At seven o'clock, all three met exactly by appointment; but no business could be done till a pipe had been smoked. We then proceeded to examine the ears, and afterwards to wash them • having cleared out an immense quantity of hardened wax and cotton, the ringing in his ears immediately ceased, and he felt quite in another world; and so far from scarcely hearing at all, he seemed to hear too acutely, from the exposed state of the organ under irritation. The auditory passage, having been washed and dried, was stuffed with cotton; and the Bey returned to his seat in the arcade with a happy and a smiling countenance, and with seven years' more life in his body than when he left it.

"The streets in Damascus are narrow and irregular, and consequently well shaded from the sun. Broad streets are no luxury in warm climates; and I felt here the full force of the remark of Tacitus, that Nero spoiled Rome by broad streets. The shops abounded with fruit and vegetables. The peaches, nectarines, and apricots were excellent; a species of the latter, which they called *lousi*, possess the most exquisite and delicious flavour. But what we found most agreeable of all, was the great abundance of iced water exposed for sale in every quarter of the town. It is generally mixed with the juice of figs or currants, and forms an agreeable and refreshing beverage, in which the Damascenes indulge to profusion. Of the shopkeepers, I would say in general, that I

never saw a more comfortable-looking class of people in their station of life. They are clean, well-dressed, of an excellent habit of body, and so extremely civil to strangers, that if they have not the articles you wish to purchase, they will, unsolicited, walk with you to the place where you can be suited, and not leave you till you say 'This will do: This is good.'

"In Damascus, as in Cairo, each class of commodities has its own class of bazars. There are whole streets in which nothing but shoes and boots are sold; others in which nothing but ready-made clothes are sold; others for the silks of Constantinople, which are by far the finest and the most valued. But the articles generally worn in Syria, are of the manufacture of Damascus, and are a mixture of silk and cotton; they are extremely durable, and some of the patterns remarkably handsome. There is one large bazar for the goldsmiths, where we saw no fewer than two hundred of them seated together in one room, each with his anvil, hammer, and drawers before him; but this should rather be called a manufactory than a bazar, for, on entering it, a person was stunned with noise, as if he had been in a foundery. There are also bazars for swords and military accoutrements; but the character of Damascus blades is much declined from what it was in former times. Each country seems to think that it possesses the art in an equal degree of perfection. Constantinople regards her manufacture of swords as the best; and Cairo, Aleppo, and Bagdadt, all put forth a claim to the same distinction.

"The bazars in Damascus are better lighted, and have a more elegant and airy appearance than those in Cairo and Constantinople. The bazars for ready-made clothes, which are near the palace of the Pasha,

form an agreeable lounging place, where the traveller is certain of seeing a constant crowd of people passing and repassing in all the different costumes of the country, which are those of the Turk, the Bedouin Arab, the Druse, and the Syrian Christian. The first is dressed in the most brilliant colours; but the caftan and the red shacksheers are more frequent than the shalwars. The Bedouin Arab is dressed in unbleached cotton cloth, with a grey or blue and white abba in large cross stripes. He wears a leathern girdle about his waist, and a green and yellow handkerchief on his head, which, in the country, hangs down loose over his cheeks, but when he comes into town, he generally ties it tight round his head. They rarely wear turbans. The dress of the Christians is of a graver complexion than that of the Mussulmans, though not quite so dismal in Damascus as it is in Grand Cairo. The turboush is red, and of the same species of manufacture; but it is much larger, and hangs down in a bag from the crown of the head. The turban is of small-checkered silk, red, blue, and yellow, tied so as to give a full square shape in front, and to make the countenance look full and bold. The effect of the Mameluke turban is to make the countenance of a lowering and unkindly aspect, as if it belonged to an assassin or a thief. The abba is quite different in shape, pattern, and manufacture. It is worsted, and wrought in small stripes, red and black. It is worn much shorter, and is every way smaller; and, when viewed behind, looks like a man's coat worn by a woman above her petticoats. The black abba, however, already described, is a dress of much higher consequence than the one which I have just mentioned: it is the full dress of the sheikh, as the other is of his son. Here, it is called mashlah, and

not abba, which is the name reserved for the striped robe. The beniss is also in general use here; and there is much more style and elegance among the people in general, than we found in Cairo, which arises from their greater intercourse with Constantinople, and from a greater number of the inhabitants being gentlemen by birth and education. The females in Damascus wear universally the large white robe which covers their head and shoulders; but such of them as we see in the bazars, are generally past the prime of life, and never walk about in company with gentlemen, as in the Christian towns of Europe. The men wear beards or mustachios, with the cheek, head, and part of the chin completely shaved.

"In the Christian families in Damascus, the ladies present themselves in the same manner as in Cairo or Jerusalem; but, although they occasionally serve the visiter, they are not such slavish menials to him as there. The Christian families here have much intercourse with each other, and balls and entertainments frequently occur. The ladies wear the large white robe; but the *takeel* and *akos* are not common among the inhabitants of Damascus: they seem to be more particularly the dress of the country villagers. The ladies wear upon their forehead a frontlet, composed of several strings of zequins, or gold coins, fitted to each other, forming a broad imbricated surface like a coat of mail, nearly as broad as the palm of the hand, rising up, and projecting forward."

"By the *cafés* in Damascus, which have been so much celebrated, are generally understood those that are situated on the banks of the river; for the *cafés* in the interior of the town are mere smoking-houses, and have nothing particular to recommend them; but

the others are remarkably well adapted to the climate. They are formed so as to exclude the rays of the sun, while they admit the breeze, and gratify the eye with the delightful sight of luxuriant vegetation, while the ear is pleased with the rushing sound of artificial cascades. In order to secure the enjoyment of so many luxuries, these *cafés* are situated in the skirts of the town, on the edge of that branch of the Barrada which supplies the gardens. These *cafés* are all constructed of wood, and consist of a high pavilion roof, supported with wooden pillars, and partially covered with mats, evergreens, and creepers. They are far from being elegant or expensive; but they are cool, and admit an agreeable and softened light, that forms a charming contrast with the intense glare of the sun glancing upon the waters, or reflected from the whitened walls of the houses of the town. The floor is of wood or earth, generally the former, and is regularly watered. All round are raised high, broad-bottomed wooden seats like sofas, for the frequenters to sit on after the fashion of their country, and smoke, drink coffee, talk, and enjoy themselves. As a place of public resort, I must confess, these *cafés* appeared to me both dull and uncomfortable, and the company generally of a very ordinary description. There are no public papers, no magazines, no reviews, nothing to keep up either a general or a national interest. Sometimes a person, like a hawker, reads or recites a tale, that may chance to be listened to; it by no means follows as a matter of course. The company are commonly remarkably still and silent, and seem as if, being over-fatigued, they went thither to indulge in a little repose. Each person, as he enters, calls for a hooka and a cup of coffee, which are imme-

diately brought to him. There are no long pipes in the *cafés* at Damascus, and the hooka is such a hideous and unwieldy instrument, that nothing but the most determined resolution to smoke, could make it at all tolerable. In these words I am not to be understood as abusing the elegant smoking apparatus usually known in this country by the name of hooka, (which, with its handsome arguil and snake, deserves to be spoken of in terms of commendation,) but a most infamous substitute, to which the *cafétiers* of Damascus have most unwarrantably given the same name. It consists of a head that somewhat resembles the hooka, and a small bit of hollow cane, about two feet and a half long, stuck into the side of it for a shaft. It has no amber mouth-piece; it is lighted in the same way as the hooka, but the stalk is too short to let it rest on the ground; and it is so difficult to draw, that the novitiate in smoking is obliged to keep pulling, and balancing, and making such efforts as greatly to endanger the safety of his brain and respiratory organs; and all for what? To obtain a whiff of tobacco through a drop of dirty water!" *

The walls of Damascus, Dr. Pococke thinks, are built on the foundations of the ancient ones, as he observed large stones of rusticated work in many places used in the construction of them. The eastern gate, called by the Christians St. Paul's Gate, is probably ancient. The gateway, which is about ten feet wide, is arched over, and "adorned with a kind of Doric pilasters" and a well-executed architrave. The castle, which seems older than the walls, is "a noble, rustic building, with three square towers in front, and five on each side, and is about three quarters

* Travels along the Mediterranean, &c. vol. ii. pp. 460—76.

of a mile in circumference:* it appears within like a little town." Passing over the house of Ananias, "a cellar under ground, converted into a mosque,"—the sepulchre of the same personage,—the house of Judas, where St. Paul lodged,—the hole in the wall, through which the apostle was let down in a basket,—the tomb of a St. George, who was put to death for favouring his escape, &c.—we shall give, from Dr. Pococke, a description of the cathedral, now the principal mosque, which, with its avenues and the edifices belonging to it, he pronounces one of the finest things that the zeal of the first Christians produced. The architecture is of the Corinthian order, and very well executed. "The structure of the cathedral was very particular. It is an oblong square. There are three rows of columns in it. In the middle, there was a dome, under which, probably, was the high altar. To the west of the church is a large court, with a portico of granite pillars on three sides. The front of the church next to the court, consisted of arches, supported by pillars of verd antique; between them there are large folding-doors, to be opened at pleasure, so that when the doors were open, the people in the court and the portico round it could see the priest celebrate Divine service. Over these arches, there are a double number of arched windows; there was likewise a portico on the outside of the court and church, of which there are now but small remains: there is a gallery over the portico, with a double number of arches, supported by small pillars.

* Maundrell, with his usual minute accuracy, states its length to be 340 paces, and its breadth somewhat less. Just within the gate are to be seen a "store of ancient arms and armour, the spoils of the Christians in former times." Among the artillery is an old Roman balista, a sort of large cross-bow.

There were three grand entrances into the court, and as many to the church. All the walls of the church, and of the porticoes within the court, were adorned on the outside, over the arches, with mosaic work, of which there are great remains. On the north side, there is a grand ascent to the court, by many steps, and remains of a beautiful colonnade before the entrance, and of another of the same kind on the south, which is more entire. Below the steps to the north, there is a very fine *jet d'eau*, which throws up a great body of water. It seems very probable that there were buildings all round, which belonged to the officers of the church; and they might be divided from one another by the several avenues to the church; on each side of which, it is probable, were twelve columns, which might form a portico on each side, and support galleries like those round the court; for, in one avenue, the pillars are standing. And it is not unlikely, that every particular building was encompassed with such a portico; for, it appears, there were very large pillars, about three feet diameter, on the outside all round, those of the porticoes being about two feet diameter. The great pillars are of a coarse marble, except some very large ones at the entrance, which are of granite. One part of these buildings is called the Patriarch's Palace; another, his Seminary; and, as it is probable that there were five piles of building, one might be for the canons, another for the priests, and a fifth for the deacons and other inferior officers. The whole was, probably, enclosed with a wall, within which there might be a portico corresponding to the portico of large pillars round the buildings; for I saw in the town, at proper distances, remains of some very beautiful door-cases in the finest taste, and also several pillars.

"The Turks call this the mosque of Saint John Baptist; * but the Christians say that it was dedicated to John Damascenus, whose body is in it; and they tell some miracle that happened when they attempted to remove it. They have a tradition, however, that this church was built by the emperor Heraclius, and that it was at first dedicated to Zacharias; which is not improbable, for we find that the Christians of the first ages, especially the Greeks, distinguished their churches by the names of the prophets and holy men that were before Christ, which is the reason why so many churches in Venice have those names; so that although this church might be at first dedicated to Zacharias, yet, it might afterwards receive the name of St. John Damascenus, either by a formal consecration, or because the body of that saint was deposited in it; as the convent of Mount Sinai is called St. Catherine, out of the regard which the Greeks have for the relics of that saint, which are deposited there. It is said, this church was, by agreement, continued in the hands of the Christians, but that, at length, the Mahometans took it from them; which may account for the tradition they have of the patriarch's palace, whose see was removed to this place on the destruction of Antioch; though all these great structures were, doubtless, raised under the bishops of Da-

* Maundrell tells us, that in this church, or mosque, "are kept the head of St. John and some other relics, esteemed so holy, that it is death even for a Turk to presume to go into the room where they are kept." He was told by a Turk "of good fashion," that "Christ is to descend into this mosque at the Day of Judgement, as Mahommed is to do into that of Jerusalem." The gates of the church, he describes as "vastly large, and covered with brass, stamped all over with Arab characters, and, in several places, with the figure of a chalice, supposed to be the ancient ensign or arms of the Mamelukes."

mascus, when Christianity was the established religion here. The Arab historians observe, that this mosque was much improved by the Kalif Valid, about the eighty-sixth year of the Hegira; which has made some of them affirm that he built it.

"Near this mosque is another, which is a very solid building of hewn stone, and though not large, yet the design of it is grand. There is a fine sepulchre in it, of Daher, who, they say, was king of Syria before it was taken by Sultan Seliman. And one reason why there are so many grand mosques in Damascus, is, that the kalifs built several of them as mausoleums over the places in which they were to be buried. Most of the mosques have a court before them, with a portico round it, where the people pray in the summer, and, when it is not the hour of prayer, sit and discourse, or sleep. One mosque particularly is most beautifully adorned with all sorts of fine marbles, in the manner of mosaic pavements; and another has a very high minaret or tower, the outside of which is entirely cased with green tiles. At the north-east corner of the city walls there is a mosque, which, they say, was the church of St. Simon Stylites; and I find this church is said to have been a temple to Serapis.

"There are several hospitals in and about the city; but the Turkish charity is not a settled maintenance for the poor and sick, except for such people as have not their senses, for whom they have a particular regard; but their charity consists in giving victuals to the poor once or twice a-week, and sometimes in distributing medicine to the sick on certain days. They have, indeed, an hospital for the maintenance of lepers, at a mosque, where, as some say, the house of Naaman the Syrian stood; or, as others, the house

which he built for Gehazi and his posperity. It is to the east of the city wall. In one part of it there is an Arabic inscription, which is a sort of prayer; it was interpreted to me in this manner: 'O God, for the sake of thy leprous prophet, a friend of our prophet, and for the sake of all the other prophets, give unto us health and peace.' The Christians also have an hospital for lepers, maintained by constant charities; and it is certain that, in some villages not far from Damascus, there are several lepers. The finest hospital is to the west of the city, at the east end of the field of Damascus. It was founded by Sultan Seliman or Selim the second. The rooms are built round a court, with a portico before them, which is covered with cupolas, as well as all the rest of the building; there being in all no fewer than forty cupolas covered with lead. At the south side of the court, there is a fine mosque, covered with a large dome; it has a magnificent portico before it, and two fine minarets: near it, there is a smaller hospital in the same style of architecture; and both of them serve for no other end, at present, than to give out food on certain days to the poor."

Among the objects of curiosity without the walls, must be mentioned the grottoes in the side of the hills over the valley of Salheia or Salehiyeh. "One of them is large, consisting of several rooms; it is a mosque, where they pretend to shew the tombs of the forty martyrs who, they say, suffered for Moses: they likewise tell several other stories of these places. Another is the grot of the seven sleepers, where they pretend they slept and were buried: and the sheikh or imam told us," says Pococke, "that they suffered martyrdom for Christ."

About two miles to the north of Damascus, Pococke

mentions a village called Jobah, which he supposes to be a corruption of the ancient Hobah,* the Choba of Jerome, the inhabitants of which were Jews, who believed on Christ, but observed the law. Here he found an ancient Greek church transformed into a synagogue, in the middle of which they shewed the spot where Elijah anointed Hazael king of Syria. "In three apartments of the synagogue, there are thirty-six copies of the Law, excellently well written on parchment rolls, each of them having a round wooden case; and though they seem to make little account of them, yet, it has been mentioned, that the Law was preserved here, when Titus destroyed the Temple.† From one of these rooms, there is a descent to a small grot, in which there is a hole like a window, where, *they say*, Elijah was fed by the ravens!!" Two miles beyond Jobah, near a village called Berze, is a rising ground, where, they say, Abraham overtook the four kings when he rescued Lot; and they are buried under the mound. A mosque, a little further on, commemorates the place where Abraham returned thanks for his victory; though the Mahommedans have a story, that, in the cleft of the rock adjoining, Abraham's mother, flying from the idolatry of Nimrod, was safely delivered of the father of the faithful! We are now on hallowed ground, and start traditions, Romish, Greek, and Turkish, at every step. Three leagues further is the village Malouca, built on the side of a steep, high hill, over a narrow valley, where there are two churches; one belonging to the Greeks, the other to the Roman Greeks. On

* Gen. xiv. 15.

† If this synagogue be still in existence, these copies of the Hebrew Scriptures would deserve the attention of the Christian traveller.

the opposite hill is the Greek convent of Saint Thecla, the disciple of St. Paul and the female protomartyr. On the top of the mountain, at the end of the vale, is the deserted convent of St. Sergius, with a tolerable church; and all about this valley, the rocks are cut into numberless niches and grottoes. Some leagues to the north is the convent of St. Moses. After the feast of Holy Cross, Pococke says, the Greeks from Damascus come out to these convents, and to that at Sidonaiia, and spend a fortnight or three weeks in a sort of religious revelling.

About four hours to the N.E. of Damascus is the Greek convent of *Sidonaiia*, situated at the further side of a large vale on the top of a rock.* Maundrell, who visited it, gives the following description.

"The rock is cut with steps all up, without which it would be inaccessible. It is fenced all round at the top with a strong wall, which encloses the convent. It is a place of very mean structure, and contains nothing in it extraordinary, but only the wine made here, which is indeed most excellent. This place was at first founded and endowed by the emperor Justinian. It is at present possessed by twenty Greek monks and forty nuns, who seem to live promiscuously together, without any order or separation.

"Here are upon this rock, and within a little compass round about it, no fewer than sixteen churches or oratories, dedicated to several names. The first to St. John; second, to St. Paul; third, to St. Thomas; fourth, to St. Babylas; fifth, to St. Barbara; sixth, to

* The road lies through Jobah; thence, between the hills by a stream called Marabah, to the large village of Tehl or Tall, which stands in a pleasant valley; about two miles further to Mineh, or Meneen; from which Sidonaiia is four miles distant. Saint Thecla is about four leagues from Sidonaiia.

St. Christopher; seventh, to St. Joseph; eighth, to St. Lazarus; ninth, to the Blessed Virgin; tenth, to St. Demetrius; eleventh, to St. Saba; twelfth, to St. Peter; thirteenth, to St. George; fourteenth, to All Saints; fifteenth, to the Ascension; sixteenth, to the Transfiguration of our Lord: from all which, we may well conclude this place was held anciently in no small repute for sanctity. Many of these churches I actually visited; but found them so ruined and desolate, that I had not courage to go to all. In the chapel made use of by the convent for their daily services, they pretend to show a great miracle, done here some years since; of which take this account, as I received it from them. They had once in the church, a little picture of the Blessed Virgin, very much resorted to by supplicants, and famous for the many cures and blessings granted in return to their prayers. It happened that a certain sacrilegious rogue took an opportunity to steal away this miraculous picture; but he had not kept it long in his custody, when he found it metamorphosed into a real body of flesh. Being struck with wonder and remorse at so prodigious an event, he carried back the prize to its true owners, confessing and imploring forgiveness for his crime. The monks having recovered so great a jewel, and being willing to prevent such another disaster for the future, thought fit to deposit it in a small chest of stone; and, placing it in a little cavity in the wall behind the high altar, fixed an iron grate before it, in order to secure it from any fraudulent attempts for the future. Upon the grates there are hanged abundance of little toys and trinkets, being the offerings of many votaries in return for the success given to their prayers at this shrine. Under the same chest in which the incarnate picture was deposited, they always place

a small silver basin, in order to receive the distillation of an holy oil, which, they pretend, issues out from the enclosed image, and does wonderful cures in many distempers, especially those affecting the eyes. On the east side of the rock is an ancient sepulchre hollowed in the firm stone. The room is about eight yards square, and contains in its sides (as I remember) twelve chests for corpses. Over the entrance there are carved six statues as big as the life, standing in three niches, two in each niche. At the pedestals of the statues may be observed a few Greek words."

Some reformation appears to have taken place in the interior arrangements of this convent when Pococke visited it. The monks seem to have been cashiered, and the nuns were become old women.* "The convent," he states, "is governed by an abbess, whose office continues during life: she is put in by the patriarch, and nominates the nuns, who are about twenty in number. These nunneries are more like hospitals than convents, the members of them being mostly old women, who are employed in working, especially in the management of silk-worms. The abbess shewed me her hands, and observed to me, that they were callous with work. She ate with us both above in the convent, and below in the apartment for strangers. The women seldom take the vow in less than seven years, and often remain many years at liberty: they may see and converse with men, and go any where, even to distant places, with leave. They have two chaplains to the convent: one is a monk

* Van Egmont found twelve brothers and twenty sisters in the convent, all, however, considerably advanced in years. He supposes the institution may be some relic of the ancient *Agapeti* or *Synisacti*, a sort of Platonists. Sidonaiia was a bishop's see, and the bishop then resided in the convent.

who lives in it; the other is married, and resides in the town." The emperor Justinian, besides endowing the convent with lands, for which a rent is now paid to the Grand Signior, is stated to have given the convent 300 Georgian slaves for vassals, whose descendants are the people of the village, and are of the Roman Greek Church. The churches of St. John, St. Saba, and St. Barbara, have three naves, with an altar at the end of each, after the Syrian style; and Pococke noticed in them several Doric capitals and remains of fresco paintings. The chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul, is apparently of high antiquity: it is of very solid work, built in the form of a Greek cross within, but the walls form a square of thirty-two feet six inches. There is a Roman Greek Church, called Saint Sophia, in which are two rows of slender pillars with Corinthian capitals, that seem to have belonged to some more ancient edifice. On the high mountain to the north, near the church belonging to the ruined convent of St. Thomas, is a spacious grotto, fifty-five feet long, twenty broad, and ten high: "there are two seats and a shelf round it, and four square pillars in the room; there is likewise an apartment at the further end, and on each side." It is called *the grot of the Council.* About two hours to the north, on the highest summit of the mountains, is the convent of St. Sergius, at that time tenanted by a solitary monk.

About twelve miles to the N.W. of Damascus is a high and steep mountain, surmounted by a ruined church, built over the spot where Cain buried Abel. The place is called *Nebbi Abel*, and the legend is, that the fatricide carried the corpse for some time on his back, not knowing how to dispose of it, till he saw a raven making a hole in the ground to bury one of

its own species, which gave him the hint to inter his brother. The wall of the church is built with single stones three feet thick, and is decidedly ancient. About five feet from the portico are two pillars three feet and a half in diameter, with round Doric capitals. The door-case is very beautiful. An imperfect Greek inscription inside the church, makes mention of Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene, and of a lady of the name of Eusebia. "This inscription," remarks Dr. Pococke, "is a confirmation that Abila was near, which doubtless was the capital of the tetrarchy of Abilene, mentioned in Scripture as under the government of Lysanias, from whom, probably, this city was distinguished by the name of Abila of Lysanias." Opposite to this, in the valley on the north side of the Barrada, Pococke noticed the remains of a portico; and at the village Seneiah, at the foot of the hill, a short marble pillar, with an imperfect Greek inscription, probably a milestone. It is evident that this has been a site of some consequence; and the legend has most likely been suggested by its ancient name. Its situation on the Barrada, the "golden river," together with its other topographical features, seems to identify Nebbi Abel with the Abila of the Romans.*

* Abila of Lysanias, called by Josephus, Abila in Libanus, was, according to the Itinerary, between Damascus and Heliopolis. (Eusebius erroneously places it between Paneas and Damascus.) The word Abila has been variously derived, but is said to signify, in the Phenician, a mountain or rock. The Greeks changed the name of Abila to Leucadia, *white*, in allusion, probably, to the colour of the limestone rock. Strabo, speaking of Leucadia in Acarnania, says, it was so called because of a great white rock in the neighbourhood. The learned Editor of Calmet places Abila or Leucadia on the Chrysorrhoas or Barrada, on the authority of a medal bearing the inscription *Chrysoroas Claudiaion*, and, on the reverse, *Leucadion*. Abila was famous for

Further to the north, where the little river Fege (or Fijji) issues in a large clear stream from under the mountain, Pococke mentions a very ancient temple, almost entire, the side of which is washed by the stream; the stones are of the same thickness as the walls, and the pilasters have no capitals. On an eminence is another temple, apparently built long after the other, yet in a much more ruinous state. There can be little doubt that they were dedicated to the nymph of the fountain. The pleasant village of *Ain Fijji* is at the end of a beautiful and well cultivated vale; it is a ride of seven hours from Damascus. The river is described by Dr. Richardson as one of the coolest and shortest rivers in the world. "It issues from the limestone rock, a deep, rapid stream of about thirty feet wide. It is pure and cold as iced water, and after coursing down a stony and rugged channel for about a hundred yards, falls into the Barrada, where it loses both its name and its beauty." The natives have a notion, Pococke says, that this river comes from the Euphrates under ground. About a mile from its apparent source, he discovered an aqueduct, which, he was told, extended to Caraw; it is ascribed to King Solomon; but "they have another tradition, that the aqueduct was made or improved by a woman,"—possibly the queen of Palmyra.

The waters of the Barrada, like those of the Jordan, are of a white sulphureous hue; they have an unpleasant taste, and Volney ascribes to them an unwholesome quality. It is not without reason, he says, that

its vineyards; accordingly, a bunch of grapes appears as a device on one of its coins. This makes it the more probable that it was situated on a rocky eminence or declivity suitable for their cultivation.

they are complained of as cold and hard, and as tending to produce calculous obstructions.* The Barrada is, no doubt, the Pharpar of the Scriptures.† Dr. Richardson remarks, that the word would be pronounced throughout the East, *Varatha*, which is a probable corruption of the original name. The Greeks and Romans called this river Chrysorrhoas.

The Abana (or Amana) is no longer known under that name. Benjamin of Tudela describes the Abana as running into the city itself, its waters being conveyed by pipes into all the houses of distinction, as well as the market places; while the Pharpar, he says, runs by the city walls, and waters the gardens. Pococke however states, that the Barrada runs through the town in a large stream, "as do the three last streams that come out of it on the south side, namely, the Baneas, the Kenouat, and the Derany. Another, which is more elevated, is called the Mezouy; it runs south of the town, and waters a village called Mezy." These are small streams. To the north of the town is the water-channel, called the Jesid, ‡ which runs on a hanging terrace, sixty feet in some parts above the Barrada; and, on a lower level, the Toura. These in some places run under ground. Between these and the city, "the *Acrabane*, or Serpentine river, which goes out of the Barrada in the field of Damascus, runs close to the north walls."

* Pococke says, that the inhabitants do not drink the river water, but that of the springs, which is very good and abundant.

† 2 Kings v. 12.

‡ Van Egmont calls it *Jabed*, and Baneas he writes *Panjas*; these channels are evidently the work of art, and have been formed, he remarks, "with prodigious labour."—*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 257.

This would seem, both from the similarity of name and the description, to be the Abana, and Benjamin of Tudela has, in that case, only misapplied the names. It is singular that no other Traveller should have mentioned this stream. Maundrell "could find no memory so much as of the name" of either river. There are altogether eight streams, natural and artificial included; yet, as six of these are the work of art, the original division of the river into two branches would correspond to the mention made of the Abana and the Pharpar. It is probable that the former was once the larger stream, before it was let off into channels for watering the gardens.

About three hours above Ain Fijji, pursuing the banks of the Barrada, is a very picturesque and remarkable pass, called Souk, where the road is narrowed by the approach of the mountains on either side of the river. In the rock on the right hand, excavations have been made in places that seem quite inaccessible without the help of a scaling-ladder, or a rope and basket. Some of the doors are formed with great care, and have buttresses on each side, and statues between them, bearing some resemblance to those at Ebsambul. Here the river is crossed by a bridge, and the scene is highly picturesque. In three hours further, the valley widens, and exhibits a great deal of cultivation. The source of the Barrada is a little below the pleasant and healthy village of Zibdane,* the property of Ahmed Bey. Above the village

* This is, doubtless, the *Septany* and *Zebdaineh* of Pococke, about eighteen miles from Damascus, where, according to their tradition, Cain slew Abel. Two hours further is Zurgeia (the Surgawich of Maundrell), a village about half the size of Zibdane. From this place it is a distance of about five hours to Baalbec. Four or five miles to the N. of Zibdane, among the

flows a small stream called Dillá, which runs into the Barrada. Zibdane is half way between Damascus and Baalbec.*

But we must no longer suffer ourselves to be detained in the enchanting neighbourhood of this favourite capital, as we have yet before us the country south of Damascus, — the Auranitis, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Iturea, Batanea, and Galaaditis of the ancients, comprising the vast plains of the Haouran, and the mountainous country east of the Jordan. For a correct description of these countries, we are indebted almost exclusively to the enterprising labours of the indefatigable Burckhardt. The modern political divisions of this territory, the whole of which, as far south as wady Zerka, belongs to the pashalic of Damascus, are stated to be as follows: 1. *El Ghoutta*, the plain of Damascus itself, containing upwards of eighty villages; bounded on the N. by Djebel Szalehie (Saleheia); on the W. by Djebel el Sheikh; on the S. by Djebel Kessoue; and on the E. by the plain El Merje. 2. *Belad Haouran*, or the country of

mountains, is a place called *Nebbi Shiit* (Prophet Seth), where they shew a very long tomb as the sepulchre of the son of Adam. On the high hill near the village of Sinie, or Seneiah, on the road to Baalbec, is shewn the tomb of Abel, thirty yards long, to answer to the stature of him who is buried under it! The tomb of Noah is found near Zahle (see vol. i. p. 153), and that of Nimrod, near the foot of Djebel Sheikh. In fact, the whole district abounds in antediluvian monuments. But the most curious fact remains to be mentioned, and it proves the identity of the Agro Damasceno and Paradise. It is confidently asserted, that Adam was created there, being formed of the red soil which is found to the west of Damascus.

* Dr. Richardson observed a considerable difference here in the pronunciation of the Arabic from that which obtains at Damascus: it consists chiefly in dropping the final letter, and pronouncing *u* as *au*.

Haouran, comprising the whole of Auranitis, part of Trachonitis and Iturea, and the northern district of Batanea: it is bounded on the N. by Djebel Kessoue and Djebel Khiara; on the E. by the rocky district El Ledja and the Djebel Haouran; on the S.E. by the Desert, Boszra and El Remtha being the furthest inhabited villages; on the W. by a chain of villages on the Hajji road, extending from Ghebarib to Remtha. 3. *Djedour* (Ittur), the flat country south of Djebel Kessoue, E. of Djebel el Sheikh, and W. of the Hajji road, extending to Kasem or Nowa: it contains about twenty villages, and comprises the greater part of Iturea. 4. *Djolan*, probably the ancient Gaulonitis, including part of Batanea, Argob, and Hippene: it comprises the plain to the S. of Djedour, and W. of the Haouran, bounded on the W. by Djebel Heish and Akabe Feik;* on the S. by the *nahr Aweired* and the *Sheriat el Mandhour*, or Hieromax. 5. *El Kanneytra*, so named from the chief village where the aga resides, probably the ancient Canatha: it comprises the mountain El Heish (the Mount Hermon of Scripture), from the neighbourhood of Panias to its southern extremity. 6. *Belad Erbad*, or *Belad Beni Djohma*, called also from the principal family of the district, *El Bottein*: it is divided on the N. from the Djolan by the nahr Aweired; on the E. it is bounded by the Hajji route; on the S. by the territory of Beni Obeid; on the W. by El Kefarat. The greater part of Batanea is comprised within its limits; and it is remarkable that the name of Bottein has a close resemblance to its ancient appella-

* Akabe Feik and Akabe Om Keis are the steep declivities which border the lake Tabaria and the Ghor of Tabaria on the east.

tion. The Sheikh's residence is Erbad. 7. *El Kefarat*, a narrow strip of land running along the southern border of the wady Sheriat el Mandhour, from Belad Erbad to Om Keis; its principal village is Hebras. 8. *Esserou*, a district parallel to El Kefarat, extending from Belad Erbad to the Ghor, and watered by wady el Arab. Both these latter two districts lie between the Sheriat and the mountains of Wostye, and are comparatively flat, though intersected by numerous deep valleys. 9. *Belad Beni Obeid*, a district on the eastern declivity of the mountains of Adjeloun, bordered on the N. by Erbad, on the E. and S. by Eszoueit, and comprising the southern parts of Batanea. Its principal village is El Hossn, supposed to be the ancient Gamala. 10. *El Koura*, a mountainous region, comprising the northern part of Galaaditis: it is separated on the S.W. from Adjeloun by the wady Yabes (probably the Jabbok); to the W. and N.W. it borders on Wostye; to the E. on Belad Beni Obeid. 11. *El Wostye*, a district to the S. of El Serou, or Esserou, and E. of the Ghor Bisan (Bethsan). 12. *Djebel Adjeloun*, a mountainous country, for the most part wooded, bordered on the N.E. and E. by Beni Obeid, on the N. by the Koura, on the W. by the Ghor, on the S. and S.E. by El Moerad. Part of Galaaditis is included in this district. 13. *El Moerad*, including another part of Galaaditis: its boundaries are Djebel Adjeloun, the Ghor, and El Zoueit on the N., W., and E.; on the S. the wady Zerka. It is, throughout, mountainous. The summits of Djebel Adjeloun mark the limits between this and the last-mentioned district. 14. *Ezzoueit*, or *El Zoueit*, to the E. of Beni Obeid and Moerad, separated from the latter by the wady Deir

and Seil Djerash, bounded on the S. by the wady Zerka, and extending eastwards beyond the Hajji route, to the south of the ruined city of Om Ejjemal. It forms the southern part of Galaaditis, is partly mountainous, and partly a plain country, but is quite depopulated. "There are, at present," says Burckhardt, "no inhabited villages in the Zoueit."

Beyond the Zerka, the chain of mountains increases in breadth, and the country called the Belka begins,—the ancient Perea. The whole district from Kanneytra to the Zerka was, in 1812, under the government of the Aga of Tabaria; but this can happen only when the pashalics of Acre and Damascus are united.

THE HAOURAN.

THIS vast and fertile plain, which produces the finest wheat in Syria, is inhabited by Turks, Druses, and cultivating Arabs: it is also visited in spring and summer by several Bedouin tribes. Burckhardt computes the resident population at from 50 to 60,000, of whom 6 or 7000 are Druses, and about 3000 Christians. The Turks and Christians have exactly the same modes of life, and in their customs and manners both very nearly resemble the Arabs. Their ordinary dress is precisely the same. A coarse white cotton stuff forms their *kombaz* or gown; the *keffie* round the head is tied with a rope of camel's hair; they wear over the shoulder the *abba*, leaving the breast and feet naked.* They have also adopted, for the most part, the Bedouin dialect, gestures, and phraseology, according to which most articles of household furniture have names different from what they

* The women dress in the Bedouin manner, having a veil thrown over their head, but they seldom veil their faces.

bear in the towns. It requires little experience, however, to distinguish the adults of the respective nations from each other. The Arabs are, generally, of short stature, with thin visage, scanty beard, and brilliant black eyes; while the fellahs, or cultivators, are taller and stouter, with a strong beard, and less piercing look. The difference seems chiefly to arise from their different mode of life, as the youth of both nations, up to the age of sixteen, have precisely the same appearance. Religion seems, in the Haouran, to occasion little distinction in the political condition. "When quarrels happen," we are told, "the Christian fears not to strike the Turk, or to execrate his religion;—a liberty which, in every town of Syria, would expose the Christian to the penalty of death, or to a very heavy pecuniary fine. Common sufferings and dangers in the defence of their property, may have given rise to the toleration which the Christians enjoy from the Turks in the Haouran, and which is further strengthened by the Druses, who shew equal respect to both religions." Four-fifths of the Christians are Greeks; and the only religious animosities which Burckhardt witnessed, were between them and the Roman Catholics. The Turks and Christians are under the control of an aga, appointed by the Pasha, who generally resides at Mezareib; but the Druses are governed by an hereditary sheikh, of the family of Hamdan, who corresponds immediately with the Pasha. To keep the peace, a garrison, or armed police, of between five and six hundred Moggrebins, is constantly stationed in the Haouran; half at Boszra, and half at Mezareib. But the Pasha has entrusted the Druses with the defence of the villages, against such of the Arabs as may be at war with him; a service

which they perform very badly, being the secret friends of all the Arabs, for which they are hated by the fellahs. The Bedouins of the Haouran are of two classes; those whose wanderings are confined to the Haouran, or to some particular districts, and those who visit it only in the spring and summer season. The Arabs of the Djebel Haouran, called the *Ahl el Djebel*, and those of the Ledja, seldom encamp beyond their usual limits; they are kept in more strict dependence on the Pasha than the other tribes. The former tribe are the shepherds of the people of the plains, who entrust them with their flocks during the winter, to pasture among the rocks of their mountain. In spring, the Arabs restore the flocks to their proprietors, receiving, for their trouble, one-fourth of the lambs and kids, and a like proportion of the butter made from the milk during the spring months. Those which are to be sold, are now taken to Damascus. In May, the whole Haouran is covered with swarms of wanderers from the Desert, who come for a twofold purpose; water and pasturage during the summer months, and a provision of corn for the winter: they remain till after September. If they are at peace with the Pasha, they encamp quietly among the villages near the springs or wells: if at war with him, they confine themselves to the district to the S. of Boszra, towards Om Ejjemal and Jedhein, extending as far as El Zerka. Those who now visit the country are almost exclusively of the tribe of Æneze, who are Wahabies, and who were, till within a few years of Burckhardt's visit, the constant carriers of the Hajji, supplying the Pasha with several thousand camels by contract.

The fertility of the soil in the Haouran depends entirely upon the water applied to it. In districts

where there is plenty of water for irrigation, the peasants sow winter and summer seeds; but where they have to depend entirely on the rainy season, nothing can be cultivated in summer. The harvest in these districts, therefore, is in proportion to the abundance of the winter rains. The lands incapable of artificial irrigation, are generally suffered to lie fallow every other year; but a part of them is sometimes sown in spring with sesamum, cucumbers, melons, and pulse; and where abundance of water may be obtained from neighbouring springs, the soil is sown with lentils, pease, sesamums, &c., after the grain harvest. Fields watered by rain yield more, in proportion to the seed, than those which are artificially watered. In middling years, wheat yields twenty-five-fold: the barley, in some parts, has yielded fifty and even eighty-fold; and, in one instance, wheat has been known to yield in a still higher proportion. The crops are sometimes destroyed by mice, though not so frequently as in the neighbourhood of Homs and Hamah.

The first harvest is that of horsebeans, at the end of April: vast tracts are sown with these, to serve as food for the cows and sheep, and camels are fed with the flour, mixed with barley-meal, and made into a paste. Next comes the barley harvest; and towards the end of May, the wheat: in the interval, the peasants eat barley-bread.* Fruit and vegetables are drawn chiefly from Damascus, or from the gardens

* Barley is generally not more than half the price of wheat. Wheat fetches, in abundant years, 50 piastres per *gharara* (about 2*l.* 10*s.* per 15 cwt.); but, in 1811, rose to 190 piastres. In 1812, the price of an ox or cow was about 70 piastres, that of a camel about 150 piastres. Burckhardt gives the following table of measures: 1 *rotola* = 5½ lb. English; 3½ *rotola* = 1 *moud*; 80 *moud* = 1 gharara, or 15 cwt.

on the banks of the Sheriat, cultivated by the Menadhere Arabs. The wealth of a cultivator is estimated by the number of *fedhans* (or yokes of oxen) which he employs: the owner of two or three is esteemed a rich man, and he will probably possess besides, two camels, a mare or gelding, or a couple of asses, and forty or fifty sheep. Daughters are paid for in marriage, according to the respectability of their father, whether Druse, Turk, or Christian; they will sometimes fetch as high as 1500 piastres. If the family is rich, the bride is fitted out with clothes, and a string of zequins or silver coin to tie round her head, and is then delivered to her husband.

Taxes are very heavy in the Haouran. There is, first, the *miri* paid to the pasha, which is levied on the fedhans; but the amount depends on the sum at which the whole village is rated in the pasha's books, which must be paid so long as the village is inhabited, be the number of fedhans employed few or many. In 1812, the miri amounted, on the average, to 500 piastres per fedhan. Next comes the expense of feeding soldiers on the march, and of supplying barley for their horses, which may amount to fifty piastres per fedhan and upwards. The third and heaviest contribution paid by the villagers, is the *khone* (brotherhood), the tribute claimed from time immemorial by the Bedouins, in return for their protection, or rather forbearance in not touching the harvest or driving off the cattle. Each village pays *khone* to one sheikh in every tribe, who then acknowledges it as his *ukhta* or sister, and is bound to protect the inhabitants against all the members of his own tribe. The pasha connives at this exaction, and shares in the plunder: the several sheikhs receive from his highness an annual present of a pelisse as their commission or warrant,

in return for which they present him with a proportion of the tribute. This *khone* varies from 30 or 40 to 400 piastres to each sheikh. Lastly, come the *avanias*, or extraordinary contributions levied at the will of the pasha, to which there are no limits but his good pleasure, or the possibility of raising the sum levied. The receipt of the *miri* of the whole pashalic, which may amount to 250,000*l.*, is in the hands of the Jew bankers or *serafs* of the pasha, who have 2½ per cent. on his revenue, and as much on his expenditure. Their agents, who repair to the Haouran in harvest time to receive the miri, (which is sometimes claimed in money, sometimes in kind,) generally contrive to extort something for themselves. Thus, what with the oppression of the government on one side, and the exactions of the Bedouins on the other, the fellahs of the Haouran are reduced to a state little above the wanderers of the Desert. "Few individuals," says Burckhardt, "either among the Druses or the Christians, die in the same village in which they were born. Families are constantly moving from one place to another. In the first year of their new settlement, the sheikh acts with moderation towards them; but, his exactions becoming in a few years insupportable, they flee to some other place, where they have heard that their brethren are better treated; they soon find, however, that the same system prevails over the whole country. Sometimes it is not merely the pecuniary extortion, but the personal enmity of the sheikh, or of some of the head men of the village, that drives a family from their home, for they are always permitted to depart. This continued wandering is one of the principal reasons why no village in the Haouran has either orchards, or fruit-trees, or gardens for the growth of vegetables.

'Shall we sow for strangers?' was the answer of a fellah to whom I once spoke on the subject; meaning by the word *strangers*, both the succeeding inhabitants and the Arabs."

. The state of manners in the Haouran is stated to be almost as pure as among the Bedouins. Public women are not suffered, and adultery is punished by the death of the woman, while the other party is liable to be ruined by the heaviness of the fine. Hospitality to strangers is another characteristic common to the Arabs and the people of Haouran. There is in every village, the *medhafe* of the sheikh, where all strangers of decent appearance are entertained. "It is the duty of the sheikh to maintain this *medhafe*, which is like a tavern, with the difference that the host himself pays the bill. The sheikh has a public allowance to pay these expenses. Hence, a man of the Haouran, intending to travel about for a fortnight, never thinks of putting a single *para* in his pocket: he is sure of being every where well received, and of living better perhaps than at his own home." But a traveller may with confidence seek a night's shelter at any house he pleases. Immediately on his alighting, a mat will be spread for him, coffee made, and a breakfast or dinner set before him. It is a point of honour with the host never to accept of the smallest return from a guest.

The Hajji route from Damascus to Mecca lies through the plain of the Haouran. It has been changed three different times. At first, it passed on the eastern side of Djebel Haouran; the fear of the Arabs then induced the Emir el Hajji to prefer a route through the Ledja and Boszra; but, about 90 or 100 years ago, the present caravan route was established. On the 15th of the month Shauwal, the

Pasha leaves Damascus at mid-day by the *Bab-Allah* (the gate of God), and proceeds the distance of a quarter of an hour, to the mosque called *Kubbet el Hajji*, where he passes the night. Opposite to it is the village *El Kadem* (the foot), so called from Mahommed's having left the mark of his footstep at this place when he stopped here, and declined to enter Damascus. The approach to Damascus in this direction, Burckhardt says, is very grand, being formed by a road above 150 paces broad, bordered on each side by an olive grove, and continued in a straight line for upwards of an hour. In several places, the hajji route has been paved for the distance of 100 yards or more. From the *Kubbe*, it is a distance of five days to the castle of Zerka, where the Hajji rests for a day.* This is the extremity of the Haouran.

The rocky wilderness called the Ledja, and the Djebel Haouran, comprehending all the uneven country which extends along the eastern side of the plain of Haouran, from near Damascus to Boszra, are undoubtedly the Trachonitis of Strabo and Ptolemy, and answer to the twofold division of that territory, the capital of which was Missema. The ruins of that

* First day, to the village Kessoue, which has a well-provided bazar, four hours; to Khan Denoun on the river *Aawadji*, one hour. Second day, to the village Ghebaib, four hours; to Didy, three hours; to Es-Szanemein, (a ruined town and castle,) one hour. Third day, to Dilly, four hours; to Shemskein, (a considerable and prosperous village,) four hours; to El Mezareib, (the principal town in the Haouran, next to Boszra,) four hours. Fourth day, to Wady el Medan, one hour; to El Remtha, three hours; to El Fedhein, four hours. Fifth day, to Kalaat el Zerka, a day's journey. To the E. of Fedhein, the Djebel Haouran terminates; and in the same latitude, the Djebel Heish, to the W. of the Hajji route, changes its name to Djebel Belka. The rest of the route to Mecca will be given under ARABIA.

deserted city are three miles in circuit. It was in consequence of the predatory incursions of the Arabs from these mountain recesses, that Augustus transferred the government of Trachonitis from Zenodorus, who was accused of encouraging them, to Herod, King of Judea.* On the eastern foot and declivity of Djebel Haouran, Burckhardt states, that there are upwards of 200 ruined villages, all built of black stone (basalt), at a quarter or half an hour's distance from each other. The whole of this district belongs, however, to Arabia, more properly than to Syria; not only as its inhabitants are almost exclusively Arabs, but as, both in the Scriptures and in profane history, it appears to have been included under the former name. According to Eusebius, the country and the greater part of the cities beyond Jordan, with the whole district termed the third Palestine, were parts of Arabia. Roman Arabia, or *Arabia Provincia*, which had for its capital Bostra, is supposed to answer to Batanea and Auranitis; and Boszra is still, including its ruins, the largest town in the Haouran. This, there can be little doubt, is the Arabia into which St. Paul retired from Damascus, and of which Aretas was king.† The Haouran is only once men-

* Joseph. Ant. book xv. chap. 10. Wars, book i. chap. 20. See Preface to Burckhardt's Syria.

† See Acts ix. 25. 2 Cor. xi. 33. 2 Macc. v. 8. There were several princes of this name. Josephus states, that the inhabitants of Damascus, weary of the government of the King of Syria, delivered their own city to Aretas, King of Arabia. This Aretas was the ally of Antipater, and besieged Aristobulus in Jerusalem, B.C. 65: he took the city, all but the temple, but was compelled to retire by Scaurus, Pompey's general. Damascus was also retaken by the Roman forces. Æneas, his son or grandson, succeeded him, and assumed the name of Aretas. Herod Antipas married his daughter. On her being divorced in favour of Herodias, Aretas declared war against the Jewish tetrarch, on the pretence of diffi-

tioned in the Old Testament,* as a district on the N.E. of the Holy Land, where it is rendered Auranitis by the Septuagint. Abulfeda makes Boszra its capital. Here, therefore, we may close our account of Syria, reserving a more particular account of the topography of these districts, as well as of their ruined sites, and of the tribes thinly scattered over these once populous regions, for another place.

CONCLUSION.

LET us cast a retrospective glance at the country we have been surveying,—a country so highly favoured by Heaven, that it unites, by a happy combination of various properties of soil and climate, the advantages of every zone; of an almost inexhaustible fertility, and capable of supporting a most dense population; yet, in every age, wasted and depopulated by the ravages of conquerors, the very play-ground of ambition; and now consigned to comparative barrenness and helpless anarchy by a rapacious and cruel despotism, which "destroys more than it feeds upon;"—the country of the vine and the olive, the oak and the cedar, the mulberry-tree and the palm,—which can boast of the richest pastures, the finest corn lands, and the most exquisite fruits,—the birth-place of commerce, the emporium of the East; in a word, the country which numbers among its cities, Tyre and Sidon, Tripoli and Antioch, Baalbec and Palmyra,

culties concerning the limits of Gamala, and Antipas was entirely defeated. Both these kings of Arabia appear to have been tributary to the Romans; and Damascus seems to have been restored to the Arabian prince, or to have been reconquered by him, A.D. 38, when St. Paul was at Damascus. See Calmet's Dict., by Taylor. Art. *Aretas* and *Damascus*.

* Ezek. xlvii. 16.

Aleppo and Damascus. And all this is in the hands of the Turk! What is still worse, the Turks, who form a very small proportion of the inhabitants, though illiterate, are not the most ignorant; though Mahommedans, are not the least Christian part of the population. Here, religious bigotry is found reigning and raging peculiarly among the hostile votaries of different benighted communions,—the Greek, the Syrian, and the Papist; while the Bible is almost unknown, and Divine service is performed in a foreign tongue. The Moslem worships his Prophet, the Christian prays to the Virgin and the Saints, the Druse to neither; while, in the recesses of Lebanon, the heathen still clings to the infamous rites of the old classical idolatry. Such is Syria! It is not our province to speculate on the changes which future years may introduce. It is certain, that the natives groan for deliverance; and even the Moslems have a superstitious presentiment that their power is drawing to its termination. "It is surprising," says a recent Traveller,* "to hear the universal desire expressed by all classes of people in this country, that a European Christian power should be induced to come and take possession of it." Four thousand British troops, this writer thinks, (himself a military man,) "with the indubitable assistance of the native inhabitants," would easily take possession of all Syria, while 10,000 would suffice to conquer Egypt; without which, indeed, it might prove a precarious possession. Acre and El Arish secured, Palestine could oppose little resistance. A few thousand men garrisoned in the strong posts of the Haouran, Burckhardt says, would effectually keep the peace and put an end to the exactions of the Arabs. El Hossn, Deir el Kamr, Szaffad,

* Major Mackworth.

Sanhour, and Kerek, present other strong positions very available in the hands of a European power. The Christians of the Greek church naturally look towards Russia; and when Seetzen travelled, they caught at the idea that he was sent by *Melek el Asxfar*, the Yellow King, (the title they give to the Russian Emperor,) to examine the country preparatory to an invasion for the purpose of delivering it from the Turkish yoke. The Druses and the Arabs, it is thought, would prefer the English, who have, even in the eyes of the Turks, the merit of not being idolaters. Should another Fakr el Din or Sheikh Daher, or, were it possible, another Judas Maccabæus, arise, he might have, in the present distracted state of the Turkish empire, with European alliance, a fairer opportunity than has yet presented itself, of becoming the liberator of his country. In the mean time, a silent revolution is gradually working by less doubtful and less agressive means. Religious prejudices are giving way before the influence exerted by British travellers. The Arabic Scriptures are finding their way all over the country. The Terra Santa convents are happily on the decline, while Protestant missionaries are, for the first time, turning their attention to the holy city and the Syrian Christians. Should the Turkish government be induced to tolerate the measure, it is contemplated to establish a Protestant church at Jerusalem,—a nobler achievement than Godfrey of Bouillon effected by his sword, and than Tasso has sung. From such a focus, the rays of Scriptural light would diverge in all directions; and in the footsteps of Christianity would follow, as they ever have done, industry, freedom, social order, and all the charities of life.

END OF SYRIA.

ASIA MINOR.

ROUMELI
TREBIZOND
Gulf of Attalia
Map of
ASIA MINOR,
Engraved for the
MODERN TRAVELLER.

ASIA MINOR,

OR

NATOLIA.

[A province of Asiatic Turkey, bounded on the N. by the Euxine, or Black Sea; on the W. and S. by the Mediterranean; on the E. by the Euphrates.]

Asia is a word of uncertain derivation, and it has been variously applied in ancient and modern times. Bochart derives it from the Hebrew *Chatzer*, signifying *the middle;* but its true etymology is unknown.* The word does not occur in the Old Testament records. In the books of the Maccabees, as well as in the New Testament, it is employed in its limited sense, as denoting the Roman province of Asia. The Romans divided it into Asia within, and Asia beyond Taurus. The kingdom of Asia occupied only the western province of the peninsula, to which also was confined the prætorian province, as well as proconsular Asia.† But the countries afterwards included

* Calmet supposes it to signify muddy, boggy, from the Greek ἄσις; which seems an unlikely derivation, as it does not correspond to the country so designated. The editor of the London edition of Calmet contends for its being derived from the Chaldee *Ashia* (rendered in the A. V. of the Scriptures, foundations), which he thinks may imply *extent—continent.* Classic fable derives it from Asia, the daughter of Oceanus, whom some make the mother of Prometheus. It is remarkable that both Asia and Ilion should be derived from words signifying mud or clay.

† This is supposed to be the province referred to, Acts xix. 10; xx. 18.

under the general appellation of the Lesser Asia, in contradistinction from the Asiatic continent, are those known to the Greeks as the provinces of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Cyprus. These were subsequently comprehended, with the exception of Cilicia and Cyprus, under the twofold ecclesiastical division established by Constantine, of the diocese of Asia, having Ephesus for its capital, and the diocese of Pontus, the capital of which was Cesarea. The Turks have distributed the country into pashalics, which confound the ancient divisions. These, according to a manuscript native work cited by M. Malte Brun, are seven in number. I. The *Pashalic of Anadhouly* (Anatolia), which extends over the western coast, including the ancient Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia Proper, Lycia, Caria, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and the greater part of Galatia and Paphlagonia. II. *The Pashalic of Siwas* (Sebastia), comprising the eastern part of Galatia, with the upper part of Pontus. III. *The Pashalic of Tarabozan* (Trebisond), comprising Cappadocian Pontus and Southern Colchis. IV. The *Pashalic of Konieh* (Iconium), comprising Central and Western Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and Isauria. V. *The Pashalic of Merasche* (Merash), occupying the confines of Syria, Commagenia, Cataonia, and Cilicia. VI. *The Pashalic of Adana*, answering to Cilicia Proper. VII. *The Mutsellimlic of Cyprus*, including that island, and part of the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia, south of Taurus, the modern Karamania.

Too little is known, however, of the precise limits of these provincial governments, and of the interior of the country generally, to admit of our following this

division in describing the country. Nor will it be easy or satisfactory to adhere to the plan of giving the few ascertained routes. Indeed, among the countries interesting to the traveller from the historic associations connected with them, and the vestiges of Grecian and Roman art which they present, none is so difficult to explore as Asia Minor. "In European Turkey," remarks a Traveller who has paid particular attention to the geography of the country under consideration, "the inhospitality of the Mahommedans is somewhat tempered by its proximity to civilised Europe, its conscious weakness, and the great excess of the Christian population over the Turkish. But in Asia Minor, the Christian must always feel that he is merely tolerated. The Turks are sensible that the country is still their own, and that they are a step further removed from those Christian nations whose increasing power keeps pace with the decline of their own race, obliging them to look forward to their expulsion from those regions, which they usurped from the Greeks when the Christian states were comparatively feeble, as to an event that must some day be fulfilled. In the eyes of civilised Europe, it is one of the most wonderful political phenomena of the present day, that countries so favoured by nature are still suffered to remain in their hands.

"In Asia Minor, among the numerous impediments to a traveller's success, must be chiefly reckoned, the deserted state of the country, which often puts the common necessaries and conveniencies of travelling out of his reach; the continual disputes and wars among the persons in power; the precarious authority of the government of Constantinople, which, rendering its protection ineffectual, makes the traveller's

success depend upon the personal character of the governor of each district; and the ignorance and suspicious temper of the Turks, who have no idea of scientific travelling; who cannot imagine any other motive for our visits to that country, than a preparation for hostile invasion, or a search after treasures among the ruins of antiquity; and whose suspicions of this nature are, of course, most strong in the provinces which, like Asia Minor, are the least frequented by us. If the traveller's prudence or good fortune protect him from all these sources of danger, as well as from plague, banditti, and other perils incidental to a semi-barbarous state of society, he has still to dread the loss of health from the combined effects of climate, fatigue, and privation; a misfortune which seldom fails to check his career before he has completed his projected tour.

"Asia Minor is still in that state in which a disguised dress, an assumption of the medical character, great patience and perseverance, the sacrifice of all European comforts, and the concealment of pecuniary means, are necessary to enable the traveller thoroughly to investigate the country, when otherwise qualified for the task by literary and scientific attainments, and by an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people. Had Browne or Burckhardt been spared to science, all these requisites might perhaps have been applied to the examination of Asia Minor. At present, of the countries which antiquity has rendered interesting, it is that in which there remains the finest field for the exertion of such talents." *

* Journey by Lieutenant-Colonel Leake, in Walpole's Memoirs relating to Turkey, vol. ii. pp. 185, 186.

The southern shore of Asia Minor, to which is generally, though erroneously, applied the appellation of Karamania,* has been recently explored, and the line of coast satisfactorily ascertained, by Captain Beaufort, of the Royal Navy, under the direction of the Admiralty. The western coast has also been surveyed, so that one half of the coast is accurately known in detail. And as to the northern parts, there is no reason to suspect material error. But of the interior, after laying down all the published routes, and some others in manuscript, rejecting the information that is not verified by good authority. Lieutenant-Colonel Leake states, that he finds five-sixths of Asia Minor *a blank*. Not only are the names and boundaries of the ancient provinces obliterated, but the limits even of the present states cannot be ascertained with any precision. With regard to the southern coast, Captain Beaufort remarks, that, "sheltered from all effectual control of the Porte by the great barrier of Mount Taurus, the half independent and turbulent pashas among whom they are parcelled, are engaged in constant petty hostilities with each other, so that their respective frontiers change with the issue of every skirmish. "Thus," he adds, "groaning under the worst kind of despotism, this unfortunate country has been a continued scene of anarchy, rapine, and contention; her former cities deserted, her fertile valleys untilled, and her rivers and harbours idle. Perhaps nothing can present a more striking picture of the

* "However convenient," says Captain Beaufort, "such a general appellation may be as a geographical distinction, it is neither used by the present inhabitants, nor is it recognised at the seat of government."

prevailing sloth and misery, than the hardly credible fact, that on this extensive line of coast, which stretches along a sea abounding with fish, the inhabitants do not possess a single boat. The allurements to visit a country in such a state of civil degradation, are certainly small, when contrasted with the risk of venturing among those jealous and discordant tribes. Nevertheless, it does appear somewhat strange, that while the spirit of modern discovery had explored the most remote extremities of the globe, and while the political convulsions of Europe had forced the enterprising traveller into other continents, this portion of the Mediterranean shores should have remained undescribed and almost unknown. For, besides its tempting proximity to the borders of Europe, and its easiness of access, this once flourishing region seems to have eminent claims to attention. It was colonised by that redundant population of ancient Greece, which had gradually spread over the rest of Asia Minor, and which had every where introduced the same splendid conceptions, the same superiority in the arts, that had immortalised the parent country. It was once the seat of learning and riches, and the theatre of some of the most celebrated events that history unfolds. It was signalised by the exploits of Cyrus and Alexander, and was dignified by the birth and by the labours of the illustrious Apostle of the Gentiles." *

The geographical aspect of the country may be thus summarily described. Two chains of mountains, detached from the plateau of Armenia, enter the peninsula of Asia Minor: the one first confines, and then

* "Karamania. By Francis Beaufort, F.R.S. &c." 8vo. (1818) pp. iv.—vi.

traverses the channel of the Euphrates near Samosata; the other extends along the northern coast, leaving only narrow plains between it and the Euxine Sea. These two chains are united, to the west of the Euphrates, between the towns of Siwas, Tocat, and Kaissaria, by means of a third chain, the Argæus of the ancients, now called Argis Dag, the summits of which are covered with perpetual snow. The southern range, more particularly known by the name of Mount Taurus,* breaks off from Mount Argæus, forming the northern boundary of the ancient Cilicia. A detached branch of this range, the Mount Amanus of the ancients, now the Almadagh, separates Cilicia from Syria, having only two narrow passes; the one towards the Euphrates, called the Amanian defiles (*Pylæ Amaniæ*), the other close by the sea, called the Gates of Syria. To the west, Mount Taurus sends off several branches, some of which extend to the shores of the Mediterranean. Two other chains of mountains proceed from the western part of the central plateau: the one (Babadagh) terminating towards the islands of Samos and Chios, where it assumed the name of Mount Tmolus; the other, which presents more elevated summits, extending in a more north-westerly direction, into Mysia and Bithynia. To this chain belonged the celebrated Ida and Olympus. Lastly, the tract lying between the rivers Halys and Sangarius, the ancient Paphlagonia, is occupied with the chain of the Olgassys, now called the Ulguz-dagh, the summits of which retain their snow till August. Throughout the greater part of these ranges of mountains, limestone is the predominant rock; but

* This name is supposed to signify simply *the mountain*.

from the Sangarius to the Halys, we meet with nothing but granite.

Thus, the centre of this peninsula resembles an elevated terrace, supported on all sides by chains of mountains. Here we find salt marshes, and rivers which have no outlet. Modern travellers have found very extensive elevated plains throughout the interior; in the south, towards Konieh, in the north towards Angora. Sometimes, these plains are encircled by the mountain chain; at other times, the mountains diverge across the lower plains.

The rivers of Asia Minor, though celebrated, are all inconsiderable. The largest are those which flow into the Black Sea. Among these are the Jekil-ermak (Iris), the Kizil-ermak (Halys), the Olu or Bartan (Parthenius), the Filbas (Billæus), and the Aiala or Sakaria (Sangarius). The others which fall into the Euxine, are remarkable only for the rapidity of their course. Those which run into the Mediterranean are the shortest and the most rapid. The Ghihoun (Pyramus) discharges itself into the Bay of Scanderoon. The Sihoun (Sarus), the Tersus (Cydnus), and the Ghiuk-su (Calycadnus), descending from Mount Taurus, have their outlets in the Cilician Sea. The Ægean Sea receives some more considerable streams, among which history has conferred importance on the winding Meander, (a deep though small river, which often undermines its banks,) the Pactolus and the Hermus, the Simois and the Scamander.

Asia Minor contains a great many lakes which are destitute of outlets, the waters of which are more or less impregnated with salt. The lake Tazla (or Touzler), which presents a vast plain covered with crystals of salt, is said to be thirty miles in length. In many

of its features, the country bears a considerable resemblance to Syria. The southern coasts are liable to oppressive heats; but otherwise the climate is extolled by both ancients and moderns. The heat of summer is moderated by the numerous chains of high mountains, and the intensity of the colder season is mitigated by the three seas on which it borders. The western coasts exhibit nearly the same productions as Syria and Southern Greece. The olive, the vine, the orange, the myrtle, the laurel, the turpentine-tree, the mastic, and the tamarind, adorn the banks of its rivers and its delightful shores. The *styrax officinalis* is found on the burning coasts of Karamania, which partake more of the vegetation of maritime Syria. On the shores of the Black Sea, the oak and the fir predominate. This coast is also the orchard of Constantinople: here are entire woods of walnut, apricot, plum, and cherry trees. This last fruit derives its name from the town Cerasus, near which they abound. The majestic plane is also indigenous to Asia Minor. The oak which produces the gall-nuts for dyeing, (*quercus infectoria,*) is found every where, from the Bosphorus to the frontiers of Persia; and the cold heights of Taurus are crowned with cypress, juniper, and savine trees.

Little is known of the animal kingdom in Asia Minor. The goats of Angora are famous for the length and fineness of their hair, as are also the cats of that district. The horses, which are strong and fleet, are supposed to be descended from the ancient Cappadocian breed. The antelopes of Syria sometimes stray beyond Mount Taurus, and meet the ibex from the heights of Caucasus. Their great enemies are jackalls, wolves, hyenas, and bears; it is doubtful whether the lion is still to be found in the country.

Red partridges cover the coasts of the Hellespont, and all kinds of game abound in this half-cultivated country.

The copper-mines of Tocat, that of Koureh near Kastamouni, and that of Gumish-khana near Trebisond, are still celebrated; and all the chains in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea exhibit indications of excellent copper. But the gold of Lydia, the cinnabar of Mount Olgassys, the rock crystal of Pontus, and the valuable alabaster and marble of the central provinces, extolled by the ancients, are unknown to the moderns.

We shall now proceed to describe the principal places in this interesting region; and we cannot do better than follow the example of Dr. Pococke, who, on visiting Asia Minor, embarked at Mitylene, and landed at Smyrna. This city, if it may not be termed the capital, is, in a commercial point of view, the first in consideration and importance; and since the destruction of Aleppo, it has become the emporium of the Levant. It may, therefore, with the greatest propriety, take the lead in a topographical account of the modern state of the country.

SMYRNA. (IZMIR.)

"SMYRNA, the queen of the cities of Anatolia, extolled by the ancients under the title of *the lovely*, the *crown of Ionia*, the *ornament of Asia*, braves the reiterated efforts of conflagrations and earthquakes. Ten times destroyed, she has ten times risen from her ruins with new splendour." The ancient city took its name, according to Pliny, from its foundress, an Amazon; but Pausanias ascribes its origin to Alexander the Great, who was admonished in a dream to

found a city in this spot, for the Smyrnæans, who came from Ephesus. By the interest of their Ephesian brethren, they were subsequently admitted members of the Ionic league, and Smyrna became the thirteenth city of Ionia.* It is now the only one that retains any measure of its ancient consequence. Whoever was the founder, the site selected was a happy one, and such as the Greek colonists usually preferred. "Their cities in general," Dr. Chandler remarks, "were seated by some hill or mountain, which, as this did, supplied them with marble, and was commodious as well for defence as ornament. The side or slope afforded a secure foundation for the seats of the stadium and theatres, lessening both the labour and expense. It displayed the public and private structures, which rose from its quarry, to advantage, and rendered the view as captivating as noble. The Greeks were of old accounted happy in choosing their situations. They had been studious to unite beauty with strength, and good ports with a fertile soil. The Romans were attentive to articles neglected by them; to the paving of ways, to the building of aqueducts, and to the common sewers." Strabo celebrates Smyrna as the most beautiful and splendid city of all Asia. Part of it he describes as situated on an acclivity; but the most elegant buildings were in the plain on the shore. Over against it stood the famous Temple

* See authorities in Chandler's Travels, Van Egmont, and Pococke. The other twelve cities were Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Myus, and the capitals of Samos and Chios. Ionia, which formed part of the kingdom of Pergamos, was bounded on the N. by the river Hermus, which separated it from Æolia; on the E. by Lydia; on the S. by Caria; and on the W. it was bounded by the sea.

of Cybele. All the streets were broad, as straight as the site would admit, well paved, and decorated with stately palaces and colonnades; there was a public library; and the harbour, which was excellent, could be shut up in case of necessity. "But what the inhabitants of Smyrna most gloried in, is the circumstance of their city having given birth to the divine Homer."

This city flourished under the Romans; and Christianity was planted here at a very early period. In the eleventh century, it was visited by the calamities of war. Tzachas, a Turkish malcontent, in 1084, obtained possession of a great part of the Ionian coast and the neighbouring islands, and assuming the title of king, made Smyrna his capital. In 1097, this city was besieged by John Ducas, the Greek admiral. On its surrender, Caspaces, who had been sent to attack it by sea, was appointed governor; but a Turk stabbed him, and his death was revenged by the massacre of 10,000 inhabitants. The whole coast, from Smyrna to Attalia, had been desolated by the wars, when, in 1106, the Greek emperor sent Philokales to restore its cities. Adramyttium, which had been utterly destroyed, was then rebuilt; but, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Smyrna yet lay in ruins, except the acropolis. This was repaired and beautified by the emperor John Angelus Comnenus, who died in 1224; the restored city was, however, only a small town, chiefly on the summit of Mount Pagus, or within the present castle. In the following century, it was the scene of repeated contests between the knights of Rhodes and the Turks. In 1332, Amer, the son of Atin, was Sultan of Smyrna: he was killed by an arrow in attacking the Christians, who had made themselves masters of a fort, called

Fort St. Peter, which commanded the port. Sultan Morat in vain attempted to reduce the place, and his son, Bajazet, besieged or blockaded it for seven years. But, in 1402, Tamerlane (or Timur Leng), hearing that the Christians and the Mahommedans had each a stronghold at Smyrna, and were always at war, marched against it in person, and attacked it by sea and land. To ruin the port, he ordered each soldier to throw a stone into the mouth, by which means it was filled up: the ships had got away. He took the town by storm in fourteen days, with great slaughter, and demolished the houses. He is said to have cut off the heads of 1,000 prisoners, and to have erected a tower with stones and these barbarous trophies intermixed. The Turkish governor having subsequently asserted his independence, Sultan Mohammed I. marched against him in 1419, and, having taken the town, demolished the fortifications, but spared the inhabitants. It was again chastised in 1424, for a similar insurrection. But, at length, when the Greek empire had become annihilated by the conquests of the Turks, and peace was restored, commerce revived and again settled at Smyrna. The castle was by degrees abandoned, and the town "slid, as it were, down the slope towards the sea; leaving behind it a naked space, where they now dig for old materials, and also some ordinary ruins below the castle, which overlooks the buildings and the bay at a distance." The river Hermus may be seen from this eminence, with a fine champaign country round about, covered with vines.

Few traces of the ancient city remain. The castle is, for the most part, a "mere patchwork," executed by John Comnenus on the ruins of the old one; the

walls of which, of immense strength and thickness, may still be discovered. Near the western gateway, at which you enter from the town, is a marble colossal head, the face much injured, but apparently of fine workmanship: it is said to be that of Smyrna the Amazon, but Chandler considered it as that of Apollo. Within are a deserted mosque, rubbish of buildings, and a large reservoir for water; the roof arched, and supported by piers. Descending towards the sea, you discover the ground-plat of the stadium, stripped of its marble seats and decorations: the area is a corn-field. Near the brow of the hill, and fronting the sea, are vestiges of a theatre: below this is part of a slight wall, which, with a fosse round the hill, was begun about the year 1736, to protect the town against Soley Bey Oglou, a famous rebel, by whom it had been much distressed. The cathedral is said to have been built on the north side of the circus, and Pococke imagined that he could discover traces of such a building. The tomb of St. Polycarp, also, he states to have existed at the north-west corner; but Dr. Chandler treats the legend as an idle tale. He examined the spot, and made particular inquiries, but could obtain no satisfactory information. "The Asiatic cities," he remarks, "used the stadium for the diversions of the Roman amphitheatre; and that, it is probable, was the scene of his martyrdom. If his relics were interred, and the place once venerated, the knowledge of it has long perished. The early tradition, if true, must have been often intercepted in its course downwards. The race of citizens among whom it was most likely to be preserved, has been extirpated by war, plague, fire, and earthquakes; and Smyrna has been left destitute of Greeks. Even now

(1764), under a more settled government, the same family seldom subsists there more than three generations."

The ancient city has supplied the materials for the public edifices erected by the Turks. The *bezesten* (or market) and the vizir-khan were both constructed with the white marble of the theatre. Many pedestals, statues, and medals, have continually been brought to light by digging. "Perhaps no place," says the above-mentioned Traveller, "has contributed more than Smyrna to enrich the collections and cabinets of the curious in Europe." "The port which shut up, once reached to the foot of the castle hill, but is now dry, except after heavy rains, when it receives water from the slopes. It forms a spacious recess within the present town, and has houses along the margin. Tamerlane, by depriving the sea of its free ingress, contributed to this change, and the mud washed from above has gradually completed it. Like some of the Italian havens, it required, perhaps, to be cleansed and deepened by machines contrived for that purpose. It is mentioned as the galley-port at the beginning of this century. A small, mean castle, still in use on the north side of the entrance, is supposed to occupy the site of Fort St. Peter." *

The present town, which is about four miles in circuit, and extends about a mile along the shore, has a very handsome appearance, when approached by

* Chandler's Travels, vol. i. p. 71. Pococke says: "To the north of this (the castle) hill, there is a small bay, which is now called the Old Port, to which all the small boats go: this, I conjecture, was the port that could be shut up, of the second ancient city"—*i. e.* the city described by Strabo, built by Antigonus and Lysimachus. There is said to have been an older city, which was destroyed by the Lydians.

sea; its domes and minarets, interspersed with cypresses, rising above the tiers of houses, and the summit of the hill crowned with a large, solitary castle. On the south side, where the Armenians and Jews have extensive burying-grounds, on flats one above another, the surface of the acclivity appears as if covered with white marble. Smyrna is situated in lat. 38° 29′ N., long. 24° 44′ 45″ E.,* at the south-east end of a long bay, three leagues wide. The southern promontory, formerly called *Acra Melæna*, Black Point, is known to the Turks by the name of *Karabournu*, which has a similar meaning—Black Nose. It was part of the ancient Mount Mimas. The harbour is large and convenient, which has concurred with its central situation to make it the resort of merchants of all nations. During the hot months, a westerly wind, called the Inbat, regularly sets in, and lasts all day; and it is generally succeeded by a land-breeze in the night. But for this, the heat would be insupportable. "For whenever," Van Egmont states, "the fresh breezes of this wind abate for any time, the inhabitants are sure to be attacked by a malignant fever little inferior to the plague."† The conflux of

* Chandler gives the latitude, 38° 40′. We have followed Galiano, Malte Brun's first authority. Triesnecke (Archives of Lichtenstein) makes the lat. 38° 28′ 7″, long. 24° 53′ 38″.

† Chandler says in plain terms, "Smyrna is visited almost annually by the plague." "The terrible havoc it has made in this capital," says Van Egmont, "is inexpressible, nor is a total cessation hardly ever known." With a combination of Dutch phlegm and Christian piety, he adds; "Amidst all the exuberant delights which the adjacent country affords, this may serve to convince us, that no part of the world is free from inconveniences. The safest and wisest method, therefore, is, to consider present enjoyments as transitory, and to let our principal endeavours be, to secure those which are permanent and eternal."

people of various nations, differing in dress, manners, language, and religion, is considerable. The population is estimated at 120,000 souls, of whom 60,000 are supposed to be Turks, 40,000 Greeks, 7,000 Armenians, and 10,000 Jews. The Protestants are very few.* In 1814, about 30,000 died of the plague. When this distemper rages, the consuls and factors either retire into the country, or, as the phrase is, *shut up*, not admitting even the market-men to enter their gates. Many of the people then abandon their dwellings, and live abroad under tents; the islanders return home, and the streets of the Frank quarter, which is exceedingly populous, cease to be trodden. But the Moslems disdain all precautions. The crier from the mosque announces, at certain hours, who has died, inviting friends to accompany them to the grave. These friends not only attend, but carry the corpse on their shoulders, and at every ten yards a change of friends will sometimes press forward to share in the pious office. They also wash the body before interment. But, in a short time, the deaths multiply too fast to admit of observing the practice.† Smyrna has repeatedly suffered from destructive fires; and as the streets, a few excepted, are very narrow, and extremely intricate, they must be very calamitous. But this is not all. A year seldom passes without a slight shock or two of an earthquake, though they are in general less hurtful than alarming. In April 1739, however, a shock was felt, which overthrew several houses; many persons were killed in their beds, and

* Pococke (about 1740) makes the population near 100,000; he reckons the Greeks at 7 or 8,000, the Armenians at 2,000, the Jews at 5 or 6,000. It is probable that the Turks have *not* increased with the population.

† Jowett's Researches, p. 57.

there was not a house but was miserably shattered. The inhabitants were so terrified, that they slept in huts erected in their gardens and yards, during almost all the summer, and many retired altogether from their houses. These visitations are stated to happen chiefly in spring and autumn, when the water is calm; and it has been remarked at those times, that the sea commonly withdraws from the beach, and the water is unusually low. Dr. Chandler says: "The lofty mountains which shelter the town, and leave it open only to the sea, concentre the rays of the sun as it were into a focus. The intense heat commences in June, and continues, without intermission, to the end of August, or the middle of September. During this period, if the Inbat fail, the inhabitants are distressed, and even gasp for breath. The ground is then burnt up, and has large chasms and fissures, which, as some have imagined, give vent to bituminous vapours. These, if confined, are supposed to occasion earthquakes by their explosion." The same traveller complains of the insect plagues which infest Smyrna, in the shape of a minute fly, "which irritates by its puncture, and, settling on the white wall, eludes the angry pursuer with surprising activity,"—and the more formidable mosquitoes, who torment at once by their loud noise, and by their repeated attacks on the skin, till they have glutted themselves with blood. A fiery tumour ensues, which will not soon subside, unless the patient has been "naturalised" by residence. The fondness of these winged tormentors for "foreign food," is stated to be generally but too visible in the swoln and distorted features of new comers.

These, it must be admitted, are serious drawbacks on the luxuries and commercial advantages of the

"Flower of Ionia." Smyrna is famous for its fruits, its vine-yards, orchards, and olive-grounds. Its figs are deservedly celebrated; its grapes are often found, on the stalk, converted into raisins by the sun; lemons, oranges, citrons, water-melons, are abundant, and of exquisite flavour. Fine fish is taken in the bay. Game of all kinds is cheap. The olive-groves furnish doves, fieldfares, thrushes, quails, and snipes in abundance. The sheep of Smyrna are distinguished by broad tails, "hanging down like an apron," some weighing eight or ten pounds and upwards: these are eaten as a dainty, and the fat, before they are full-grown, is accounted as delicious as marrow. The flesh of wild hogs is also in much esteem among the Franks and Greeks. The town is, in fact, amply supplied with provisions; and Pococke says, "the great number of Franks who are settled here, make Smyrna a very agreeable place; there is no want of good company; they live in a very sociable manner, and are particularly civil to strangers."

"The factors and other Europeans settled here, generally intermarry with the Greeks, or with natives of the same religion. Their ladies wear the Oriental dress, consisting of large trowsers, which reach to the ancle; long vests of rich silk or velvet, lined in winter with costly furs; and, round their waist, an embroidered zone with clasps of silver or gold. Their hair is plaited, and descends down the back, often in great profusion. The girls have sometimes about twenty thick tresses, besides two or three encircling the head as a coronet, and set off with flowers and plumes of feathers, pearls, or jewels. They commonly stain it of a chesnut colour, which is the most desired. Their apparel and carriage are alike antique. It is

remarkable, that the trowsers are mentioned in a fragment of Sappho: they are now called βράκη, *brakee*. The habit is light, loose, and cool, adapted to the climate. When they visit each other, they put over their heads a thin, transparent veil of muslin, with a border of gold tissue; a janissary walks before, and two or more handmaids follow them through the streets. When assembled, they are seen reclining in various attitudes, or sitting cross-legged on a sofa. Girls of inferior rank from the islands, especially Tino, abound; and many of them are as beautiful in person as picturesque in their appearance. They excel in a glow of colour, which seems the effect of a warm sun ripening the human body, as it were, into uncommon perfection. The women of the Turks are kept carefully concealed, and when they go out, are enwrapped in white linen, wear boots, and have their faces muffled." *

The precaution of being attended by a janissary as a safeguard, is observed by all the Franks in going

* Chandler's Travels, vol. i. p. 75. This glowing account of the Greek women requires to be somewhat qualified, unless fashions are altered since the visit of Van Egmont. He says: "The Greek women at Smyrna make great use of paint, which odious custom has also got footing among the Franks. This paint, which is called *sulama*, imparts a beautiful redness to the cheeks, and gives the skin a remarkable gloss. This is, however, easily discovered by chewing a clove, and breathing on the person's face, which, in this circumstance, it immediately turns yellow. But this is not the only bad consequence attending the practice; for, a considerable quantity of mercury making a part of this paint, the teeth of those who use it soon suffer remarkably; and thus, for a false, they lose a real beauty. Greek girls often carry their decorations to a much higher pitch, especially on the day of their marriage; *for they even gild their faces*, which is here considered as irresistibly charming." Corpulency, it is added, especially among the Turks, is here deemed the perfection of beauty in the human form.

beyond their quarter. These "shepherds of the infidels," as the Moslems call them, are very little respected by their countrymen, the Turks; and their habits of dissipation, caught from the Franks, seem to justify the low opinion in which they are held. "The English janissaries," says Mr. Jowett, "we found drinking wine, and roaring, in the consulate one morning, in honour of George the Third." "The Turks, in general, are abstemious to an extreme, but their indolence is also excessive. Many of them live on the rents they derive from lands or houses, which they let to the Greeks at a very low rate, rather than have any trouble with them. They are, moreover, gradually wasting away through depopulating vices. A Greek feels it his duty to marry early, and they have generally large families; not so the Turks." *

Both the Greeks and the Armenians have their archbishop here. There is a Greek college, in which, in 1819, there were nine masters, and from 250 to 300 scholars. There were six or eight Greek schools besides, in which the masters had 60, 80, or 100 paras a month (from 15*d.* to 25*d.*) from each scholar, according to the book which they got into; beginning the alphabet for 60, and being advanced to 100 when they arrive at the Psalter. Recent political events, however, have rendered the situation of the Greeks at Smyrna very critical, and its vicinity has been the theatre of the most tragical scenes. The Turks, exasperated to a pitch of frenzy by any fresh cause of irritation, would wreak their vengeance on the Greeks, shooting and stabbing them in the streets, and even breaking open houses to glut their fury and gratify their lusts. In November, 1821, assassinations were

* Jowett's Christian Researches.

taking place continually to an incredible amount. Firmauns had been repeatedly received, ordering that all peaceable Greeks should be protected, the effect of which was to secure a short period of tranquillity; but the report of some fresh advantage gained by the Greeks, was sure to be attended by some fresh outrage. "The occurrences of this year," says an eye-witness of these transactions, "have made the most horrid things recorded in ancient history seem familiar—seem like facts, and not like the imaginations of a tragic muse." * Yet, amid all the horrors and dangers of the Revolution, commerce was carried on, and both merchants and European travellers were pursuing their respective objects.

The export trade of Smyrna consists in raw silks, camels' hair, the beautiful goats' hair or mohair of Angora, Turkey carpets, unwrought cotton, coloured camlets, embroidered muslins, morocco skins, wool, wax, gall-nuts, a considerable quantity of raisins and currants, a little muscadine wine, amber, lapis lazuli, musk, rhubarb, and various other drugs and gums, besides pearls, diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones. The imports are chiefly woollen cloths, lead, tin, glass, and wrought silks.

The government of the town (unless some change has taken place of late years) is vested in the cadi, there being no pasha over this district; but a waiwode (vaivode), who has the more honourable title of mutsellim, has the care of the revenue. The Franks, or Europeans, enjoy great privileges in their own quarter, which they lock up at night. The consuls at Smyrna were formerly considered as ranking above all other consuls, each being invested with a sort of

* See Missionary Register for 1822, p. 380.

juridical power over persons of his own nation; and they affected considerable state. The English and the Dutch Levant Companies have each a chapel and a chaplain. The late British chaplain, the Rev. Charles Wilkinson, who died in 1822, was universally and deservedly respected.

Smyrna has, on the south-east, a fine plain, in which are several villages, where the principal factors have their summer residences. In the middle of the plain are several canals which supply the city by the aqueducts; and the river Meles runs to the south part of it, which is stated to have washed the walls of old Smyrna. This stream was the boast of the ancient Smyrneans: on its banks, the nymph Chritheis, according to the ancient tradition, gave birth to their adored poet. It is now shallow in summer, not covering its rocky bed; but, winding in the deep valley behind the castle, it murmurs among the evergreens, and receives many rills from the slopes: after turning an over-shot mill or two, it approaches the gardens without the town, where it branches out into small canals, and is divided and subdivided into still smaller currents, until it is absorbed, or reaches the sea at the end of Frank-street, in ditches, unlike a river. In winter, however, after heavy rains, or the melting of snow on the mountains, it swells into a torrent, rapid and deep, often not fordable without danger; and it then finds its way into the inner bay, called by the English sailors *Peg's Hole*, where old Smyrna was situated. At some distance from the river, in the road to Bonavre, is a pool or two,* called *the Baths*

* Van Egmont says, "a small lake:" from which it would seem that these pools were formerly united. The same Traveller mentions some hot springs at the foot of a hill, not far from Fort St. Peter, the waters of which are so hot, that "they will

of Diana, from a temple which formerly stood near it: the water is clear and warm, and a steam arises from it in winter. Some arches and foundations of ancient edifices have been discovered by digging. In Pococke's time, there were ruins all the way from the city to this place, and he supposes that thus far the ancient city extended. At the village of Bonavre, there is a Turkish burial-place of great extent; from which it may be concluded that it was once a considerable town; "and it is said," adds the last-mentioned Traveller, "that all the patents of the Grand Signior for consuls, make the parties consuls of Bonavre and Smyrna, as if it had been a place of trade, though it is a league from the sea. In these burial-places, there are a great number of columns, pieces of entablature, and other stones of ancient buildings, so that it is probable there was a temple in this place; and I found, by a Greek inscription, there had been a church here. On the side of the hill more to the west, and near the corner of the bay, there are several very ancient sepulchres. The plainest sort consists of a raised ground in a circular form, either of stones hewn out, or laid in a rough manner: in these, there are generally two graves sunk into the ground, made of hewn stone, and covered over with a large stone. The others are circular mounts from twenty to sixty feet in diameter, walled round with large rusticated stone to the height of the mount. There is a room within under ground, and some of them are divided into two apartments: the walls are all of very good work, made of a sort of brown bastard granite of the place,

boil an egg. Here also are ruins of a bath, the basin remaining entire: it is supplied with two pipes, one of which discharges hot water, the other cold. I was also informed that here anciently stood a temple dedicated to Apollo."

wrought every way very smooth, insomuch that the joints are as fine as those of polished marble. Round at the top is the plain cornice used in the ancient Egyptian buildings. These also, like the others, are covered with round stones. One of the former sort *being opened by some English, they found an urn in it.*"

The Turkish burying-grounds, which are usually just without the gates, form a striking feature in the environs of the Oriental cities. These habitations for the dead appear, in general, much more neat and cleanly than those of the living. The women are extremely punctual in their visits to the sepulchres of their relations. Attached to each tomb is a small earthen flower-pot, let into the ground, in which are constantly kept fresh branches of myrtle, or some small shrub, over which they frequently pour water, preserving it with the greatest care and a fond attention.* Most of these tombs are formed of dried mud, in the shape of an oblong pyramid, and surrounded by two steps. Some of the sepulchres are covered with a wooden building, ornamented with lattice-work; and in many of the burying-grounds, large green tents may be seen placed over the tombs.

Towards the north side of the plain is the pleasant village called Bujaw, distinguished by its groves of tall cypress trees, where, chiefly, the Europeans have their country-houses; but some reside during the summer in the villages Norlecui and Hadjelar, which are more towards the east part of the plain; or at Sedicui, a village at the foot of the mountains, southward,

* "They put some green myrtles in little air-holes that are round the tombs; and they are of opinion that their relations are the happier, the longer these remain green and retain their colour."—RAUWOLFF'S *Travels.*

beyond the bed of a torrent which, after rains, falls into the Meles. Wild animals abound in the plain; and among the diversions used by the merchants, especially the English, hunting is one of the principal. Every one brings his dog, and the consul is the leader. The season lasts from September to March, during which, in Van Egmont's time, they were accustomed to hunt twice a week. There are great numbers of storks.* At night, jackalls are heard howling on the hills and in the plain. Cameleons † and lizards are commonly to be seen basking in the sun about the rubbish of old buildings; and several kinds of snakes are found, some of a great length, which frequently are discovered by their musky smell.

The Gulf of Smyrna is computed to be about ten leagues in length: completely sheltered by hills, it affords secure anchorage. On the north side, within two leagues and a half of the town, is the mouth of

* These are described by Van Egmont as affording the inhabitants an "odd kind of diversion"—not a more brutal one than the cock-pit. "They place hens' eggs in the stork's nest, and when the young are hatched, the male, on seeing them of a different form from its own species, makes a hideous noise, which calls together a crowd of other storks hovering about the nest, and who, to revenge the disgrace which the female has, in appearance, brought on her nest, destroy her by pecking her to death; the male, in the mean time, making the heaviest lamentation as if bewailing his misfortune, which obliged him to have recourse to so disagreeable severities!"—Vol. i. p. 85.

† "Here also I saw the creature called Cameleon. The creature was pretty large, and I saw it change its colour three several times, becoming black, green, and white. It was placed on a piece of red cloth, but never assumed that hue. With regard to its food, during the eight days it lived with us, I did not observe it eat anything except small flies, which it caught in the air with its tongue."—*Ibid.*

the Hermus, which, in winter, spreads itself into a wide flood, but in summer it is often so shallow as to leave the shoals dry. Near the mouth is a sand-bank or bar, and the channel there is very narrow; the land on the opposite side running out into a low point, on which stands a modern fortress called Sangiar castle. The fertility of the alluvial soil on the banks of the river, and the abundance of water, have occasioned the formation of several villages on this side of the Gulf. Menomen, the principal, supplies Smyrna with fruits, fish, and provisions; and boats are passing to and fro without intermission. Near the *scala* or landing-place, which is three hours distant, is a large quantity of low land, bare, or covered only with shallow water. This tract is the site of a considerable fishery, being enclosed by reed-fences, which, when closed, prevent the shoals from retreating when they have once entered. A great part of the plain in this direction, is new land; and the mouth of the Hermus has, in consequence of the encroachments made on the sea, considerably varied its position. The Hermus, the Cayster, and the Meander were each so noted for producing new land, that their plains have been styled the offspring of the rivers. Besides the visible accession of land by the Hermus, and on the margin of the Gulf, several banks lie concealed beneath the water on either hand, sailing up to Smyrna. The principal one next the river is said to have been formerly a dry and green flat, which suddenly sank after an earthquake. Ships often go upon it, without much danger, and are soon afloat again; but Dr. Chandler considered it as probable that it would re-emerge from the waters. "The river Hermus," he says, "by its influence on the Gulf, has

already effected great changes, and will gradually accomplish some signal alterations, of which the progress deserves to be accurately marked. The flats before Smyrna will mutually approach, and, leaving only a narrow ingress, the city will be on a lake. This will be fed by the Meles and by torrents, and in time will become fresh. The plague of gnats will then, if possible, be multiplied at Smyrna. The land will continue to increase, until it is in a line with the mouth of the Gulf, when the site of Clazomene, and the islets within Karabournu, will be encompassed with soil, and, if no current intervene, Phocea will be deprived of its harbour. The sea within the Gulf will by degrees give place to a noble plain, created and watered by the Hermus. Commerce will then have removed to some more commodious mart, and Smyrna will be, if not utterly deserted, desolate and forlorn."

This prediction was uttered about sixty years ago. We know not what changes may since then have taken place in this part of the coast, but hitherto they have not been such as to affect the commerce of Smyrna.

At the extremity of this low plain, is a small hill with a smooth top, from which "a long spit" runs out into the sea; supposed to be what once was the island and promontory of Leucé. Beyond this, on a tongue of land which formed a double harbour, is the village of Fokia, the humble representative of the ancient city of Phocea, which occupied the coast on either side. Beyond Phocea were the boundaries of Ionia and Æolia, at the distance of about twenty-five miles from Smyrna.

Vourla, a considerable village on the south side of the Gulf, is the reputed successor of the ancient Clazomene, another of the Ionian cities. It is distinguished

at a distance by its numerous windmills, and contains seven mosques and two Greek churches. The archbishop of Ephesus occasionally resides here. The site of the ancient city, however, is an island about a mile long, and a quarter broad, connected with the mainland by a mole about thirty feet wide, and a quarter of a mile in length, the work of Alexander.* The waves have in part demolished the causeway, breaking over it in a formidable manner when the *inbat* sets in. The island, when Dr. Chandler visited it, was covered with green corn. Traces of the walls were found by the sea, and on a hill were vestiges of a theatre. Three or four trees were growing on it; and near one of them was a cave hewn in the rock, supported by four pillars, containing a well of brackish water, and part of an altar. A vaulted room, and a hovel or two constructed with loose stones, the occasional habitations of fishermen, or of persons employed to drive away birds from the corn, were all the structures that remained. Besides this island, there is, off Vourla, a cluster of islets, six in number, all once cultivated, now neglected and barren. One is called English Island, "because, as they relate, a party of our countrymen from Smyrna, landing on it for diversion, were attacked suddenly, and murdered there by pirates." It is also called Long Island; the Turks call it Kiuslin; its ancient name was Drymusa.

Erythræ, now called Ritré, a third city, is about eight hours distant; it has long been deserted, and,

* This must be what Pococke calls the island of St. John, though he makes it only half a mile in circumference. He supposes the ancient city to have stood near the port of Vourla, on the mainland. The name of *Kelisman* is said to be borne by a village on the east side of the bay, where there are no ruins.

like Clazomene, stripped of its ruins: part of the wall, a few vaults, a broken column or two, and some masses of hard cement, are the only remains. In the middle of the site, a shallow, lively stream, clear as crystal, (the ancient Aleos,) after turning a solitary mill, finds its way through thickets of myrtle to the sea. Before the port are four islets, called by the ancients *Hippi*, the horses; and beyond these are the Spalmadore islands.

Beyond Clazomene, the coast becomes very mountainous, with narrow and difficult passes, affording many places of refuge, almost impregnable, to the pirates and robbers, for whom the southern cape of the Gulf has been infamous. The Kara-borniotes are now said to bear a better character, and to attend to the culture of the vine and the silk-worm. Three leagues S.E. from Vourla is Sevri-hissar, "an extensive straggling town, two hours from the sea, in the midst of a pleasant, well cultivated country: it may be deemed the Vourla of the Teians." Segigeck is a league to the S.W. of it; a mud-built village within a castle, about half a mile in circumference, with a very fine secure harbour. It was anciently called Geræ, and was the port of Teos towards the north. The fortress is said to have been erected by the Genoese. Fragments of marbles, broken columns, and imperfect inscriptions, are scattered in all directions. This place is reckoned eight hours from Smyrna. Nearly four miles from this place, and fronting the sea on the south side, are the ruins of Teos, now called Bodrun. The birth-place of Anacreon has not escaped the fate of the other cities of the Ionian league. The town has been long deserted. "It has no ruins," says Dr. Chandler, "to prove that it existed under the

Greek emperors, nor of mosques or baths, to shew that it was frequented by the Turks. The site is a wilderness, and the low grounds, which are wet, produce the iris, or flag, blue and white. This flower is stamped on the money of Teos. We saw cranes here, stalking singly in the corn and grass, and picking up and gorging insects and reptiles, or flying heavily with long sticks in their mouths to the tops of trees, and of the remoter houses or chimneys, on which they had agreed to fix their habitations.* The walls, of which traces are extant, were about five miles in circuit; the masonry handsome. Without them are vaults of sepulchres stripped of their marble. Instead of the stately piles which once impressed ideas of opulence and grandeur, we saw a marsh, a field of barley in ear, buffaloes ploughing heavily by defaced heaps and prostrate edifices, high trees supporting aged vines, and fences of stones and rubbish, with illegible inscriptions, and time-worn fragments. It was with difficulty we discovered the temple of Bacchus, but a theatre in the side of the hill is more conspicuous. The vault only on which the seats ranged remains, with two broken pedestals in the area. The heap of the temple, which was one of the most celebrated structures in Ionia, is in the middle of a corn field, overrun with bushes and olive trees. Pococke mentions, also, extensive ruins of a naumachium. The city-port is partly dry, and sand banks rise above the surface of the water. Before it are two small islets.

* "The crane is tall, like a heron, but much larger; the body white, with black pinions; the neck and legs very long, the head small, and the bill thick. The Turks call it friend and brother, believing it has an affection for their nation, and will accompany them into the countries they shall conquer. We saw one hopping on a wall with a single leg, the maimed stump wrapped in linen."—CHANDLER.

The few clusters of the aged vines of Teos, are the property of a sober Turk.

Continuing to pursue the coast southward, the traveller ascends the lofty promontory of Myonnesus, now called Psilibouroun, (a corruption of Hypsilobounos, the high mountain,) to the village of Hypsile, a strong position. The valley on the other side is the territory of Lebedus, noted for its hot waters. At the foot of the mountain is a small tepid brook, which sends up a thick steam; it has the taste of copperas, and the bed is of a deep green colour: it turns two over-shot mills, and supplies two mean baths, used chiefly by the Greeks. Traces of ancient wall, some pieces of Doric columns, some naked masses of stone and brick, with a few marble fragments, to which the natives give the name of *Ecclesia*, the church,—these, with heaps of rubbish, are the only monuments of Lebedus. The ancient city was subverted by Lysimachus. "It survived long as a village, and became proverbial for its solitude. It is now untenanted, and not even a village." It was fifteen miles from Teos, and the same distance from Colophon. The latter city is quite extinct: it was sacrificed, together with Lebedus, to the grandeur of its neighbour Ephesus. There are interesting ruins, however, of Claros, the seat of a temple and oracle of Apollo, at the place now called Zillé, by the sea. Remnants of churches here shew that Christianity flourished at Claros after the oracle of Apollo had been silenced. What was once, probably, the prophetic cave and fountain, is now a reservoir.*

* Between Lebedus and Claros lies the islet once sacred to Diana, to which, it was anciently believed, that does swam across from the continent to be delivered of their young.

The scenery of Mount Gallesus, or the Aleman, which lifts its head to the clouds between Lebedus and Claros, is highly picturesque. Pleasant thickets abounding with goldfinches, clothe the roots of the mountain, while its aërial summits are clad with pines. The ascent is very steep, and the road winds along fearful precipices. Leaving Zillé, after passing over two ridges of Gallesus, the traveller descends into the plain of Ephesus. Near the shore, a long lake extends almost to the river Cayster. The lakes in this plain anciently brought in a great revenue, derived from the fisheries: one of them belonged to the Temple of Diana. The direct road from Smyrna to Ephesus lies through the plain of Bujaw, to a small village called Sinofocheli, and passes by the site of Metropolis,* distant 120 stadia (about fifteen miles) from Ephesus. Aiasaluck is now reckoned thirteen hours from Smyrna, but it may easily be performed in twelve.

EPHESUS.

Aiasaluck (which signifies, according to Van Egmont, the Temple of the Moon) bears the same affinity to Ephesus, that Sevri-hissar does to Teos. When Ephesus was destroyed, its inhabitants removed to this spot, to which, as having risen out of the ruins of the ancient city, the name became transferred. Its origin, Chandler thinks, may with probability be referred to the thirteenth century; and the events recorded of Ephesus posterior to the invasion of Tamerlane in A. D. 1402, must be understood as referring

* Probably the place called *Dourbali*, according to Van Egmont, where were found some inscriptions: it is situated in a large, luxuriant valley—"one of the most delicious in the world," in view of the lofty and snowy summits of Sipylus and Tmolus.

to Aiasaluck or Aiazlik, which has flourished chiefly under the Mahommedans. Ephesus was subdued by Mantakhia, prince of Caria, uncle of Amir, sultan of Smyrna, in the year 1313. He, it is supposed, first fortified the rock on which the castle stands, and the town grew under his protection. The mosque and aqueduct, as well as the castle, are great, though inelegant structures, and suggest the idea that the place has been the residence of princes. The marble materials of ancient Ephesus were amassed for these buildings; but they have been put together without elegance or order. Aiasaluck is a small village, inhabited by a few Turkish families; it now consists of a few miserable huts, standing chiefly on the south side of the castle hill, among thickets of tamarinds, and ruins. The caravanserai is exceedingly mean and wretched: before it, in striking contrast, a marble sarcophagus, with some figures and an inscription carved on it, serves as a water-trough. Ruinous buildings are scattered in all directions, interspersed among wild thickets, many of them with cupolas, which have been baths. Some grave-stones occur, which are finely painted and gilded. It is "a solemn and most forlorn spot;" and at night, when the mournful cry of the jackall is heard on the mountain, and the night-hawk and the shrill owl, named from its note *cucuvaia*, are flitting round the ruins, the scene awakens the deepest sensations of melancholy. The castle is a large and barbarous edifice, built in part with fragments of marble on which are the most exquisite sculptures. Within it are a few huts, an old mosque, and a great deal of rubbish. If you move a stone here, it is a chance but you find a scorpion under it. The broken aqueduct, which was brought from the eastern hills to the castle, is constructed chiefly

of inscribed pedestals. Beneath the castle, westward, is the grand mosque, supposed to have been the church of St. John; but Pococke thinks that it is falsely said to have been a church. The fabric was raised with old materials. The large granite columns which sustain the roof, are supposed to have been taken from the temple of Diana.* The side next the foot of the hill is of stone; the remainder, of veined marble, polished. The two domes are covered with lead, and surmounted with the crescent. In front is a court where a large fountain supplied the devout Mussulman with water for his purifications. The three entrances of the court, the doorways of the mosque, and many of the window-cases, have mouldings in the Saracenic style, with sentences, in the Arabic character, from the Koran, handsomely cut. The minaret is fallen; the mosque is entirely deserted, being without doors, windows, roof, or floor; and rank weeds are *growing* undisturbed in the once sacred inclosure. The ruins abound with snakes, and cameleons and lizards are seen basking in the sunshine.

All that remains of Ephesus is at the distance of above half a mile, by the mountains, and nearer the sea. Its walls comprehended a portion of Mount Prion and of Corissus. The former is a circular hill,

* "Within it are four beautiful columns, of the composite order, of white and brown porphyry, standing in a row, about 13 feet in circumference and 24 in height."—VAN EGMONT. The same traveller speaks of the portico as making a grand appearance: some broken columns alone now remain. He was surprised to see the figure of a chalice and what he took for a wafer, on the *kiblé*. Possibly, this may have given rise to the tradition of its having been a church. Maundrell observed the same figure on the gates of the mosque of St. John Baptist, at Damascus, and supposes it to be the ensign of the Mamalukes.—See p. 62.

resembling that of Aiasaluck, but much larger. The latter is a single lofty ridge, extending northward from near Mount Pactyas, and approaching Prion; then making an elbow, and running westwardly toward the sea. Mount Prion, originally called Lepre, was the quarry of the city, and has served as an inexhaustible magazine of marble. The quarries in this mountain have numberless mazes, and "vast, awful dripping caverns," in many of which are chippings of marble, and marks of the tools. A very full description of these ruins is furnished by Pococke, Chandler, and Van Egmont: we shall endeavour to combine and compress their several statements.

On entering Ephesus from Aiasaluck, having Mount Prion on the left, the first object is the remains of the stadium or circus, the area of which measures 687 feet in length. The northern or lower side was raised on vaults, which yet remain: the upper end rested on the slope of the hill. The seats have all been removed; and of the front, only a few marbles and an arch remain. The area is now a corn field. The vestiges of a theatre are to be seen further on, in the side of the same mountain. The seats and the ruins of the front are removed, but some architectural fragments, and an inscription, attest that this was the site of the theatre,—the one, probably, into which the Ephesian mob rushed tumultuously, at the instigation of Demetrius, crying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" * Going on from the theatre, you come to a narrow valley, which divides Mount Prion from Corissus. Here are ruins of a church, and vestiges of an odeum, or music theatre, on the slope of Prion; beyond which, the valley opens gradually into the

* Acts xix. 29.

plain of Aiasaluck. "Keeping round by Mount Prion, you meet with vestiges of buildings, and come to the remains of a large edifice resembling that with an arcade at Troas. The top of one of the niches is painted with waves and fishes; and among the fragments lying in the front, are two trunks of great size, almost buried. This huge building was the gymnasium, which was behind the city." Opposite to the stadium* is a basin of white marble streaked with red, about fifteen feet in diameter, and, according to Pococke, of a single stone. It is supposed to have belonged to a fountain; but the learned traveller thinks, "it was doubtless used for sacrifices, though they have a tradition that St. John baptized in it." * To the west of this are ruins of a stone building, the east end semicircular, probably a church. Other ruins extend in this direction as far as the portico adjoining the theatre, having behind them a morass, once the city port. "By the highest of them," says Dr. Chandler, "is the entrance of a *souterrain*, which extends underneath: these buildings have been erected on a low and marshy spot. Opposite to the portico is a vacant quadrangular space, with many bases of columns and marble fragments scattered along the

* "Before we reached these ruins (of the stadium) we were shewn a round cistern, of a reddish brown marble, called St. John's font. Here the Greeks and the Roman Catholics in our company endeavoured to break off small pieces to present to their friends as relics. I must own, such an absurd superstition sensibly affected me; and I endeavoured to convince them that this cistern could never have served as a font for St. John the Baptist, nor even for St. John the Evangelist. It has all the marks of those vessels used here for pressing the oil out of olives, being very shallow, and raised in the middle. Or, perhaps, it might have been a cistern of one of the fountains."—VAN EGMONT.

edges. Here, it is probable, was the *agora*, or market-place. The other remains are, perhaps, of the arsenal, the public treasury, the prison, and the like buildings, which, in the Greek cities, were usually by the market-place. We are now at the end of the street, and near the entrance of the valley between Prion and Corissus. Here, turning to the sea, you have the market-place on the right hand; on the left, the sloping side of Corissus; and presently, the prostrate heap of a temple, which fronted 22m E. of N. The length was 130 feet, the breadth 80. The cell, or nave, was constructed with large coarse stones; the portico was marble, of the Corinthian order. The diameter of the columns is 4 feet 6 inches; their length 39 feet 2 inches; but, including the base and capital, 46 feet 7 inches; the shafts were fluted, and, though their dimensions are so great, each of one stone. The ornaments are extremely rich, but much injured."

But what is become of the Temple of Diana? Can a wonder of the world have vanished, like a phantom, without leaving a trace behind? The learned Traveller anticipates these inquiries, and expresses his regret at having searched for the site of that celebrated fabric to as little purpose as preceding travellers. Though its stones were far more ponderous than those of the columns above mentioned, and the heap larger above comparison than that of the ruined temple which remains, the whole is vanished, we know not how or whither. "An ancient author has described it as standing at the head of the port, and shining as a meteor: we may add, that, as such too, it has since disappeared."

Pococke, however, supposes that the "souterrain" by the morass, is the site of this peerless structure;

which agrees with the ancient account, that the spot chosen for the building was a marsh, as most likely to preserve it free from gaps, and uninjured by earthquakes. To this it is objected by Chandler, that that spot must have been nearly *in* the centre of the city of Lysimachus, whereas the temple was without the Magnesian gate. The opinion of Pococke is supported by Van Egmont; whose description the reader may compare with that furnished by the English traveller.*

* "The Temple of Diana is situated towards the south-west corner of the plain, having a lake on the west side of it, now become a morass, extending westward to the Cayster. This building and the courts about it, were encompassed every way with a strong wall. That to the west of the lake, and to the north, was likewise the wall of the city; there is a double wall to the south. Within these walls were four courts; that is, one on every side of the temple, and on each side of the court to the west, there was a large open portico, or colonnade, extending to the lake, on which arches of bricks were turned for a covering. The front of the temple was to the east. The temple was built on arches, to which there is a descent. I went a great way in, till I was stopped either by earth thrown down, or by the water. They consist of several narrow arches, one within another. It is probable they extended to the porticoes on each side of the western court, and served for foundations to those pillars. This being a morassy ground, made the expense of such a foundation so necessary; on which, it is said, as much was bestowed as on the fabric above ground. It is probable also, that the shores of the city passed this way into the lake. I saw a great number of pipes made of earthenware in these passages; but it may be questioned whether they were to convey the filth of the city under these passages, or the water from the lake to the basin which was to the east of the temple, or to any other part of the city. In the front of the temple, there seems to have been a grand portico. Before this part, there lay three pieces of red granite pillars, each being about fifteen feet long, and one of grey, broken into two pieces: they were all three feet and a half in diameter. There are four pillars of the former sort in the mosque of St. John, at the village of Aiasalouck. I saw also a fine entablature; and on one of the columns

"From the stadium," says the Dutch envoy, or his companion, "we were conducted to the place where the celebrated Temple of Diana is said to have stood. Indeed, the multitude of thick walls, fragments of pillars, and other ruins confusedly scattered on all sides, though it is impossible to ascertain the form of this structure, would not suffer us to doubt but this was really the place where it formerly stood. It is sufficiently known, from ancient writers, that this temple was built in a marshy place, in the harbour of Panormus, near a lake; or rather, between two lakes, having a communication with each other; and that its situation was between the mouth of the Cayster and Ephesus. These circumstances, we found, corresponded to the spot we were surveying. The sea was at the distance of a full hour's ride before us; the Cayster lay on our right hand, and, on our left, a ridge of mountains extending to the sea. The extremity of the lake reaches almost to these ruins; and I discovered a canal where the water runs from the lake under the temple, and in all probability flows into the other lake nearer the city. Another circumstance in confirmation of this being the true site of the temple is, the vaults under this ancient structure, and

in the mosque, there is a most beautiful composite capital, which, without doubt, belonged to it. There are great remains of the pillars of the temple, which were built of large hewn stone, and probably cased with marble; but, from what I saw of one part, I had reason to conclude that arches of brick were turned on them, and that the whole temple, as well as these pillars, was incrusted with rich marbles. On the stone work of the middle grand apartment, there are a great number of small holes, as if designed in order to fix the marble casing. It is probable that the statue of the great goddess Diana of the Ephesians was either in the grand middle compartment, or opposite to it."—Pococke.

which we entered through a very narrow and difficult passage, taking with us a long rope and lights, that we might not lose ourselves in these spacious caverns. It is astonishing to see such massive foundations, composed of amazingly large black stones, and intersected on every side with passages elegantly contrived. These subterranean passages form a kind of labyrinth. It is impossible to venture far among such innumerable windings and intersections without the assistance of a rope, unless you would choose to spend the remainder of your days in these dark abodes. We found here great numbers of bats, many of which, disturbed by the lights, flew against us as we entered the vaults. The water was at this time very deep, so that we could not advance a great way; it being, near the entrance, up to our knees. It was pure and limpid, and, as I have already observed, was probably conveyed from the adjacent lakes to supply the temple. It is also to be supposed, that in some parts of these vaults were baths; which seems to be confirmed by the quality of the water, which is tepid, rather than cold, having been heated by the sun, before it flows into the vaults.

"Such are the remains of that vast and celebrated temple, formerly one of those structures termed the wonders of Asia." *

Of the structure itself, that is, the second temple, we have the following description. It was 420 feet long by 220 broad. Of the columns, which were 60 feet high, one hundred and twenty-seven were donations from kings. Thirty-six were carved: the order was Ionic. It had eight columns in front. The

* Van Egmont and Heyman's Travels, (London, 1759,) vol. i. pp. 106—108.

folding-doors were of cypress wood, which had been treasured up for four generations, highly polished; and they were found as fresh and beautiful 400 years after as when new. The ceiling was of cedar; and the steps for ascending the roof, of a single stem of a vine. The whole altar was full of the works of Praxiteles. The offerings were inestimable; and among them was a picture by Apelles, representing Alexander armed with thunder, for which he was paid twenty talents in gold (about 38,650*l.*) The whole was so wonderfully great in its composition, and so magnificently adorned, that the Sun, it was affirmed, beheld in his course no object so admirable. It was first plundered by Nero, who carried off an immense quantity of gold and silver; afterwards, in the time of Gallienus, by Goths from beyond the Danube, who obtained a prodigious booty; but the particulars of its destruction are not on record.

Ephesus had become a ruinous place when the emperor Justinian filled Constantinople with its statues, and raised his church of St. Sophia on its columns. Towards the end of the eleventh century, it experienced a fate similar to that of Smyrna, being made the settlement of a Turkish pirate. The Greek admiral, John Ducas, defeated him in a bloody battle, and pursued the flying Turks up the Meander. In 1306, it was among the places that suffered from the exactions of the grand-duke Roger. Two years after, it surrendered to Sultan Saysan, who removed most of the inhabitants of Tyriæum, where they were massacred. Its history, from this period, is that of the Mahommedan town of Aiasaluck. Two circumstances rendered a removal to this place expedient: it was more capable of defence; and the port of Ephesus,

through time and neglect, had become a nuisance, rather than an advantage.

"The Ephesians," says Dr. Chandler, "are now a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependence, and insensibility,—the representatives of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness; some, the substructions of the glorious edifices which they raised; some, beneath the vaults of the stadium, once the crowded scene of their diversions; and some, by the abrupt precipice, in the sepulchres which received their ashes. We employed a couple of them to pile stones, to serve instead of a ladder, at the arch of the stadium, and to clear a pedestal of a portico by the theatre from rubbish. We had occasion for another to dig at the Corinthian temple, aud sending to the stadium, the whole tribe, ten or twelve, followed; one playing all the way before them on a rude lyre, and at times striking the sounding-board with the fingers of his left hand, in concert with the strings. One of them had on a pair of sandals of goat-skin, laced with thongs, and not uncommon. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned back as they came, with their musician in front. Such are the present citizens of Ephesus; and such is the condition to which that renowned city has been gradually reduced. Its streets are obscured and overgrown. A herd of goats was driven to it for shelter from the sun at noon; and a noisy flight of crows from the quarries seemed to insult its silence. We heard the partridge call in the area of the theatre and of the stadium. The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; and Christianity, which was there nursed by apostles, and fostered by general councils, barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible."

In the time of Tournefort, thirty or forty Greek families resided here. Van Egmont states, that no Christians were then living at Ephesus itself; but a little to the east of it, he mentions a Christian village called Kirtsinkui, which may be considered, he says, as the melancholy remains of the ancient church of Ephesus,—"a striking proof that the threatening in the Revelation of St. John, *I will remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent*, was not denounced in vain." An American clergyman, who visited the spot in 1821, found, on the plain, some Greek peasants, men and women, employed in pulling up weeds from among the wheat. He addressed them in Romaic, but they understood but little of it, and answered chiefly in Turkish. They all belonged to a village at a distance, and had only come there to labour. Not one of them could read, but they said, there were priests and a schoolmaster in their village, who could read. "Now," says this gentleman, "not a human being lives in Ephesus; and at Aiasaluck, there are merely a few miserable Turkish huts." The lamp *is* removed out of its place.

"The plain of Ephesus is now very unhealthy, owing to the fogs and mist which almost continually rest upon it. The land, however, is rich,* and the surrounding country is both fertile and healthy. The adjacent hills would furnish many delightful situations for villages, if the difficulties were removed, which are thrown in the way, by a despotic government, oppressive agas, and wandering banditti." †

Three hours from Aiasaluck is Scala Nova (Nea-

* "It produces corn, cotton, sesamus, and tobacco. Flocks and herds, and camels were feeding on it."—CHANDLER.

† Missionary Register, 1822, p. 167.

polis), called by the Turks Koushadase,* a considerable town governed by an aga, subject to the Pasha of Ghiuzel-hissar. The place is a mart that supplies all the neighbouring country and Samos with rice, coffee, flax, and hemp, imported from Egypt, woollen cloth from Salonica, and cotton and calicoes from Smyrna. It anciently belonged to the Ephesians. It contains six mosques, one church in the town, and another in ruins on the top of the hill. It was, at the time of Pococke's visit, the residence of the Archbishop of Ephesus, in whose province there were formerly thirty-two bishops, but he had then but one diocesan under him. The sea forms, near the town, a small bay, in which is a rock formerly fortified to protect the port from the corsairs. "A few years ago," says Van Egmont, "when several earthquakes and fires had almost ruined Smyrna, the Franks intended to make this city the staple of their commerce; but exceptions were made against the harbour, the above-mentioned rock being thought to afford but little shelter to ships." It is pleasantly situated, in the form of an amphitheatre, on the declivity of a hill facing the island of Samos, and not above two leagues from it. Pococke is probably correct in supposing that Aiasaluck declined on the trade's taking a turn this way. Between two and three hours from Scala Nuova, the promontory once called Trogilium, runs out to meet a promontory of the island, called Posidium, so as to form a strait of only a mile wide. The road to Miletus now enters a rugged defile between Mount

* Van Egmont writes it "*Cous Adasi*, i.e. Bird Island," and says, that it had not been built above a hundred years. "*Old* Scala Nuova," called *Busi Adasgi*, is a forsaken town an hour's ride to the east. The Greek bishop informed his visiter, that there were, at that period, about 300 Greeks in the city.

Mycale on the right, and the termination of Mount Pactyas and Mount Messogis. At four hours and a quarter from Scala Nuova, is the Turkish village of Suki, situated in an extensive plain skirted with mountains. The side of Mycale is studded with villages. Two hours further is Giaour Kelibesh, a small Greek village, and to the S.W. nearer the sea, the ruins of Priene, another of the Ionian cities, now called Samsun, and Samsun-Kalesi. The whole circuit of the ancient wall is standing, besides several portions within it, of admirable solidity and beauty. The massive ruins of the temple of Minerva Polias, the remnants of other edifices of the Ionic and Doric orders, the ground-plat of the stadium, and ruins of churches, but no wells or mosques, are the monuments of this deserted city. It was taken by Bajazet in 1391, but appears never to have been inhabited by the Moslems.

From Priene, the route crosses the plain extending southward, through which winds, in very intricate mazes, a little torrent called *Kalibesh-osmoc*, which is received by the Meander below Miletus. The Meander, called by the Turks *Boiuc Minder* (the Great Meander), is crossed at a ferry, where the stream is about sixteen fathoms wide and as many deep.

Miletus is a very mean place, but it retains a shadow of its greatness in its modern name of *Palatia* or *Palatsha*, the Palaces. The principal relic of its former magnificence is a ruined theatre, measuring in front 457 feet, the seats ranged, as usual, on the slope of a hill. The whole site of the town, to a great extent, is spread with rubbish, and overgrown with thickets. One of the scattered pedestals has supported a statue of the emperor Hadrian, another that

of Severus. Some fragments of ordinary churches and a number of forsaken mosques, shew that Christianity and Mahommedism have in succession flourished at Miletus. One mosque, a noble and beautiful structure of marble, was still used when Chandler travelled; and its dome, with a tall palm-tree or two, towered amid the ruins and some low flat-roofed cottages, the habitations of a few Turkish families. This city was once powerful and illustrious: it was the first settled in Ionia, and claimed to be the mother of not fewer than seventy-five cities in Pontus, Egypt, and various other parts. The whole Euxine Sea was frequented by its ships. It was styled the head and metropolis of Ionia, the bulwark of Asia. It withstood Darius, and refused to admit Alexander. Hecatæus and Thales were among its citizens. It had four ports, one of them very capacious, and before it was a cluster of small islands. Here St. Paul touched in his voyage from Assos to Tyre, and had that affecting interview with the elders of the church of Ephesus, which is recorded in the book of Acts.* When the ports ceased to be navigable, owing to the constant encroachments on the sea of the land formed by the Meander, Miletus, in common with the other maritime cities on this coast, experienced a gradual decay. By degrees, the islets were encircled with soil, and its bays were changed into a plain. In 1175, the whole region was laid waste by the Turks, and the city was finally destroyed, towards the end of the thirteenth century, by the conquering Othman.

On the promontory, anciently called Posidium, twenty-two miles and a half south of Miletus, Dr. Chandler describes a most majestic remain of anti-

* Acts xx. 15 *et seq.*

quity, the temple of Apollo Didymeus: it is a solitary and deserted spot, near the Turkish village of Ura. "The columns, yet entire, are so exquisitely fine, the marble mass so vast and noble, that it is impossible to conceive of greater beauty and majesty of ruin. On the south side of the promontory, is the deep bay called the *Sinis Basilicus*. The mountains here formed the boundary of the jurisdiction of Elez-Oglu, as they anciently did of Ionia."

Myus, the tenth and last of the continental cities, remains to be visited. This city was originally seated on a bay of the sea, not large, but abounding in fish. Hence, this city was given to Themistocles, to furnish that article for his table. The bay changed into a lake, and became fresh; myriads of gnats swarmed on it, and the Myusians retired from the site before this insect enemy, and became incorporated with the Milesians. In the time of Pausanias, nothing remained at Myus but a temple of Bacchus.

That which Chandler supposes to be the site of Myus, is as romantic as its fortune was extraordinary. "The wall incloses a jumble of naked rocks rudely piled, of a dark, dismal hue, with precipices and vast hollows, from which, perhaps, stone has been cut. A few huts, inhabited by Turkish families, are of the same colour, and scarcely distinguishable. Beyond these, fronting the lake, you find on the left hand, a theatre hewn in the mountain, with some mossy remnants of the wall of the proscenium or front; but the marble seats are removed. Between the huts and the lake are several terraces with steps: one, by which our tent stood, was a quadrangular area, edged with marble fragments; and we conjectured, it had been the market-place. But the most conspicuous ruin

is the small Temple of Bacchus, seated on an abrupt rock, with the front toward the east. The roof is destroyed. This edifice has been used as a church, and the entrance has been walled up with patchwork. The marbles which lie scattered about, the broken columns and mutilated statues, all witness a remote antiquity. The city wall was constructed, like that at Ephesus, with square towers, and is still standing, except toward the water. It runs up the mountain slope so far as to be in some places scarcely discernible.

"Without the city are the cemeteries of its early inhabitants; graves cut in the rock, of all sizes, suited to the human stature at different ages; with innumerable flat stones, which served as lids. Some are yet covered, and many open, and those by the lake are filled with water. The lids are overgrown with a short, dry, brown moss, their very aspect evincing old age.

"A couple of Myusians, who undertook to shew something extraordinary, conducted me, with one of my companions, up into the mountain on the east side of the city, on which are many traces of ancient walls and towers. We climbed several rocks in the way; our guides with bare feet, carrying in their hands their papouches or slippers, which were of red leather; a colour not allowed to be worn, except by Turks. We came in about an hour to a large rock, which was scooped out, and had the inside painted with the history of Christ in compartments, and with heads of bishops and saints. It is in one of the most wild and retired recesses imaginable. Before the picture of the Crucifixion was a heap of stones, piled as an altar, and scraps of charcoal, which had been used in burning incense; with writing on the wall.

Going back, I tarried with one of the Turks while a shower fell, in a single rock, hollowed out, with the door-way above the level of the ground. It stands distinct and tall. On the dome within, Christ was portrayed; and on the round beneath, the Panagia, or Virgin, with saints. The figures are large, and at full length; the design and colouring such as may be viewed with pleasure. On the plaster are inscriptions painted, and faint from age. One, which I carefully copied, informs us, the oratory had been beautified for the sake of the prayers and salvation of a certain sub-deacon and his parents. Here seemed to have been a quarry. The brown rocks had graves on their tops; and the soft, fresh turf between them was enamelled with flowers.

"It may be inferred from the remnants of the monasteries and churches, which are numerous, that Myus was re-peopled, when monkery, spreading from Egypt, towards the end of the fourth century, overran the Greek and Latin empires. The lake abounding in large and fine fish, afforded an article of diet not unimportant under a ritual which enjoined frequent abstinence from flesh. It probably contributed to render this place, what it appears to have been, a grand resort of fanciful devotees and secluded hermits,—a nursery of saints, another Athos, or holy mountain.

"We were supplied with corn for our horses, and with provisions, from a village by the head of the lake, where are vestiges of ancient building. There, probably, was Thymbria, a village in Caria, within four stadia or half a mile of Myus, by which was a *Charonium* or sacred cave; one of those which the ancients supposed to communicate with the infernal regions, and to be filled with the deadly vapours

of Lake Avernus. We purchased bad water from the huts in Myus at a dear rate, and fish taken in the lake with a small trident. The carp here, and by the Meander, were extremely fine. The old nuisance of Myus, gnats, swarmed already in the air, teasing us exceedingly; and towards the evening, the inside of our tent was blackened with flies, clustering round about the poles. One of our men, thinking to expel and destroy them by a sudden explosion of gunpowder, procured a momentary riddance, and set fire to the canvas in three or four places.

"The lake of Myus is visible both from Priene and Miletus, and is called by the neighbouring Greeks, *Thalassa*, the Sea. The water is not drinkable. We observed the *inbat* here as at Smyrna; a breeze lightly skimming along the smooth surface, then springing gently up, and increasing with the day. On the edges and round about it, are square towers and ruinous passes, besides one at Myus, erected in times of war and rapine, to secure the passes. The lake, which is much longer than it is broad, has in it several rocky islets. One, near Myus, is surrounded with an ordinary wall inclosing the ruin of a church. The water is so shallow that we once waded across." Another picturesque islet is covered with ruins of a Greek monastery. On the shore were seen young tortoises, fish rose on all sides, and the rocks were covered with birds. The junction of the lake with the Meander is said to be by a channel half a mile long. "Myus had anciently an intercourse by water with Miletus, and a communication with the sea, from which a boat might still pass up to it. The river turns from the mouth of the lake, with many windings, through groves of tamarisk, towards Miletus; proceeding, by

the right wing of the theatre, in mazes to the sea, which is in view, and distant (as we computed) about eight miles. The plain is smooth and level as a bowling-green, except certain knolls in it, near midway, before Miletus. One of these, the northernmost, is seen distinct as a hillock; and on a bigger, ranging with it, is a village named Bautenau. In that part is the union of the water-course of Priene with the river, which winds to the south of the hillocks, and has on its margin, two or more miles beyond, a small fortress. The extremity of the plain by the shore appeared, from the precipice of Priene, marshy, or bare, and as mud. Such was the face of this region when we saw it. How different from its aspect when the mountains were boundaries of a gulf, and Miletus, Myus, and Priene were maritime cities!

"From the alterations already effected, we may infer, that the Meander will still continue to encroach; that the recent earth, now soft, will harden, and the present marshes be dry. The shore will in time protrude so far, that the promontories which now shelter it, will be seen inland. It will unite with Samos, and, in a series of years, extend to remoter islands, if the soil, while fresh and yielding, be not carried away by some current setting without the mountains. If this happen, it will be distributed along the coast, or wafted elsewhere in the tide, and form new plains. Some barren rock of the adjacent deep may be enriched with a fertile domain, and other cities rise and flourish from the bounty of the Meander." *

* M. de Choiseul Gouffier, however, contends, that what Chandler supposed to be Myus, is the site of Heracleia. Beyond Miletus, the winding of the coast formed the Latmian Bay, so called from Latmus, the adjacent mountain. In this bay was Latmos, after-

Ascending the beautiful valley of the Meander, the traveller arrives at *Ghiuzel-hissar*, the "beautiful castle," the ancient Tralles.* This is a large and very populous town, the residence of a pasha with two tails. The houses are mean; but, mixed with trees and the lofty domes and minarets of mosques, with the mountain for a back-ground, it has an imposing appearance. The air, during the hot months, is so bad as to be almost pestilential. At entering this town, Chandler was surprised to see innumerable turtle-doves, quite tame, sitting on the branches of trees, and on the walls and roofs, cooing incessantly. Tralles was distant from Ephesus, according to Strabo and Pliny, thirty-three miles: it was on the great eastern road from that city, which lay through Magnesia and Laodicea to Mazaca. Van Egmont found it two days' journey from Scala Nuova; and another Traveller (Picenini) makes it eleven hours from Aiasaluck.

wards called Heracleia, a small town with a road for vessels. Near that place, after crossing a rivulet, was shewn the cave of Endymion, who, on this mountain, according to the fable, was thrown into a deep sleep by the enamoured goddess. The bay is now the lake of Ufa-baffi. But even this opinion, though supported by decisive testimonies as to the changes which have taken place in the coast in remote times, has been lately called in question by a learned German. His objections have been met by M. Barbié du Bocage. See Malte Brun's Geography, vol. ii. p. 81. Chandler cites an ancient writer as affirming, that "the river (Meander) had taken the sea from the navigator, and given it to the husbandman; that furrows were seen in the place of waves, and kids sporting in the room of dolphins; and that, instead of the hoarse mariner, you were delighted with the sweet echo of the pastoral pipe." Pliny states, that Nature had taken islands from the sea, and joined them to the continent; and Priene, the wall of which had once been washed by the sea, was, in the time of Strabo, five miles above the shore.

* Mistaken by Chandler for Magnesia ad Meandrum.

A torrent divides the present town, which is a deep stream in winter, but shallow in summer. Pococke speaks of the situation as very delightful, commanding a fine view of the plain, and having a beautiful inclosed country to the south and west, rich with gardens and orchards. On the north side of the city, he mentions ruins of a very grand temple; but Chandler found only a few scattered fragments of architecture; and the very imperfect remains of a theatre described by the former Traveller, had become, either by building, or by cultivation, quite concealed.* Pococke says: "the Greeks and the Armenians have their churches here, and the latter a bishop, who is, I suppose, archbishop of Ephesus. There are also many Jews here. The town is not less than four miles in compass, and the streets are broader and better laid out than commonly are seen in Turkish cities. It is a place of great trade, especially for cotton and cotton-yarn, which are sent to Smyrna, and exported to Europe; they have also manufactories of coarse calicoes: it is likewise a mart for all such things as are imported from Europe, Egypt, and other parts, for the use of the country for sixty miles eastward, nearly as far as those parts that are supplied from Satalia and other southern ports. The merchants are generally rich; there are also several great families of Turks who live here, many of them beys; a title

* On the summit of the hill, a quarter of an hour beyond the castle, stands a curious and interesting remain; three very massive arches, about forty feet high, resembling the arcade at Troas; the fabric has been evidently repaired. There remain on it vestiges of painting and inscriptions, but they are illegible. Underneath are extensive vaults. The ruins of the old city are found in all directions; and Van Egmont was assured, that often very large and beautiful pieces of marble are dug up.

they give to sons of pashas; these have their estates about the city. The Pasha of this country resides here, so that it is one of the most considerable places in Asia."

Picenini relates, that in the way to the house and garden of the Pasha, they were shewn a cave near the walls of the ancient city, which, they were told, extended under ground as far as they could go in two days! No modern traveller has explored this *charonium*; but the country was famous for caves sacred, some to Apollo, and some to Pluto and his queen.

The ruins of Nysa are found near Sultan-hissar, an old fortress and village fifteen miles to the eastward. (Chandler says, about five hours, Pococke, ten miles, from Ghiuzel-hissar.) The route is straight and wide along the plain, through orchards of fig-trees, and corn-lands. Three hours from Sultan-hissar is Nosli or Nasslee, a considerable village, containing three mosques. Pococke found among the inhabitants, three or four hundred Armenians, and about thirty Greeks. This is supposed to be the site of Mastaura: Pococke mistook it for Nysa. Five hours from Sultan-hissar is an old castle called Janichere (or Jenisheer), seated on an eminence. It was at this place that, in 1739, the famous rebel Soley Bey Ogle (Oglou?) was cut off with 4000 of his followers, by a Turkish army sent against him, 40,000 strong. Eight miles to the south of this is Karajasu, a large village, where there are some Christians; it is so defended by deep beds of mountain torrents, that Soley Bey could not make himself master of it. Four miles to the east, proceeding along the plain, is Gheyra, a poor village built on the site of the ancient Aphrodisias, where there are extensive ruins. "The Turks here mak[illegible] a very strong and well-flavoured white-wine, a[illegible]

drink of it very plentifully." It is twenty hours from Ghiuzel-hissar. From Gheyra, it is a distance of thirteen hours, in a north-easterly direction, to Laodicea.

The direct route to this latter city was by Antiochia and Carura. Pococke and Chandler have described their route from Nosli-bazar. About sixteen miles beyond that place, eastward, the hills on both sides approach the Meander, and the plain becomes narrower. Three leagues further, on the south side of the river, where the plain is wider, is the site of Carura, where there are several sources of hot water. This place, as well as the adjacent country, has always been peculiarly subject to earthquakes. Strabo relates, that a large company, while revelling in one of the khans, was swallowed up by one. The hills are here of a red colour. This was the boundary of Caria towards Phrygia. Two leagues further, the river first begins to run near the southern mountains, and so continues till it falls into the sea. The hills now open, and make a plain four leagues wide every way, in which the river Lycus falls into the Meander. Towards the south-east part of this plain is Denizlu, a walled village in the midst of vineyards. The old town, which extended to another rising ground south of it, was destroyed by an earthquake early in the eighteenth century, when 12,000 persons perished. An hour to the northward, the way between the hills, is Eski-hissar (the old castle), the site of the ancient Laodicea on the Lycus, so frequently referred to in the apostolic writings.

LAODICEA.

LAODICEA derived its name from the wife of its founder, Antiochus, the son of Stratonice. It was long an inconsiderable place, but after having suffered in a siege from Mithridates, gradually rose in importance towards the Christian era, till it became one of the largest towns in Phrygia, and vied in power with the maritime cities. There are ruins of an amphitheatre, a magnificent odeum, and other public buildings; and the whole surface within the line of the city wall is strewed with pedestals and fragments. Pococke mentions, among the remains of a very grand building, two pillars, about a foot and a half in diameter, which appeared to be "oriental jasper-agate." There is every sign of its having been the seat of the greatest luxury and magnificence. An inscription found in the amphitheatre states, that the building, which occupied twelve years, was completed during the consulate of Trajan, in the eighty-second year of the Christian era. At the south-west corner of the city, there are some small ruins of a church, in which are fragments of a pillar or two of Cipolino marble.

"The hill of Laodicea," says Dr. Chandler, "consists of dry, impalpable soil, porous, with many cavities resembling the bore of a pipe, as may be seen on the sides, which are bare. It resounded beneath our horses' feet. The stones are mostly masses of pebble, or of gravel consolidated, and as light as pumice-stone.* We had occasion to dig, and found the earth

* "It is an old observation, that the country about the Mæander, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing under ground

as hard as any cement. Beneath, on the north, are stone coffins, broken, subverted, or sunk in the ground. Laodicea was often damaged by earthquakes, and restored by its own opulence, or by the munificence of the Roman emperors. These resources failed, and the city, it is probable, became early a scene of ruin. About the year 1097, it was possessed by the Turks, and submitted to Ducas, general of the emperor Alexis. In 1120, the Turks sacked some of the cities of Phrygia by the Mæander, but were defeated by the emperor John Comnenus, who took Laodicea, and built anew or repaired the walls. About 1161, it was again unfortified. Many of the inhabitants were then killed, with their bishop, or carried with their cattle into captivity by the Turks. In 1190, the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, going by Laodicea with his army towards Syria on a crusade, was received so kindly, that he prayed on his knees for the prosperity of the people. About 1196, this region, with Caria, was dreadfully ravaged by the Turks. The Sultan, on the invasion of the Tartars, in 1255,

from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain, or in the mud of the river; and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour, compressed in the cavities, and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottoes, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and serving as smaller vents for these furnaces or hollows, were regarded as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of the mountains, perhaps, has burned. It may be suspected, that the surface of the country has, in some places, been formed from its own bowels, and, in particular, it seems probable, that the hill of Laodicea was originally an irruption."

gave Laodicea to the Romans; but they were unable to defend it, and it soon returned to the Turks. We saw no traces of houses, churches, or mosques. All was silence and solitude. Several strings of camels passed eastward over the hill; but a fox, which we first discovered by his ears peeping over a brow, was the only inhabitant of Laodicea."

Opposite to Laodicea, at the foot of a branch of Mount Messogis, beneath the summits of the mountain, is the ruined city Hierapolis;* which owed its celebrity, and probably the sanctity indicated by its name, to its very remarkable sources of mineral water. It is now called *Pambouk-kalesi*, the "cotton-castle," —it is supposed, from the singular chalky appearance of the hills, which resemble cliffs. On approaching the mountain, "the view," says Dr. Chandler, "was so marvellous, that the description of it, to bear a faint resemblance, ought to appear romantic. The vast slope which at a distance we had taken for chalk, was now beheld with wonder, it seeming an immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water at once fixed, or in its headlong course suddenly petrified. Round about us were many high, bare, stony ridges; and close by our tent, one with a wide basis, and a slender rill of water, clear, soft, and warm, running in a small channel on the top. A woman was washing linen in it, with a child at her back; and beyond, were cabins of the Turcomans, standing distinct, much neater than any we had seen, each with poultry feeding, and a fence of reeds in front.

"The hot waters of Hierapolis have produced this

* Dr. Chandler makes the distance of Hierapolis from Laodicea, one hour and a half N.N.E. It is six miles according to the Itinerary.

extraordinary phenomenon : the cliff is one entire incrustation. They were anciently renowned for this species of transformation. It is related, that they changed so easily, that, being conducted about the vineyards and gardens, the channels became long fences, each a single stone. They produced the ridges by our tent. The road up to the ruins, which appeared as a wide and high causeway, is a petrifaction, and overlooks many green spots, once vineyards and gardens, separated by partitions of the same material. The surface of the flat above the cliff, is rough with stone, and with channels branching out in all directions ; a large pool overflowing and feeding the numerous rills, some of which have spread over the slope as they descend, and give to the white stony bed a humid look, resembling salt, or driven snow when melting. This crust, which has no taste or smell, being an alkaline, will ferment with acids ; and Picenini relates, the trial of it has been made with spirit of vitriol. The waters, though hot, were used in agriculture."*

The waters of Laodicea, though drinkable, have the same petrifying quality. At the east end of the grand ruin on the north side of the amphi-

* Pococke says : " The warm waters here are the greatest natural curiosities in Asia : they rise to the south of the theatre in a deep basin, and are very clear. They are only tepid, have the taste of the Pyrmont waters, but are not so strong, and must have in them a great quantity of sulphur. They do not drink them, though I could not perceive either salt or vitriol in the taste of them to make them unwholesome. The springs flow so plentifully that they make a considerable stream. It is observed by the ancients, that these waters were excellent for dyeing, and that the roots of the trees at this place gave a tincture equal to the scarlet and purple." The company of dyers is mentioned in one of the inscriptions.

theatre, is a mass of incrustations, formed by the current which was conveyed there by an aqueduct; it is three or four inches thick in the pipes, and the arches are loaded with this rock-work.

The ruins of Hierapolis are about a mile and a half in circumference. At some distance from the west side of the town, there is a great number of sepulchral buildings and stone coffins, extending for half a mile. A hundred and sixty paces from the west gate of the city, there is a colonnade of pillars two feet square, on which are semicircular pilasters; it extends 150 paces, and leads to a triumphal triple arch, not in good taste, having a round tower on each side. A line of building, supposed to be sepulchral, extends beyond this arch about a hundred paces, to the remains of a very magnificent church,* to which, however, there is no entrance on that side. To the east of the hot waters, there are ruins of another church, which has also been a splendid edifice. On the side of the hill is a very beautiful theatre, fronting the south, which had thirteen arched entrances. Pococke and Chandler speak of it as the most perfect that they had seen. The marble seats were still unremoved. To the south of the waters are great remains of most magnificent baths, consisting of a large court, with a portico at each end. These pillars resemble the Sienna marble, and seem to be a natural composition of pieces of marble and the petrifaction. The huge vaults of the roof are described as striking the visiter with horror. Beyond is the mean ruin of a modern fortress; and further on are massive walls of edifices, several of them leaning from their perpendicular, the

* One of the churches is said to be 300 feet long.

stones distorted, and seeming every moment ready to fall; the effects and evidences of violent and repeated earthquakes. The Plutonium, for which Hierapolis was noted, could not be found.

Hierapolis was the *Bath* of Asia. Apollo, the tutelar deity of the city, Esculapius, and Hygeia, bear witness on their medals to the medicinal virtues of the springs. An inscription in the theatre is to this effect: "Hail! golden city, Hierapolis! the spot to be preferred before any in wide Asia; revered for the rills of the nymphs; adorned with splendour." "How is the gold become dim!" Here is no water fit to drink, and the Turkish village of Pambouk is nothing better than a den of banditti. The traveller is here on the frontier of the pashalic of Kutaiah (or Cuthaya, anciently Cotyæum), the inhabitants of which have the reputatiou of being a lawless and desperate people.* Hierapolis is once mentioned in the New Testament,† from which it appears that Christianity was planted here, as well as at Colosse and Laodicea, probably by Epaphras, *before* A.D. 64, the date of St. Paul's epistle; at which time he was a personal stranger to the Christians in those cities, but had heard of their faith.‡

Colosse is supposed to have occupied a site now covered with ruins, near a village called Konous, or Khonas, about three hours from Laodicea, but on the other side of the river (supposed to be the Lycus). At Konous is a castle on a rock almost inaccessible, which

* Hierapolis was in Great Phrygia; Laodiceo in Caria; Tralles (Ghiuzel-hissar) in Ionia. The Meander was probably an ancient boundary, and the natural boundaries would seem to be for the most part preserved in the modern divisions.

† Col. iv. 13.

‡ Col. ii. 1; i. 4, 7.

was the stronghold of Soley Bey. It is at the foot of Mount Cadmus. The village is below it. Picenini found about forty Greek families here, who were ignorant of their own language: their papas, or priest, was a Cypriot. Their church, which was in the castle, resembled a wine-vault. Our information, however, with regard to this part, is extremely imperfect.* All that is known for certain is, that Colosse was once a large and populous city, situated in Phrygia. The ancient authorities make it nearly equidistant from Laodicea and Hierapolis,† in which case it must have formed an angle with those two cities; but it would appear from the brief references made to it in the apostolic writings, that it was a much nearer neighbour of Laodicea than even Hierapolis, which was only six miles distant, whereas Konous, or Khonas, is at a distance of five hours; that is, at least, fifteen miles. At Colosse, according to Herodotus, the Lycus, entering a chasm, disappeared for about half a mile, after which it re-emerged, and pursued its way by Laodicea to the Meander.‡ The Lycus rose on Mount Cadmus, as did another stream which took its name from the mountain. All over the plain before Konous are

* Pococke is uncommonly confused and puzzled here. (See b. ii. c. 14.) And Chandler was prevented advancing beyond Laodicea in this direction.

† According to Eusebius, all the three cities were destroyed by an earthquake in the tenth year of Nero; but Colosse doubtless rose again, like her sister cities, from its ruins.

‡ No traveller has yet verified this observation of the historian, or ascertained the existence of the salt lake of Anava, between Colosse and Apameia. The authority, however, of Constantine Porphyrogennetus, who states that Colosse was in his time called Chonæ, seems decisive. The bishops of Chonæ subscribed to the second Nicene council.

small water channels, incrusted like those of Pambouk; and similar hot waters are mentioned by Pococke in some hills to the N.E.

From Laodicea, a route to the N.W., which enters a pleasant recess of the Messogis, conducts by Tripolis to Philadelphia. Tripolis is about four hours distant, on the Meander. At this place, St. Bartholomew is said to have taught, and St. Philip to have suffered martyrdom. It was the see of a bishop. Huge stones, lying confusedly in heaps, and vestiges of a theatre and castle, are now the only remains. Near the ruins is the modern village of Kosh-Yenije. In nine hours is Bullada, a Turkish town. From this place, Philadelphia is distant a day's journey and a half (about eleven hours): it lies, according to Chandler, on the caravan road from Angora to Smyrna.

PHILADELPHIA.

Is now called Allah-Shehr (the "city of God"). Though peculiarly liable to earthquakes, it has survived many cities which have suffered less from such convulsions, and remains a considerable town, the residence of a bishop. It is spread up the slopes of three or four hills, the roots of Mount Tmolus. Of the ancient wall many remnants are standing, but with large gaps; it is thick and lofty, with round towers. On the top, at regular distances, Chandler noticed a great number of nests, each as big as a bushel, with the cranes, their owners, standing by them, singly, or in pairs. The bishop was absent, but the protopapas, or chief priest, received the travellers at the episcopal "palace,"—a title given to a very indifferent house, or rather cottage of clay. "We

found him," says Chandler, "ignorant of the Greek tongue, and were forced to discourse with him by an interpreter, in the Turkish language. He had no idea that Philadelphia existed before Christianity, but told us, it had become a city in consequence of the many religious foundations. The number of churches he reckoned at twenty-four, mostly in ruins, and mere masses of wall, decorated with painted saints. Only six are in a better condition, and have their priests. The episcopal church is large, and ornamented with gilding, carving, and holy portraits. The Greeks are about 300 families, and live in a friendly intercourse with the Turks, of whom they speak well. We were assured that the clergy in geral know as little of Greek as the protopapas; and yet, the liturgies and offices of the church are read as elsewhere, and have undergone no alteration on that account. The Philadelphians are a civil people. One of the Greeks sent us a small earthen vessel full of choice wine. Philadelphia, possessing waters excellent for dyeing, and being situated on one of the most capital roads to Smyrna, is much frequented, especially by Armenian merchants. The khan in which we lodged, was very filthy, and full of passengers. Mules arrived almost hourly, and were unladen in the area. A caravan goes regularly to Smyrna, and returns on certain days."

In November, 1820, Philadelphia was visited, together with Sardis, Thyatira, and Pergamos, by the Rev. Messrs. Parsons and Fisk, deputed by the American Board of Missions. From their report we obtain some additional information. Their first visit was to Gabriel, then archbishop of this diocese. He had held his office six years, and appeared about seventy-five

years of age. He was reputed a man of learning. Formerly he had had one bishop under him, but at that time he had none, and only about twenty priests. The diocese includes Sardis on the west, and Laodicea on the east; but he stated, that it did not contain altogether above 600 or 700 Greek houses. "There are *five* churches in this town, besides *twenty* which are either old or small, and now not used. The whole number of houses is said to be 3,000, of which 250 are Greek, the rest Turkish." The missionaries went next to visit a school superintended by a young man who had been educated in Haivali and Smyrna. He had about thirty scholars, who studied ancient and modern Greek. A small library is attached to the school. Most of the Greeks were found, agreeably to Chandler's statement, to understand no language but the Turkish. The missionaries dined with the archbishop. It was a fast-day; the *maigre* diet consisted of rice, soup, boiled beans, several plates of herbs, and a rich variety of fruits, with bread and cheese, and plenty of *raki*, rum and wine. In the town, the visiters counted six minarets; they saw the church in which, *they say*, the Christians assembled when St. John wrote: it is now a mosque. The school, they represent as one of the few Greek schools in which something like order is maintained, and the children are taught to understand what they read.

Philadelphia derives its name from its founder Attalus Philadelphus, brother of Eumenes. After sharing in the vicissitudes of the country, it was taken by assault by John Ducas, together with Sardis, in 1097. It was again reduced under the Greek emperor, in 1106; but it is the remark of Gibbon, that Philadelphia appears to have resisted the attacks of the Turks

in 1312, with more success than the other cities.* In 1390, it was forced by want of provisions to capitulate to Bajazet. It has suffered less, apparently, from the ravages of war, than from repeated earthquakes, to which it is peculiarly exposed, owing to its being in the vicinity of the region called *Catakekaumene*, or "the Burned," which lies to the east, and was reckoned to extend sixty-two miles in length, and fifty miles in breadth: its surface, which is now turf, was spread with lava, on which flourished the vines for which the district was celebrated.

Although what retains the form and name of Christianity in this interesting site, is little better than the exanimate carcase of church, yet, taken in connexion with the distinguishing encomium passed upon the church of Philadelphia in the Apocalypse, its survival at this remote period must be considered as a most impressive fact. It would seem as if, in a literal sense, this church had been "kept from the hour of temptation," which was announced as about to come upon all the world, to try them that dwelled upon the earth,† and which emphatically did come, (in whatever other interpretation the prediction may be taken,) when the Christian empire of the East became annihilated before the devastating sword of Mahommed and the victorious Crescent.

* "At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperor, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years, and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans in 1390. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect—a column in a scene of ruins!"—*Decline and Fall*, vol. xi. p. 438.

† Rev. iii. 10.

From Philadelphia, it is a distance of only twenty-eight miles * to

SARDIS.

THE route is by the foot of Mount Tmolus, which rises on the left in a range of uneven, separate, sandy hills, green and pleasant, and once clothed with vines, but now neglected. Behind them towers a high ridge, generally covered with snow. The plain, which is watered by the Hermus, and by numerous little rills from the slopes, is wide, beautiful, and cultivated, but has few villages, being in the possession of the Turcomans. "Their booths and cattle," says Chandler, "are innumerable: they are reputed thieves, but not given to bloodshed."

The city of Sardis, once the proud capital of Lydia, and the residence of its opulent monarchs, is now the habitation of buffaloes and oxen. "Its inhabitants," says Van Egmont, "who are all herdsmen, are living in wretched cottages of clay, which do not exceed the height of a man. At present, Sardis has not a single Christian among its inhabitants, but is not without a Turkish mosque, the portico of which is adorned with grand antique pillars: indeed, it appears not to be a Turkish work, but a structure of the Greeks."—"We passed," says Chandler, "the miserable village Sart, which stands, with a ruinous mosque, above the river, on a root or spur of the hill of the citadel, and crossing the Pactolus, pitched our tent in a flowery meadow. Not far from us were booths of the Turcomans, with their cattle

* Chandler travelled three hours and a half N. W.; and five and a half westward: total nine hours, which agrees with the Itinerary.

feeding." The American missionaries above referred to, state, that there is not in Sardis a single Christian family; there are only a few mud huts, inhabited by ignorant Turks, and three grist-mills, in which nine or ten Greeks, men and boys, are employed, who were found at work all day on the Sabbath. "Every thing," they say, "seems as if God had cursed the place, and left it to the dominion of Satan." One hour to the east, in the road to Philadelphia, they mention a village called Tatarkeuy, where there are about fifty Greeks and a priest. They have a church, which had been built within the preceding ten years; but there is no school in the parish, and few of the people can read.

The ruins of Sardis are peculiarly grand. "This village and its vicinity have to boast of two of the most interesting remains of antiquity in Asia; the colossal tumulus of Alyattes near the Lake Gygæa, and the vast Ionic temple of Cybele on the bank of the Pactolus. Here is also a theatre connected with a stadium, and the ruins of a large church, perhaps the only one of the Seven Churches of Asia of which there are any distinguishable remains." * Chandler was exceedingly struck with the view of the temple, when it suddenly burst upon him on approaching Mount Tmolus, occupying a most retired situation beyond the Pactolus, between the citadel and the mountain. Five columns out of eight were then standing, one without its capital, and one with the capital awry. The shafts are fluted, and the capitals are designed and carved with exquisite taste and skill. A part of the architrave was then remaining: the other part, with the column that contributed to its

* Leake's Journal, &c., p. 265.

support, had fallen since 1699. In 1812, only three columns were found standing with their capitals. The appearance of this magnificent ruin at that period, is thus described by Mr. Cockerell.

" Sardis was magnificently situated on one of the roots of Mount Tmolus, which commands an extensive view to the northward, over the valley of the Hermus, and the country beyond it. To the south of the city, in a small plain watered by the Pactolus, stood the temple, built of coarse whitish marble. The western front was on the bank of the river ; the eastern under the impending heights of the Acropolis. Two columns, of the exterior order of the east front, and one column of the portico of the pronaus, are still standing, with their capitals : the two former still support the stone of the architrave, which stretched from the centre of one column to the centre of the other. The columns are buried nearly to half their height in the soil which has accumulated in the valley since their erection ; chiefly, it is probable, by the destruction of the hill of the Acropolis, which is continually crumbling, and which presents a most rugged and fantastic outline. On the edges of its summit, the remains of the ancient walls are still observable in many places. I was told that, four years ago, three other columns of the temple were still standing, and that they were thrown down by the Turks, for the sake of the gold which they expected to find in the joints. Besides the three standing columns, there are truncated portions of four others belonging to the eastern front, and of one belonging to the portico of the pronaus, together with a part of the wall of the cella. When it is considered that these remains are twenty-five feet above the pavement, it cannot be doubted that an excavation would expose the greater

part of the building. Even now, however, there is sufficient above the soil to give an idea of the dimensions of the temple, and to shew that it was one of the most magnificent in Greece; for, though, in extent, it was inferior to the temples of Juno at Samos and of Apollo at Branchidæ, the proportions of the order are at least equal to those of the former, and exceed those of the latter. The capital appeared to me to surpass any specimen of the Ionic I had seen, in perfection of design and execution. The great height of the architrave, the peculiar style of the design and workmanship, and the difference of intercolumnia in the faces and in the flanks of the peristyle, I cannot but regard as tokens of high antiquity; and perhaps we may regard as not less so, the vast size of the stones employed in the architrave, and the circumstance of their being single stones, whereas in the Temple of Didyma and in the Parthenon, there were two blocks in the same situation. In subsequent times, the durability ensured by this massive mode of construction was sacrificed for appearance and for a more easy result." *

Mr. Leake is disposed to think, that this building may, in fact, be referred to the kings of the Lydian dynasty, which began under Gyges, B. C. 715, and ended with the capture of Sardis by Cyrus, B.C. 545. It is at least of very high antiquity.

Among the other ruins, Chandler particularises a

* Leake's Journal, &c., pp. 342—344. Mr. Cockerell remarks: "Modern architecture has, indeed, succeeded in producing buildings of immense bulk; but they cannot be kept together without continued repair, and the triumph is little more than that of *balancing a skeleton on its legs*. In some late works only, such as the recent artificial docks and basins, have we imitated the solidity of the ancients." Yet St. Paul's will not be considered by most persons as a less glorious "triumph" of skill, a less admirable achievement of the architect, than the London Docks.

portion of a large edifice, with a heap of ponderous materials before and behind it, supposed to have been the palace of Crœsus, afterwards appropriated by the Sardians to superannuated citizens. The walls are standing of two large, lofty, and very long rooms; they rest on double arches of brick, and consist chiefly of that material with layers of stone, exemplifying the extreme durability of the ancient brick. On the east side, Van Egmont says, are still standing some pillars, and the remains of another prodigious structure, probably the cathedral. The castle, seated on the hill, has been repaired with materials of more ancient edifices: the walls alone remain. Not far from the west end of the hill flows the celebrated Pactolus, which rises in the mountain behind. After snow or rain it is a rapid torrent: in summer, the stream is very shallow: the bed is a sand or gravel, inclining to a reddish yellow. But it no longer brings down the gold of Tmolus, as it flows over the sparkling sand.

The colossal tumulus or barrow of Alyattes is described by Chandler. "By the lake of Gygæa, five miles from Sardis, is the burying-place of the Lydian kings. The barrows are of various sizes. Four or five are distinguished by their superior magnitude, and are visible as hills at a great distance. The lake, it is likely, furnished the soil. All of them are covered with green turf, and many retain their conical form, without any sinking in at the top. One of the barrows on the eminence, near the middle, and towards Sardis, is remarkably conspicuous. This has been described by Herodotus as, beyond comparison, the greatest work in Lydia; inferior only to the works of the Egyptians and Babylonians. It was the mound of Alyattes, the father of Crœsus; a vast mound of earth, heaped on a basement of large stones by three

classes of the people. Alyattes died B.C. 562. Above a century had intervened, but the historian states that, to his time, five stones (*ουροι*), on which letters were engraved, had remained on the top, recording what each class had performed. The circumference was six *stadia*, or three quarters of a mile; the height two *plethra*, or two hundred feet; and the width thirteen *plethra*. The barrow of Alyattes is much taller and handsomer than any I have seen in England or elsewhere. The mould which has been washed down, conceals the stone-work, which, it seems, was anciently visible. The apparent altitude is diminished, and the bottom rendered wider and less distinct than before. The barrows contain, perhaps, a considerable treasure. In this, it is well secured. Some time and much labour would be consumed in penetrating to the basement; and afterwards, it would be difficult to force a passage through the stone-work. Many men must be employed, and, in the present state of the country, a large guard would be necessary for their protection. The enterprise is fitter for the pasha of a district, or the general of an army, than for a private adventurer."

The lake, which lies beyond the high green ridge on which the barrows are raised, is very large, and abounds in fish: its colour and taste are described to be like common pond water. A few swans with cygnets were seen, and many aquatic birds; "in particular, one species resembling a gull, flying about in flocks, or lighting on the ground: these were white, but with the whole head black." The air swarmed with gnats.

Crœsus, the tyrant of all the nations within the Halys, was defeated in the plain before this city, the

Lydian horses not enduring, it is said, the sight or smell of the camels. Sardis afterwards became the residence of the Persian satrap. In the time of Darius, the Milesians surprised the city, and set fire to it. Herodotus mentions, that the temple of Cybele was damaged in the conflagration. The city and fortress surrendered to Alexander after the battle of the Granicus. Under the Romans, Sardis was a large city, not inferior to any of its neighbours, until the terrible earthquake which happened in the reign of Tiberius. Magnesia by Sipylus, Ephesus, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and several other cities, partook of this calamity, but Sardis suffered especially. It owed its recovery from the damage sustained, to the munificence of Tiberius. The emperor Julian made Chrysanthius, a Sardian of a senatorial family, pontiff of Lydia. He attempted to restore the heathen worship, erecting altars at Sardis, where none had been left, and repairing the temples. In the year 400, the Goths plundered the city. Lydians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Goths, have all passed away, and it is abandoned to the Turcomans.

ROUTE TO SARDIS FROM MAGNESIA AND EPHESUS.

SARDIS was reckoned 540 stadia or 67½ miles from Ephesus, by way of Tyria. Part of the route is described by Van Egmont; but he came to Tyria from Ghiuzel-hissar. Leaving Scala Nuova, he crossed the mountains in a south-easterly direction into the valley of the Meander. "In this descent," he says, "we came to a small river, whose infinite meanders among the mountains greatly heighten the beauty of the prospect. Sometimes it precipitated itself from

the eminences, and, in one place, flowed between two disrupted rocks at a frightful depth, and with a terrifying sound. The road lay through groves of laurel trees, where the profound solitude was cheered by the warblings of great numbers of nightingales. After riding four hours among the mountains, from the tops of which we had often enchanting prospects, and passing through delicious valleys and fruitful eminences, sometimes near and sometimes at a distance from the river, we at last came to a large and beautiful plain, inclosed on all sides with mountains. At the end of this plain, we forded the rivulet, which was here somewhat enlarged, leaving it on the left hand; and after passing along an uneven road, we turned off more to the south, which brought us to a rocky mountain, in which is a large cavern: before the mouth of it were some hundreds of buffaloes and other black cattle with the herdsman. Having passed this cave, we came to a lake of warm mineral water, fed by a rivulet of the same kind from the above rocky mountain. We also saw several other caves in this mountain, and at the foot of it, the ruins of several houses. Our road from hence lay through one of the most fertile spots in the world for pasture and corn, interspersed with a great variety of fruit-trees." In rather more than half an hour from the mineral spring and "Polyphemus's cave," as they called it, the travellers reached the village Jumisseloi, which lies at the extremity of the mountains. Near this place they discovered the ruins of "a considerable city, still retaining vestiges of fortresses and palaces. It is now," they proceed, "called Inekbazar, that is, 'the needle market;' so called from a few straw huts, the roof of which is supported by four perpendicular posts, erected

for holding a market on Fridays, to which all the peasants in the neighbouring country resort. Several of the ruins had an air of grandeur. Among others was a remarkable square structure, built of prodigious blocks of stone: great part of one of the gates was still standing, and also of a thick double wall which must have inclosed it; but all the rest of the structure was one confused heap of ruins. This we judged to have been the citadel of the place. At some distance from it were the ruins of two large structures. In one, which was of a remarkable length, and something resembling the form of a large church, we found two beautiful capitals of the composite order, in tolerable condition. This structure extends to a small rivulet, over which was a bridge of two arches, now in ruins. Here were also the rudera of other stately buildings, with a great number of pillars, some still standing, others lying on the ground; but the place itself, which is situated in a level plain and watery soil, is utterly abandoned."

This site has since been ascertained to be that of Magnesia on the Meander, and the ruined temple to be that of *Diana Leucophryene* (white-browed), one of the largest and most beautiful in Asia, and which had the privilege of an asylum. In the territory of this city, at a place called Hylæ, was a cave sacred to Apollo, which is, in all probability, the cavern that reminded Van Egmont of the mansion of the Cyclop, and which he regrets not having had time to explore. Magnesia is stated by the ancient authorities to have been, at a remote period, maritime. Before it are two insulated hills, which, when all the plain of the Meander below the city was sea, formed the islands Derasidæ and Sophonia. The small rivulet which

Van Egmont correctly supposed to fall into the Meander, is the Lethæus, which has its source in Mount Pactyas; and the mountain at the foot of which Inekbazar lies, is the Thorax of Strabo. Magnesia was fifteen miles from Ephesus, and eighteen from Tralles, which corresponds to the distance of Inekbazar from Aiasaluck and Ghiuzel-hissar.*

About three hours srom Inekbazar, ascending this "paradisiacal" valley, Van Egmont halted at a village called *Omerbeili*, at the foot of the mountain, near which he found, at a spring, an ancient inscription. About an hour's riding from this place brought them to the banks of the Meander, where its channel was of an extraordinary breadth, but the water so shallow that it rippled over the gilded flints. "I say gilded flints," he adds, "because they here seem to be disseminated with gold and silver specks, which have a most brilliant appearance." They passed the night at Ghiuzel-hissar. The next morning, instead of pursuing the eastern road to Laodicea, they retraced for about half an hour the route by which they had come, and then "struck off to the right up the mountains," by a very steep and rugged track. After travelling for about five hours over hill and dale, they came to a very beautiful spot on the banks of a small river which they had repeatedly passed in the mountains. It was here crossed by a stone bridge of one arch; and almost immediately beyond, they ascended a very high and steep mountain, and "afterwards twelve others, in the same manner; sometimes making the circuit of one mountain to reach another." In some places, there was only room for a single horse to pass along the precipitous defiles. In five hours, they again

* Leake, p. 243.

"happily arrived in the level country, and crossed the above-mentioned river several times." Here they were delighted with the sight of a beautiful variety of cascades, the waters rushing through narrow chasms in the rocks, and falling from one to another in a thousand different forms. Again they had to ascend the mountain, and now entered on the most steep and dangerous precipice they had yet met with, being obliged to alight and lead their horses. At length, after two hours, they had the pleasure of seeing the city of Tyria, which lay at the foot of the mountain.

"The beautiful valley now again presented itself to our sight, and was terminated by hills at a prodigious distance, the small eminences in the valley not in the least obstructing our view from this mountain. This prospect increased in beauty as we approached nearer to Tyria, the houses appearing amidst a great number of trees, and the whole heightened by the minarets of the mosques. In descending this mountain, we met with two springs, issuing from its side in very copious streams. The water of the latter flowed through four apertures, and was from thence conveyed, in an arched conduit, into the city. We drank of this water, which was remarkably clear and good. The mountains are, in general, desert, and have every where a dreary aspect; and the summits of several were covered with snow. They were not, however, without some fruitful spots; and in the valleys, we saw some marks of tillage and plantations intermixed with a few cottages. We saw also multitudes of goats; an evident proof that there were some villages or hamlets in the valleys, though they escaped our sight. This mountain is full of rocks; and the flints were decorated with glittering spots resembling gold and silver. I am inclined to believe, that this is the

ancient *Mesogyotes*, or Mediterranean mountain of Strabo, taking its name from the town of Mesogys, which formerly stood at the foot of the mountain; but nobody here could give us any account of it. In our descent from the mountain, we rode quite through the city of Tyria, which took us up nearly half an hour, and pitched our tents on the other side of the city, on a fine plain. Here we remained encamped all the following day, in order to rest our beasts; and in the meantime took an opportunity of viewing the city.

"Tyria is a well-built city, lying on the declivity of a mountain, and extending itself to a considerable distance. The appearance of it is rendered much more pleasant from the abundance of trees and gardens about it. It is, in my opinion, nearly as large as Smyrna, but much less populous. I counted in it above twenty Turkish mosques with minarets; and, what is singular, one of them had two.* Here is also a good bazar or market. Some of the streets are wholly filled with shops: the shoemakers alone occupy two. The Greeks have two churches here, the least of which we visited. It was remarkably small and mean, but contained several pictures of Christ, the *Panagia*, or Madonna, and some saints. At the entrance of it is still remaining another object of devotion, with modern characters upon it, namely, a mutilated porphyry statue of Christ, holding in one hand an open book, on which are the following words: Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ φῶς του χοσμου— *I am the light of the world.* I asked the papa who favoured us with a sight of the church, concerning

* The sign of its being a royal foundation, according to Chandler. He says, that there were about fourteen mosques, one with double minarets.

this statue, as being contrary to the custom of the Greeks, who, though fond of paintings in their churches, exclude all images and sculpture, as bordering too nearly upon Pagan idolatry. But all the answer the good father could give me was, that they had found it placed there. At the same time he informed us, that the whole number of Christians in the city scarcely exceeded a hundred."

When Tamerlane ravaged Natolia in 1402, Tyria was one of the principal cities. He marched to it from Aiasaluck, and forced the inhabitants to pay a ransom. The direct road to Ephesus is through a "long, narrow, and almost deserted vale;" the distance twenty-five miles. Van Egmont was twelve hours in journeying from Ghiuzel-hissar. That long, narrow, deserted vale is the valley of the Cayster, which, collecting all the waters from the adjacent slopes of the great mountains Tmolus and Messogis, becomes a stream of considerable magnitude by the time it reaches the sea near Ephesus. The valley at the edge of which Tyria stands, is exceedingly fertile: being well watered, it produces great quantities of rice; and without the city are "as rich pastures as can any where be seen." In this valley are also several very fertile eminences, many of which have probably been ancient sites. Neither Van Egmont nor Chishull, who travelled from Sardis to Ephesus in 1699, mentions ancient ruins of any consequence at Tyria. The present town is modern, built by the Turks; but it is, no doubt, the successor and representative of some more ancient city, as the word is obviously of Greek origin.*

* Xenophon mentions a populous city in the plain of the Cayster, named *Tyriæum*.

From Tyria, Van Egmont pursued the valley in a north-easterly direction towards Sardis; they crossed two rivulets, and, in an hour and a half, the Cayster twice. In six hours and a half they reached the foot of Mount Tmolus, where stands a very pleasant town, called *Capai*. Through it runs a rivulet, and on an eminence near it are seen the ruins of a castle. Fragments of marble pillars, basins, reliefs, &c., all in a very mutilated state, and some built in the walls of the houses, indicate that this is an ancient site. He conjectures that the name is a corruption of *Hypæpæ*, which was at the foot of Tmolus.* The neighbourhood abounds with extensive groves of olive-trees. They now began to climb the mountain, called by the Turks *Bozdag*, the "snow mountain." The ascent was by a road hewn in the rock, after the manner of a winding staircase, and occupied two hours. "Having reached the top," he proceeds, "we found ourselves on a large plain, in which were houses, gardens, meadows, fruit-trees, springs, and a great number of black cattle, but not one human creature. We afterwards understood that the premises belonged to the inhabitants of Capai, and is their summer residence: they retire hither to avoid the prodigious heat at the foot of the mountain. We were, indeed, greatly amazed at the sudden alteration of the climate, which resembled our being transported at once from the torrid

* This place appears to be the *Birghé* of Chishull (otherwise *Berćki*), which he makes seven hours from Tyria, and five from Sardis. Van Egmont makes the whole distance from Tyria to Sardis occupy fourteen hours and a half, which is probably a mistake, or the rate of travelling might differ; but the relative distance of Capai agrees with that assigned to Birghé, which is believed to be Hypæpæ.

into the frigid zone.* We were obliged to pass the night here. The next morning, after crossing the mountain, we entered a valley of no great breadth, but pleasantly bounded on each side with a ridge of hills covered with wood. After leaving this charming valley, we passed through two burying-places, which sufficiently indicate that formerly this spot was not destitute of inhabitants. We now followed the course of a rivulet, which was presently increased by several small streams, but soon after precipitated itself from a rock into a subterraneous basin and disappeared. We had not, however, lost sight of this before another rivulet appeared, which was soon greatly enlarged, and continued its course near our road through the mountainous country to Sardis; from which we concluded it to be the Pactolus. I do not doubt but the above-mentioned rivulet, which we lost sight of at the rock, issues again out of the earth, and joins its waters with those of the Pactolus; and hence this river was said to have golden sand, its course being through the bowels of Mount Tmolus. The different species of herbs, plants, and trees found among these lofty eminences, is almost infinite, especially at the end of the mountain. Here the valley contracts itself, leaving only a passage for the Pactolus, which sometimes lay at a great distance beneath us. The air was every where so cold, (June,) that the rays of the sun, which we sometimes enjoyed, were very comfortable, resembling those of the spring in our own country. We had now a sight of Sardis, which lies at the foot of this mountain, in a large and very pleasant

* Chishull found snow on the summits at the latter end of April. The air was chilled, and vegetation retarded. He mentions a vein of marble here, "as clear and pellucid as alabaster."

valley; and at some distance is a lake, doubtless the Gigæan. But having now travelled six hours, we thought proper to pitch our tents."

At ten hours' distance north of Sardis is the ancient

THYATIRA.

THIS is the site of another of the seven Apocalyptic churches. Its modern name is Akhissar. It is situated near a small river, a branch of the Caicus, in the centre of an extensive plain, 18 miles broad, producing immense crops of the finest cotton, as well as corn. At the distance of a few miles, it is almost completely surrounded with mountains. The houses are low, many of them only mud or earth: excepting the mutsellim's palace, there is scarcely a decent house in the place. The streets are narrow and dirty, and every thing indicates poverty and degradation. Akhissar is in lat. 39° 5′ 10″ N., long. 27° 48′ 15″ E. The principal man among the Greeks in this town, in 1820, was Economo, the bishop's procurator. From him Mr. Parsons obtained the following details. "He says, the Turks have destroyed all remnants of the ancient church; and even the place where it stood, is now unknown. At present, there are in the town 1000 houses for which taxes are paid to the government, besides 200 or 300 small huts: there are about 350 Greek houses, and 25 or 30 belonging to the Armenians: the others are all Turkish. There are nine mosques, one Greek church, and one Armenian church; four or five Greek priests, and one Armenian. The Greeks know something of the Romaic, and the Armenians of the Armenian; but the common language of all classes is the Turkish: the Greeks write it in Greek letters; the Armenians in Armenian

letters." There are two Greek schools: one, taught by a priest, consists of 50 scholars; the other, taught by a laic, contains 20. Other children are taught in private schools.

About half-way between Thyatira and Sardis, (four hours and a half from Akhissar,) is a village called Marmora, which contains between 400 and 500 houses, of which 50 are Greek, four mosques, and one Greek church with two priests.

Five hours from Akhissar is Kirkagatsh, a large town, containing, it is said, 10,000 inhabitants; viz. 8000 Turks, 1000 Greeks, and 1000 Armenians. There are eleven mosques, and two churches, one belonging to the Greeks, and one to the Armenians. In the neighbouring pastures, immense herds of cattle are kept, and still larger flocks of sheep. Two hours and a half further is Soma, a considerable village: the inhabitants are chiefly Turkish, but there are about seventy Greek families. Twelve hours further is Pergamos, now called Bergamo.

PERGAMOS.

THE chief city of the district watered by the Caicus, and the capital of Mysia, retains some measure of its ancient importance. The population is said to amount to 15,000; viz. 1500 Greeks, 200 or 300 Armenians, 100 Jews, the remainder Turks. There is one Greek church, one Armenian church, and the Jews have a synagogue. Nine or ten minarets speak the power of the false prophet. The streets are wider and cleaner than are usually seen in the Asiatic towns. An immensely large building, formerly a Christian church, now a mosque, is *said* to be the church in

which the disciples met, to whom St. John wrote; and they shew what is *said* to be the tomb of Antipas. The bishop of the diocese, which includes Pergamos, Haivali, and the surrounding country, resided, up to 1821, at Haivali, distant ten hours. He is a suffragan of the Archbishop of Ephesus: his title is Bishop of Elaia, an ancient town which no longer exists. Pergamos is in long. 27° E., lat. 39° 11′ N. It was, in ancient times, famous for its library of 200,000 volumes, which Antony and Cleopatra transported to Alexandria; and it was the birth-place of Galen, the physician. There are said to be magnificent ruins here, but they remain undescribed.

We have now visited all the seven churches of Asia, addressed in the Apocalypse, though not in the order in which they are enumerated.† Of these, Smyrna, Pergamos, and Philadelphia may be considered as flourishing cities; Thyatira is, for a Turkish village, not contemptible; but Ephesus, Sardis, and Laodicea are no more. Three of the golden lamps are extinct, and the four which remain unremoved, emit but that glimmering ray which serves to render visible the surrounding darkness.

HAIVALI.

HAIVALI was previously to its recent destruction by the Turks, the seat of one of the two principal

* Rev. ii. 13.

† 1. Ephesus, which is first addressed, as being then the chief city of the province. 2. Smyrna, distant 40 miles N. 3. Pergamos, reckoned 64 miles N. of Smyrna. 4. Thyatira, reckoned 50 miles S.E. of Pergamos, but Mr. Parsons makes it 19½ hours. 5. Sardis, 30 miles S. of Akhissar. 6. Philadelphia, 28 miles E. of Sardis. 7. Laodicea, 60 miles S.E. of Allahsheyr, and about 112 miles E. of Ephesus.

Greek colleges. This town is 28 hours, or about 84 miles N. of Smyrna. It is seated on the sea shore; the harbour, however, is so shallow, that ships cannot approach nearer than within eight miles, but are obliged to load and unload by means of boats. The entrance, moreover, is so narrow that only one boat can come in at a time. The streets are described as narrow and dirty, and the houses mean. The bishop (of Elaia), the consul, and the professor united in stating the population at 20,000 souls, *all Greeks*, when Mr. Parsons visited it at the close of 1820; but M. Raffenel, who was resident in those parts at the breaking out of the war, states the resident population at 32,000, to which he adds 7,000 or 8,000 occasional residents and foreigners. The account which this writer gives of the sudden creation and melancholy fate of this town, partakes of a romantic interest.

"About forty years ago," he says, "there was to be seen on the coast of Æolis, at the bottom of a little bay, a poor village inhabited by a mixture of Turks and Greeks, who were incessantly at war, or engaged in disputes with each other. The Turks called it *Aïvali*, the Greeks *Kidonies*, which is only a translation of the Turkish word; *Aïvali* and *Kidonies*, in their respective languages, each signifying *quince*. The hamlet is supposed to have derived its name from the quince-trees which formerly covered the country.* This village has been the cradle of a town, which rose and has vanished as if by enchantment; which, in a few years, had attained the highest degree of splendour, and was on the point of becoming one of the first cities in Asia. It is 28 hours N.W. of Smyrna, 10 W. of Pergamos.

* Mr. Jowett, in 1818, found a single quince-tree in an orchard, but was told that they formerly grew wild in great abundance.

"Aïvali, a place almost unknown, arose, so to speak, under the auspices of an extraordinary man, gifted at once with a firm and enterprising character, eminent qualities, and great talents, for which he was indebted to nature, rather than to education. This individual was named John Economos. Descended from one of the most ancient Greek families in the country, he was a priest and simple proprietor, confining all his functions to the duties of his ministry. But he had conceived in early youth, the great project of delivering his country from the yoke under which it groaned, and of rendering his name immortal. He quitted his native town at the age of five-and-twenty, to travel in Turkey, and study its manners and customs; he had for a further object, to perfect himself in the Oriental languages, especially in the Turkish, which was the most requisite to his design, and he made himself completely master of it. After spending several years in travelling, he came to Constantinople, resolved to plead there the cause of his country. Kidonies contained at that time a nearly equal proportion of Turks and Greeks; but the former tyrannized over the latter. Economos presented himself before the ministers of the Sultan, and had the courage to exhibit his grievances against the authorities of Aïvali. Repulsed at first, he was not disheartened, and by dint of perseverance, intrigues, and presents, he obtained from the Porte, not only the government of his village, but also a firmaun which prohibited the powerful Turks from residing there, either for the present or in future. These extraordinary privileges were in part owing to the good offices of the famous Seras-Petraki, then all-powerful at Constantinople: he had welcomed Economos, and seconded his representations with all the weight of his influence. He,

delighted with a success so complete and so unlooked-for, returned to his country, and put in execution there the orders which he had obtained. But envy was excited against him: he was not to be allowed the peaceable enjoyment of the advantages which had cost him so much pains. To protect himself against frequent attacks, he was compelled to keep his little colony constantly under arms. Uniformly victorious over his enemies, he succeeded in making the seat of his government respected. He invited and gave a cordial reception in his village to the Greeks both of the neighbouring isles and of the continent; he afforded an asylum to all in distress; and, in a short time, Aïvali increased in an astonishing manner. It may be truly said, that he was the creator, the deliverer, and the father of the town. This man, whose fame did not extend beyond the limits of his little government, yet who only required a wider sphere, perhaps, to fix the attention of the world, died in the year 1791. His ashes repose unnoticed in the church which he had himself erected, without even a simple epitaph to mark the spot. His latter days were embittered by domestic vexations. He was reproached with having abused his power, with having been guilty of arbitrary acts. These charges, whether false or well founded, alienated from him the minds of his fellow-citizens: and the petty dissensions which were the result, powerfully assisted the hatred of his enemies. He had the mortification of seeing his credit at Constantinople altogether annihilated by the death of his powerful protector Petraki, while his authority was dwindling away in his own country. Things were in this state when he died, and the manner of his death is still unknown: some persons attribute it to age and disease, others to poison, a few to chagrin.

" Aïvali, seated on the coast, possesses a fine port, at least in appearance; but the shoals which bar the entrance, render it impracticable for merchantmen: it will only admit little barks, and even these it is often necessary to unload. The channel might easily be cleared, so as to afford an easy passage for large vessels, if policy did not forbid. It was the interest of the inhabitants that the port should remain in this state, in order to render it inaccessible to the Ottoman fleets. Its shape is that of an oval basin, bounded on the west by the large island of Mosconissi, and on the north-west by the peninsula of Cromidonissi, formerly Porroselini. The interior of this port contains sufficient depth of water for the largest ships to anchor in safety. An ancient causeway, 470 feet in length, unites the *terra firma* of Aïvali to the pretty little island of Cromodonissi. From this, you are ferried over to the large island of Mosconissi by means of a rope, the extremities of which are fastened on the two landing-places. It was formerly named *Hecatonissi*, or the island of Diana. That goddess had formerly here a celebrated temple, great ruins of which are still found on a point of the shore, and a large part has been used in the reparation of the causeway. Nothing can be more picturesque than the appearance of these islands. There are others in the neighbourhood. Coppano, which lies before the causeway, is smaller than the two others: besides this may be enumerated, Dascalai, Codon, Pera, Mosco, Lio, Anghistri, and Pyrgos, all of which are comprehended under the name of Mosconissi, which signifies Fragrant Islands, alluding to the aromatic plants which grow there.

" Aïvali is built partly in the plain, partly on some little hills, the summits of which are crowned with

windmills. The air is pure upon these heights: in the town below, it is less so. Filth is suffered to accumulate there, which ought to be conveyed away into the port by subterraneous channels; the consequence is, that the quays are a sort of sewers. Add to which, the town is destitute of good running water. The springs, which are found there in sufficient number, are husbanded by the aqueducts; but this water is not very wholesome, either because the soil which it traverses vitiates its purity, or that the filth which passes over the canals communicates an offensive taste. The water of the wells is briny; they drink only that of the springs and cisterns.

"In 1818, this town, already very large, was prodigiously augmented by accessions of Greeks from Mytelene, the Morea, and several isles of the Archipelago. In 1820, there were computed to be more than 3,000 houses, built with stone, and terrace-roofed, from two to three stories high. But all these houses were placed without any order, and rendered the streets narrow and winding. Almost all the streets were paved, but dirty: some are of a tolerable width, with a foot-way on each side, and a brook in the middle, which was crossed in winter, when swelled by the rains, by means of flying bridges. It was there that all the filth of the houses met, and into this flowed the stinking waters of the oil-mills and the soap-manufactories: these brooks were altogether offensive and noxious. They reckoned at Aïvali nearly 32,000 settled inhabitants, and 7 or 8,000 strangers resident or passing. The Greek religion was exclusively professed. There was not a single Turk, Armenian, or Jew. The town was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ephesus; and there was a handsome archiepiscopal palace, in which his bishop

resided. It contained a great number of Greek churches: the ten principal were, especially, very handsome and well kept up. That of *Ayios Yorghis* (Saint George) was the cathedral.

"The government of Aïvali might be compared to that of a little republic, governed by its own laws, under the protection of the Porte. The sultan had there a collector of customs, a cadi, and an aga; but this last resided there for form's sake only: the Greek community procured his nomination and dismissal as they pleased. As to the former two, the choice of the chief men of the town determined that of the Porte. Aïvali was held directly of the pasha of Brusa, but he exercised no authority over it. The town was divided into three quarters, the upper, the middle, and the lower. Every spring, the inhabitants of these several quarters met in a church selected for the purpose, and having each respectively made choice of a senator, or alderman, *(yaronda,)* conducted him with pomp to the house of the aga. There, by an act, solemnly drawn up in the name of the people, these three yarondas were invested with full powers for the government of the town for the ensuing year. At the expiration of that term, they were discharged, or re-elected, according to their behaviour. The services of the yarondas were purely honorary; they levied contributions at their pleasure, regulated the tarif of taxes, and disposed of the public revenues according to their judgement and their conscience: they were not even subject to responsibility, and when they went out of office, no inquest was made. It was they, moreover, who had the drawing up and publishing of regulations for both commerce and the police; they also arbitrated in the case of disputes between individuals, although these fune-

tions specially belonged to the cadi. To these yarondas were attached, in order to assist them in their labours, nine *pröestes (notables*, a sort of common-councilmen), and two *grammatikis* (chief clerks); this little body composed the *kinos*, or corporation. Under extraordinary circumstances, all the *primati*, or principal householders, and heads of the chief families, were convened: the decision of this general body was final.

"The character of the inhabitants of Aïvali resembled, for the most part, that of the other Greeks: they were active, in general laborious, mild, and affable; but the lower orders were too much addicted to drinking. In the higher classes a low jealousy manifested itself, which led the citizens to injure one another. The women, generally handsome, were still more distinguished by an excessive extravagance.

"Aïvali contained forty oil-mills, thirty soap-manufactories, a number of tanneries, and various shops of all descriptions. Among the public buildings, the college, built in 1803, claims the first notice: the beauty of this edifice did honour to its founders, as much by the design of the establishment as by the liberal manner in which it was carried into effect. The interior was laid out with the greatest regularity. Its fine garden and its proximity to the sea, added to its well-chosen situation, rendered the air there much more wholesome than in the other parts of the city. This edifice was the admiration of foreigners. It constantly numbered 350 scholars of all ages, belonging to the town, the environs, and the isles: they were taught modern Greek, ancient Greek, belles-lettres, natural philosophy, logic, rhetoric, moral philosophy, and mathematics. The chairs were occu-

pied by distinguished professors, recommended not less by their talents than by their virtues.

"The community were also at the expense of building two noble hospitals at a little distance from each other: they were situated out of the town, in a healthy spot, on the declivity, and almost at the foot, of a little hill which comes down to the sea. To each hospital was attached a chapel, and physicians of competent ability had the care of the patients. In one of these establishments were confined dangerous lunatics: those whose disorder was unattended with a disposition to violence, were allowed to wander at large undisturbed. At one period, when it was impossible to foresee the revolution which was about to break out, the town purchased a vast ground-plot near the hospitals, for the purpose of building a lazaretto and a pest-house. This precaution would have been the more necessary, as the plague often raged in the environs, and always made its appearance in the town whenever it was at all violent either at Smyrna or at Constantinople. By subjecting all travellers and boatmen to a quarantine, they would have protected themselves from this scourge.

"Independently of the products of labour, their oil was, to the inhabitants of Aïvali, an abundant source of wealth. They have now lost all; and should they not obtain permission from the sultan to re-occupy their former possessions, in a few years it will be forgotten that their town ever existed."*

The Reverend Mr. Jowett visited Haivali in May 1818; and his account, coming also from an eye-witness, will serve to confirm and illustrate the above

* "Histoire des Evènemens de la Grèce." Par M. C. D. Raffenel. Paris, 1822. pp. 193—201.

recital. On his arrival he went to the vice-consul, who, after he had rested nearly an hour, accompanied his visiter to the school. "We entered," says Mr. Jowett, "the room of Gregorius, the principal master. I presented my letter from the Bishop of Smyrna, which was a very long one. When he had finished it, he very mildly laid his hand to his breast, and said, "I am glad to see you—Welcome!" Pipes, sweetmeats, and coffee were then served up; during which I had full leisure to explain my wishes. We then went, all together, to the apartment of the second master, Theophilus; where the same courtesy of sweetmeats and coffee was observed. They then shewed me the library, consisting of about 700 or 800 volumes; among which is a complete set of the Greek classics: they have also many astronomical and other scientific instruments. The third master joined us: his name is Eustratius.

"I walked round the college, which is a large quadrangular building, about 140 feet long and 90 wide. It is surrounded, on three sides, with small chambers, for the reception of such scholars as come from foreign parts. There may be about a hundred such foreign scholars; and, at present, about another hundred belonging to the town. The chambers are, in number, seventy-two. The foreign scholars pay nothing for the use of them, and nothing for tuition: they have only food, raiment, and books to pay for. There are two stories in the building: on the upper, is a large circular room, where the Lectures are given; and also a large oblong room for the third master and the assistants. In the centre of this quadrangle are a garden of herbs, and two or three flourishing almond-trees. One side of the college is washed by the sea.

"*Friday, May* 22, 1818.—This morning I went

to the college, to attend the lectures. Gregorius had about fifty scholars sitting round the large room, whom he lectured, scientifically, on Greek grammar. He was explaining the tenses. I was surprised, on the conclusion of his lecture, to hear him begin a short panegyric on the stranger in the room. He explained to the scholars, how much they ought to feel both honoured and encouraged by the appearance of visiters from such distant countries, to see, as in ancient times, the state of learning among them — now, unhappily, fallen so much into decay, though beginning to revive. I was musing, not without some embarrassment, whether any reply was expected; when Gregorius delicately concluded his harangue, by saying, that they could only best express their feelings by the silence of respect, — upon which he retired. I next attended Theophilus. About thirty were present while, to my surprise, he lectured on the eleventh section of Newton. His audience, however, could not all understand him. He selected the more popular astronomical parts, which he represented on a large black board with chalk. I liked their practice of putting questions to him.

" After these lectures, I sat a long time with the masters, entering into their plans, and telling them mine. The account which they give of learning in Greece, is this: — It is about one hundred years ago, since Meletius (not the author of the Greek Geography) first taught at Yannina. About fifty years ago, the famous master there was Methodius; and, generally speaking, about that period of its revival, modern Greek literature flourished most at Yannina — at other places, indeed, in Greece, not at all. In later times, learning has not flourished so much at Yannina. There are still, indeed, schools. Of one of these,

Psalída is the master, and its former reputation gives it character. A Greek gentleman described to me the manner in which Psalída exhibited his scholars. He pointed out two or three young boys: 'To-day,' said he, 'they have bread — to-morrow they do not know whether they will have any: yet they are reading Homer. They can argue also, and hold a dispute.' Immediately after Methodius, sprang up Eugenius, who taught at Mount Athos; and Nicephorus Theotoky, who taught at Corfu, and who was afterwards Archbishop of Astrachan. Both these scholars among the modern Greeks are famous as authors, with one fault — that they *hellenize* too much. About 1770, Daniel of Patmos had a school of considerable repute, in which he taught grammar systematically. Gregorius was a pupil of his. The school no longer enjoys its former fame; but it has sent out several good masters. At that time there was little correspondence, of a literary kind, among different parts of Greece. When Gregorius arrived at Patmos, and, being asked by the masters from what part he came, said, From Haivali, — they were ignorant of the existence of such a place. He said, it was close by Moschonesus. They referred to Strabo; and, finding that island mentioned in his Geography — it bears the same name at this day — they, in this manner, became acquainted, for the first time, with Haivali!

"This college was not built till schoolmasters had been here some time. Eugenius of Vourla had a school near the Church of the Virgin Mary: subsequently, Benjamin and Gregorius taught there; till, in 1803, the college was built. Theophilus is a newer master: he has studied two years at Paris, and three at Pisa. The plan of Theophilus is, to go through a course of mathematical and philosophical lectures,

which lasts three years. He is just finishing his first three years' course. The scientific part of education in Greece is evidently in its infancy. They have one feature of the British System of teaching. When I expressed surprise that there were so few masters to 200 scholars,* they mentioned that the elder scholars taught the younger; and some of those who come from more distant parts, make a little money, in this way, towards bearing their expenses. As I looked into their little rooms, I saw this was the case. I asked, how many masters they had furnished for Greece. They enumerated about twelve schools, in various towns and islands, which had sprung from them. They are small, but it is a hopeful sign. One is on the southern coast of the Black Sea. The holidays at the college are from June 15th to August 31st. If I had come a month later, I should have seen little or nothing. In the evening, discipline is preserved by locking the gate of the college.

"*Saturday, May* 23, 1818. — I attended the lecture of Gregorius, this morning, on ecclesiastical history. I heard it with great pleasure, and could not help feeling strongly impressed with the utility and interest of such kind of lectures. He was concluding the first century. When he came to mention the book of Revelation, he mentioned particularly the cavern at Patmos, which he had seen, in which tradition says St. John beheld the Apocalyptic vision. He seemed disposed to make as much of this circumstance as it would bear; qualifying it, however, with 'They say.' After this, he made a transition to church services; more particularly to their midnight recita-

* "They have only four masters, and a music-master to teach church-chanting."

tions of psalms, which he commended as an ancient practice of the Church, grounded — partly on the words of the Psalmist, *Ye that by night stand in the courts of the Lord's house, keep not silence* — partly on the example of Paul and Silas, who sang praises at midnight. These are services, in the performance of which, I understand, Gregorius himself is strict. After this, I attended another lecture of Theophilus on mathematics. He had thirty hearers: about fifteen seemed attentive and intelligent, one of whom was an old man.

"In conclusion, I had my usual long conversation with the masters. We conversed about the Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Mount Athos, and its colony of priests. They have no school there. Two young men had arrived only yesterday, after a long voyage of thirteen days, to study at the college. I was curious to see them. The severity of the ecclesiastical discipline in which they had been trained, was fully exhibited in their physiognomy and deportment: they sat down in the humblest manner, at the humblest distance. They gave, as they were asked, a full account of the various modes of living at Mount Athos. The number of 'the religious' may be about six thousand, though they pay to the Turks tribute for about half that number. There are five modes at Mount Athos. The most rigid are the 'hermits' — ἐρημίται — who live solitary: the second in severity are called ἀσκήται, 'ascetics;' they are not quite so savage in their mortifications as the hermits: the third are called κοινόβιοι, from their having all things in common: the fourth are named ἰδιόρυθμοι, from their living after their own rhyme and reason: a fifth, called κελλειῶνται, are still more sumptuous, as they may have κελλεῖον, 'a room,' to themselves. There are twenty-four monasteries at

Mount Athos; three of which are in ruins, and four are kept up in great style. These four are Λαῦρα, Ἰβήρων, Βατοπαιδὶ, and τοῦ Παντοκράτορος. Gregorius, an exiled patriarch of Constantinople,* who has lived at Mount Athos many years, and is ἰδιόρυθμος, has his summer residence at Laura, and his winter at Iberon. They have very little trade at Mount Athos: unfortunately, the Turkish aga there reported them to Constantinople, and immediately an agent was sent to lay on a tax.

"In the skirts of Haivali, there is a colony of Moriotes, who have lived here since the time of the misfortunes which Russia occasioned to the Morea, about forty years since. They prefer living apart from others, and retain their different dress.

"The college, library, printing-press, and every thing of this kind, are wholly undertaken and supported by the liberality of the natives of Haivali. The public national spirit of the Greeks deserves great commendation."†

In 1820, the number of students was 300, of whom not more than a third belonged to Haivali. About seventy were ecclesiastics; a circumstance deemed peculiarly auspicious, as the Greek priests are in general extremely ignorant. The library then contained between one and two thousand volumes.

Haivali is now only a heap of cinders. Its college, its hospital, its chapels, have been swept away by the ravages of war. In June 1821, the Greeks, emboldened by recent successes, meditated several expeditions against the Asiatic continent. They were advancing

* "The same who subsequently suffered at Constantinople, on Easter-day, 1821."

† "Christian Researches," &c. By the Rev. Will. Jowett, M.A. 1822. pp. 60—66.

upon Smyrna, when word was brought them by some Greeks of Haivali, that the Turks were threatening their town. The citizens had not been accustomed to the sight of Turks in their streets; but the Pasha of Brusa had thought it necessary to send there some companies of soldiers, to protect the place against any *coup de main* of the insurgents, or even to keep the citizens in check if they should be disposed to revolt. The inhabitants, on learning their intentions, gave themselves over for lost. They assembled in crowds, and the *kiaya-bey*, or first lieutenant of the Pasha, on entering the town on the 13th of June, with a troop of 600 men, perceived the fermentation which had been excited, by the contests which immediately arose between his soldiers and the populace. The town-council recommended the officer to order his troops to bivouack without the city: this was at first refused, but he was soon obliged to adopt this measure, to avoid greater disasters. His soldiers, thirsting for the blood of the Greeks, had ventured to strike several of them in the streets, and were put to flight by the people. The kiaya immediately despatched a courier to demand a reinforcement; and on the morrow, by break of day, about 3,000 men took possession of the principal quarters of Haivali. This time, they conducted themselves with more moderation; but their chief demanded of the magistrates a heavy sum, agreeably to established custom. Haivali, enriched by commerce and industry, was at that time one of the most opulent cities of Asia Minor; a great number of its principal inhabitants, however, had fled at the beginning of the troubles. Every day, thousands of families took refuge in the little isle of Mosconissi at the entrance of the bay: those who remained, and the lower orders of the people, refused

to pay the contributions imposed. The emigration became still more general; and by degrees, out of 35,000 inhabitants, who before formed the population, not one half remained behind.

When the Greeks of the fleet had learned what was passing, they set sail instantly for Mosconissi, and presented themselves before that island, on the morning of June 13, with seventy sail. All the inhabitants of Mosconissi, together with the families who had taken refuge there, were received on board ship, with all their property and effects. No sooner was the arrival of the fleet known at Haivali, than the tumult became more violent. The Greek natives, feeling all the danger of their position, placed between two parties who would no doubt come to blows, embarked in crowds, and gained the island of Mosconissi. The European agents themselves abandoned the town on the morning of the 15th, and the Turkish garrison made no attempt to obstruct these precipitate departures. There remained, on that day, in the town, only a few thousand Greeks; and the barks, during all this time, were occupied in hastily transporting goods and passengers. The preceding night, the Turkish commander had received still further reinforcements; but he, with his people, stood on the defensive. The European flags were still waving on the houses of the respective consuls, while the town resounded with exclamations of despair from the unfortunate persons who had been unable to escape. At nine o'clock A.M., a great number of Greek vessels made their appearance in the channel, with guns mounted, and bearing troops for debarkation. The Turks lay in wait in the houses adjoining the quay, prepared to dispute their landing. The action commenced with equal fury on either side. The Greeks,

under cover of their artillery, approached the quay, and threw into it three or four thousand men, who drove out the Turks with great slaughter; the latter, however, made a stand at a little distance, towards the middle of the town. A very warm engagement ensued; they fought almost breast to breast; there was equal fury and equal courage on both sides, but numbers carried the day. The Greeks destroyed this Mussulman column; and then it was that the Turks, conquered at all points, set fire, in their retreat, to the town in more than twenty places. The general action lasted altogether about two hours.

The Greek marines, left masters of the place, dispersed themselves through the houses, and carried off all that they could. This pillage was no injury to the inhabitants, since the flames, urged by an impetuous wind, were consuming every thing. To the honour of the Greek seamen, the property saved in this manner was, for the most part, restored to the owners. The houses of the three European consuls, the English, the French, and the Russian, which stood in a line, were the last that caught fire: the flames did not reach them till evening. During the whole day, the national colours were streaming from those houses; no one touched them, and they disappeared only in the flames. It was near the house of the French consul that the Turks fought with the greatest fury, in a place where they were in a manner intrenched. When they had fled, the Greeks penetrated to the chancery, and brought away several important articles; among others, an iron chest, containing valuable deposites and archives.

In the meanwhile, the Greeks brought off in safety the remaining inhabitants. Very few perished from the firing of the Turks; but several hundreds were

drowned, owing to the precipitation with which they embarked; and in the confusion and horror occasioned by the conflagration, some became the victims of the flames. The whole of this disconsolate population was received on board ships, which sailed the same night for the islands. The whole town of Haivali was reduced to ashes: there remained only the foundations, and a few detached houses. Thus, in the course of a day or two, was a town of immense extent, and which had lately numbered more than 35,000 inhabitants, razed to the ground.

The very night that the flotilla sailed, there took place another engagement in the midst of the ruins. The Turks, after losing more than five hundred men, were put to flight; they returned the next morning, with fresh troops, with a view to pillage whatever might have escaped the fire and the rapacity of the Greeks, imagining that the enemy was at a safe distance. But, during the night, several other ships had arrived, which sent out their armed long-boats with soldiers, who cut to pieces the greedy Mussulmans. Their losses in these several actions may be estimated at more than 1,500 men: the Greeks had scarcely 150 killed and wounded. But the Turks cruelly revenged themselves on the Greeks of the neighbouring villages for the losses they had sustained at Haivali. They massacred the greater number, and sold the rest as slaves. "I have seen hundreds," says M. Raffenel, "in the public market-places of Smyrna, especially of women and children, where they were sold at the lowest prices. Charitable Europeans purchased a part of these poor creatures, and gave them their liberty. From this period, the country round Haivali has been abandoned; the cultivated lands, the olive plantations, which had been the source of wealth to the inhabitants,

have been left to desolation; and the inhabitants, wanderers in foreign countries, have exchanged a state of happy competence for poverty and affliction, the ordinary companions of exile. The example of this unfortunate city will remain to distant generations of the Greek people, an eloquent and terrible monument of the horrors of revolutions."

Such is the history of Haivali. In our account of Greece, catastrophes still more disastrous, scenes still more fearful and revolting, will present themselves. The tale of Scio is full of horrors. But the Asiatic islands must be reserved for separate notice; and we now turn our steps southward on our return to Smyrna.

HAIVALI TO MAGNESIA AND SMYRNA.

THE direct route to Smyrna is along the coast by way of Menimen. At three hours from Haivali, is a small Turkish village with two mosques; four hours, a new Greek khan; five hours, an old khan, deserted on account of the unhealthiness of the place, but there is no better lodging-place in the vicinity. From this place, it is a long day's journey, of nine hours and a half, to Menimen,* of which the population was estimated, in 1820, at 2,000; viz. about sixty Armenians, the rest half Greeks, half Turks. From Menimen, it is a seven hours' stage to Smyrna; distant, according to this computation, only twenty-five hours, or seventy-five miles, from Haivali. In this route occurs the site of the ancient Elæa, now called Kliseli, about twenty miles S.W. of Pergamos, to which it formed the port.

The route in which Akhissar lies, is the road from

* Supposed to be the site of Temnus.

Smyrna through Magnesia *ad Sipylum*, now called Manisa. At ten hours' distance from Akhissar, is Cassabar or Durguthli, a town of considerable extent, and a great thoroughfare. It is said to contain 6,000 houses, of which 300 are Greek, and there are a few Jews; there are six or seven mosques and one Greek church. It is situated in an extensive plain on the northern side of Mount Sipylus. Five hours and a half from Cassabar, at the foot of that mountain, and extending a considerable way up the acclivity, is Magnesia,* one of the handsomest towns in this part of Asiatic Turkey. Van Egmont describes it as having, in his time, more external marks of grandeur than Smyrna itself. "The streets," he says, "are also remarkably broader, and decorated with several beautiful mosques, among which are two of royal foundation, each having two minarets." Mr. Parsons was equally struck, on approaching the town, with its imposing appearance. "As we entered it," he says, "we counted twenty minarets. The mosques, as well as their minarets, are painted white, and give the city a more splendid appearance than we have before seen in Asia. The priests tell us, that there are in this town, thirty-three mosques, two synagogues, two Armenian churches, and one Greek church; 300 or 400 Armenian houses, 100 or 150 Jewish, and 800 Greek houses." The two mosques which have double minarets, are very noble structures, of marble, each having before it an area, with a fountain. Chandler was permitted to enter one of them, and he describes the inside to be as neat as the exterior

* Chandler was *eight* hours travelling from Cassabar to Magnesia, and complains that their horses were very much jaded with the journey; but we have followed Mr. Parsons's Journal, Miss. Reg 1821, p. 428.

is handsome. The floor is covered with rich carpets. The ornamental painting pleases by "an odd novelty of design, and a lively variety of colour." The dome is lofty and of great dimensions; and the innumerable lamps, many of them pendent from the ceiling, with balls of polished ivory intermixed, must, when lighted, "amaze equally by their artful disposition, their splendour, and their multitude." These edifices, together with a college for dervishes, and a lunatic hospital, were erected and endowed by Sultan Morat (Amurath) and his queen. Chandler was shewn the site of his palace, seraglio, and garden. The remains consist of some pieces of wall, with several large and stately cypress-trees. Near them is a neat mausoleum with a dome, erected over the tombs of his wives and children, twenty-two in number, of different sizes, disposed in three rows, all plain and of stone. The castle hill is exceedingly high, the ascent steep and difficult.* It is a mean fortress, and in ruins, but commands an extensive view of a fine verdant plain, divided by the silver-like stream of the Hermus.

The Romans obtained their decisive victory over Antiochus in the neighbouring plain. Immediately after the battle, Magnesia surrendered, and Antiochus fled to Sardis and Apameia. This city shared in the munificence of Tiberius Cæsar, after the earthquake which laid Sardis and the neighbouring cities in ruins. In 1313, it was numbered among the acquisitions of Sarkhan, afterwards Sultan of Ionia; and it was the city chosen for his retreat by Sultan Morat (Amurath II.) when, in 1443, he resigned the empire to

* This mountain is stated by Van Egmont to have been formerly famous for magnets. It is said to have been the residence of Tantalus, King of Mæonia, and father of Pelops.

his son Mahommed II., the conqueror of Constantinople. It is still a place of considerable trade, and is one of the few that has retained its ancient name. It is fifteen hours, or about forty-five miles, from Akhissar, and eight hours, or about twenty-five miles, from Smyrna.

Hasselquist remarks, that the Oriental saffron abounds in the country round about Magnesia, of which large quantities were gathered for exportation. He describes the aspect of the mountains between this place and Smyrna, as very extraordinary, — a mixture of hills and valleys, like the high billows and gulfs of a boisterous sea. "In no place," he adds, "was it more evident, that the continent we call earth, was, in the beginning, the bottom of the sea. The hills were in their form unequal, some being flat towards the top, others of a conical figure. At a distance, they seemed composed of sand, gravel, clay, or some other earth, being covered with mould and plants. But, at a nearer view, they are found to consist of a dark-brown, coarse, loose slate, composed of thin slates, and which may easily be broken by the fingers. I found hills of slate at the road side, with breaches cut through them to make passages for travellers. The other hills of Natolia consist of limestone, whitish and of a coarse grain. Mould makes the surface of all the hills, in which grow various plants, but none so common as the *arbutus andrachne*." This traveller mentions, that a caravan was at that time accustomed to go from Smyrna to Magnesia, every Sunday and Wednesday.

We have now taken a general, though necessarily imperfect survey of the beautiful and fertile country which forms the middle part of the western extremity of Asia Minor, comprehending the ancient provinces

of Ionia, Lydia, and Mysia. The leading features of this tract of country are, the valleys of the four parallel rivers, with the interjacent ridges of mountains. The Hermus and the Meander, the second and fourth of these rivers, (proceeding from north to south,) are nearly equal, as well in magnitude as in the length of their course, which is between two and three hundred miles. The northernmost, the Caicus, is the least celebrated, but not the least considerable, being formed of two branches, each of which is as long in its course as the Cayster. The latter is little more than seventy miles in length, but, by the time it reaches the sea, is swelled by its tributaries to a stream of importance. The valley of the Caystrus is but little known; and the notices contained in ancient history with regard to the towns which occupied it, are extremely scanty. Tyria stands in the central part, and it terminates, towards the sea, in the plain of Ephesus. The rivers Hermus and Caicus, each of which is formed by the union of two branches, meeting at thirty or forty miles above the mouth, water two extensive valleys, equal in natural advantages to that of the Cayster, or even that of the Meander itself, and not exceeded in beauty or fertility by any in the world. Pergamos was the chief city of the valley of the Caicus, and Sardis of that of the Hermus: the former is still the chief town in the district, but Sardis has yielded to Magnesia of Mount Sipylus, and dwindled to a mean village. The Hermus, now called Kodus or Ghedis, has for its tributaries, the Cogamus, which flows near Philadelphia; the far-famed Pactolus, the river of Sardis; and the river of Akhissar (Thyatira), the ancient Hyllus or Phrygius of Strabo. The most accessible parts of these two valleys and of their interjacent ridges, are very insufficiently explored. Of the

coast itself, between the mouths of the Hermus and the Caicus, we possess no delineation that can be relied on; and all to the east and north of Philadelphia, Thyatira, and Pergamos, as far as the Thymbres, Mount Olympus, and the coast of the Propontis, is little better than an unknown land.

GHIUZEL-HISSAR TO MELASSO AND ESKI-HISSAR IN CARIA.

THE south-western extremity of the Asiatic peninsula is the ancient Caria. For a description of these parts we are indebted chiefly to Pococke, (whose narrative is, however, extremely vague and confused,) and to Chandler. Setting out from Ghiuzel-hissar, the former traveller took the direct route to Karpusli, crossing the Meander, in about an hour, at a ferry, where the stream is half a furlong in breadth. The ferry-boat is described as resembling a sledge, in shape of a half-lozenge, the sides being not above a foot high. They form a rope of vine-stocks, which is fixed across the river; "a post in the boat rests against it, and keeps the vessel from being carried down the stream; and by the help of this, three men pull the boat from one side to the other." The passage occupies two minutes. About eight miles further, Pococke crossed a considerable stream, called the Tshina, by a wooden bridge built on nine or ten large stone piers, and about 300 feet in length. Chandler supposes this stream to be the Harpasus, while his French editor (M. Barbié du Bocage) considers it as that branch of the Meander which is called Marsyas by Herodotus. It falls into the Meander, (according to Pococke,) about half a mile below the ferry. An hour beyond the bridge over the Tshina, is Salashar, where Pococke lodged in

a miserable khan. The next day, the road lay for about a league and a half between little green hills, and then entered the small fertile plain of Karpusli, in which are five or six villages, governed by an aga. The principal one is called Demerjé. On the south side of this little plain, which is encompassed for the most part with high hills, are ruins of an ancient city, supposed by Pococke and Chandler to be the ancient Alabanda. They occupy the east side of a very high hill and a smaller hill to the east of it. There is an easy ascent by a paved way of very large stones; and about a third part of the way up the hill, are ruins of a magnificent palace, to which there was an entrance by a colonnade leading to an oblong court. There is also a portico here, of "twenty oval pillars, of a very rustic order, the capitals more simple than the Tuscan." Higher up the hill, there are remains of a beautiful theatre, hollowed for the most part into the hill, with all but the front entire. On the summit is a small mount, which has been crowned with a circular fortress. On the smaller hill, or rising ground below, are remains of a square castle, with a round tower at each corner, and of another building, apparently a palace. They are built of a large-grained, red granite, with which the mountains here abound. At the foot of the hill are a great number of sepulchres, some hewn into the rock like graves, others built like pedestals, with two or three steps round them. These ancient graves extend over a tract of considerable length. Chandler mentions also four piers of a broken aqueduct, and seven deep oval cisterns. At the time of his visit, the place was inhabited, and the ancient stadium was converted into a bazar. The village was called Karpusli, the name given by Pococke to the plain; but he makes no men-

tion of any village existing near the ancient site.* From this plain, he ascended in a southerly direction for about three miles, to an elevated plain on the summit of the mountains, about a league broad. Many herdsmen inhabit these mountains; and some of the plain parts are under cultivation, enclosures being made by large trees laid round the fields. There are said to be not only wolves, wild boars, and jackals in these parts, but also tigers and bears. An easy descent from this elevated region leads into the vale of Mylasa, computed by Pococke to be about four leagues long, and a league broad. The modern town, still called Melasso, is situated at the foot of the mountain: it is small and ill-built, but contains two very good khans, a large old mosque, that seems to have been a church, and a modern one in very good taste. It is the residence of an aga. Pococke found here about thirty Greek families: a room in a house served them for a church. It is occasionally frequented also by Armenian merchants. The air is accounted bad; and scorpions abound as anciently, entering often at the doors and windows, and lurking in the rooms. The plain, which is surrounded by lofty mountains, produces the best tobacco in Turkey, except only that of Latakia. Melasso is computed by Chandler to be twelve hours south of Karpusli. Its nearest port is Kassideh, distant about ten miles.

Mylasa, or Mylassa, was anciently the capital of Hecatomnus, king of Caria.† Under the Romans, it was a free city. Its temples and public edifices were

* Col. Leake, who places Alabanda at Arabissar, conjectures that Karpusli may be the ancient Orthosia. See Journal of Tour in Asia Minor, p. 234.

† Mausolus, his son and successor, died B.C. 355.

so numerous, that a certain musician, entering the market-place as if to make proclamation, is said to have begun with Ακουετε Ναοι, *Hear ye temples*, instead of *Hear ye people* (Ακουετε Δαοι). Among these was a temple, reckoned an exquisite piece of architecture, erected by the citizens, about twelve years before the Christian era, to Augustus Cæsar and the goddess Rome. In Pococke's time, the portico was still standing: it was of the Composite order; the other three sides had an Ionic colonnade. The building appeared to have been converted into a church. Chandler was shewn the basement, which was all that remained, the ruin having been demolished, and a new mosque on the mountain side raised with the marble. On the hill, not far from the basement of the ruined temple, is a Corinthian column, raised in honour of Menander, the grandson of Euthydemus, an illustrious citizen contemporary with Augustus Cæsar; and beneath the hill, on the east side of the town,* is an arch or gateway of marble, the architecture also of the Corinthian order. Near this are vestiges of a theatre; and round the town are ranges of broken columns, remnants of porticoes, altars, and some piers of ordinary aqueducts. About a quarter of a mile from the town is a sepulchre of a very peculiar kind, consisting of two stories. In the lower room, which has a doorway, were deposited the urns containing the ashes of the deceased: in the upper, the relations and friends solemnized the anniversary of the funeral, and performed stated rites. A hole made through the floor was designed for pouring libations of honey, milk, or wine, with which it was

* Pococke speaks of a magnificent gate entire, of the Corinthian order, but on the *west* side.

usual to gratify the manes or spirits. The roof, which is of a remarkable construction,* is supported by fluted pillars of the Corinthian order, some of which have been hewn near the bases, with a view to destroy the fabric for the sake of the iron and materials. The shafts are not circular, but elliptical, and, in the angular columns, square. The sides have been closed with marble pannels, but are now open. The inside has been painted blue. This structure is the first object as you approach from Iasus. Going down from this building, and turning from Mylasa westward, having the mountain on the right hand, you come, in about an hour, to another sepulchre cut in the rock, near the summit. Within the doorway, on each side, is a bench, on which it is supposed that the urns were placed; and beyond, is a smaller camera, or arched room. Over the entrance, without, is carved, in bas-relief, a façade consisting of two Tuscan pillars between two pilasters, with an entablature, a pediment, and a door. The slope of the mountain has been covered with innumerable sepulchres. All the country is at least populous with graves.

At or near Mylasa, there were two temples erected to Jupiter: one to Jupiter Osogus, (or Hogoas, a local name,) which contained a well of sea-water; the other, dedicated to Jupiter Carius, which was common to the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians, and stood at some distance from the town. On a steep abrupt rock, in

* There is a front of four pillars every way, supporting an entablature, on which is raised "a very grand covering of large stones laid across in four tiers one over another; every tier setting in so as to make a sort of cupola within, which, on the outside, appears like four steps in manner of a pyramid: the whole soffit is finely carved with flowers in lozenges."—Pococke.

sight from Mylasa to the south, and distant an hour and three quarters across the plain, is a ruined town called Paitshin, with a castle, which was repaired as a strong hold against Soley Bey. Part of the wall of this fortress, in which were a few cannon, stands on a flight of marble steps, probably belonging once, Chandler remarks, to the latter temple. Near it are many deserted mosques and buildings, and a ruined church then used by the Greeks. The site of the former temple might perhaps be discovered, if diligent inquiry were made in the town for its well.

Chandler took a different route to Mylasa, proceeding thither from Branchidæ in the Milesian territory. After travelling nearly south-eastward, over low stony land covered with bushes, for about two hours and a half, he came to a deep bay on the south side of Posidium, formerly called the Sinus Basilicus. The road for twenty minutes was along the beach: it then entered the Carian mountains. "We now," says Chandler, "ascended the lofty mountain Grius, and descended by a difficult winding track. About five in the evening," (they had started from the temple of Apollo Didymeus at eleven,) "we arrived at Ghauzocleu, a village fronting a pleasant bay, which is landlocked. The situation is romantic, amid naked rocks, pines, and olive-trees, the latter then laden with black fruit. Under the trees were several wells, and women were passing to and fro with their faces muffled. We were on horseback again at seven in the morning, and after a few minutes, in a beautiful plain covered with vines. Some houses were dispersed in it. We then passed over huge mountains, branches of Grius, clothed with pines, and by immense precipices. At ten minutes past ten, we had in view several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans

sitting by the doors, under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees, surrounded with flocks of goats. We turned to the right, and riding by a well in the plain, and then along the shore, arrived at Iasus, now called *Assyn-Kalesi.*

"The Iasians were a colony of Argives, and afterwards of Milesians. Their city covered a rocky islet, lying near the continent, to which it is now united by a small isthmus, and was only ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter in circumference. It had a port, and was maintained by the sea, which abounded in fish; its territory being rough and barren. Several stories were current of their eagerness to purchase that article, and one is recorded. A citharist, or harper, was displaying his skill, and the Iasians were very attentive, until a sale of fish was announced by the sound of a bell. Immediately they all hurried away, except one person who was hard of hearing. 'Sir,' says the artist to him, 'I am indeed infinitely obliged to you for the honour you do me, and for your love of harmony. Every body besides left me on the ringing of the bell.'—'*How!*' he replied, 'has the bell rung? then, Sir, your servant.'

"The north side of the rock of Iasus is abrupt and inaccessible. The summit is occupied by a mean but extensive fortress. At the foot is a small portion of flat ground. On that and on the acclivities the houses once stood, within a narrow compass, bounded to the sea by the city wall, which was regular, solid, and handsome, like that of Ephesus. This, which has been repaired in many places, now encloses rubbish, with remnants of ordinary buildings, and a few pieces of marble. Single pinks and jonquils grew among the thickets of mastic: and we sprung some large coveys of partridges, which feed on the berries. In the side

of the rock is the theatre, fronting 60m east of north, with many rows of seats remaining, but covered with soil, or enveloped in bushes. On the left wing is an inscription in very large and well-formed characters, ranging in a long line, and recording certain donations to Bacchus and the people. Beneath, near the bottom, are several stones inscribed, but not legible. By the isthmus is the vaulted substruction of a considerable edifice; and on a jamb of the doorway are decrees engraved in a fair character, but damaged, and black with smoke; the entrance, which is lessened by a pile of stones, serving as a chimney to a few Greeks who inhabit the ruin. Opposite to the isthmus is a flat point running out into the sea, with a small square fort at the extremity.

"The sepulchres of the Iasians on the continent are very numerous, ranging along above a mile on the slope of the mountain. They are built with a slaty stone, and perhaps were white-washed, as their aspect is now mean. They consist mostly of a single camera or vault, but one has a wall before it, and three chambers, which have been painted. Many of them have a small square stone over the entrance, inscribed, but no longer legible. Below the sepulchres are broken arches, and pieces of wall, among which is a massive coffin or two of marble, standing on their basements. A marble by the isthmus records an Iasian who was victorious at Olympia, and the first conqueror in the Capitoline games at Rome. We found there likewise a piece of inscribed architrave, on which, when more entire, a stoa, or portico, and Diana Civica, or the tutelary goddess of the city, were mentioned. By a wall, which seemed the remnant of a sepulchre, is a long inscription, closely but handsomely engraved on a slab of white marble, in which

the theatre is mentioned, with the Prytanéum, or town-hall, and the temples of Jupiter and Diana. While I was copying it, a Greek priest came and displaced me somewhat roughly. I was then informed, that was a church; and the stone the *holy table*. I had given offence by sitting on it. The priest was wretchedly ignorant; and among his other absurdities, told me they had a tradition that at the Last Day St. Paul will rise there, shewing the place with his foot.

"A vessel from the island of Stanchio was at anchor in the bay, with some small craft with fish, or laden with tobacco, figs, and cotton, the produce of the country. These often carry stones away for ballast. We had paid a piastre at Scio for leave to transcribe three marbles which lay on the shore, and were transported from this place. They contained honorary decrees made by the Iasians. One is of the age of Alexander the Great, and remarkable for the extreme beauty of the characters, which were as finely designed and cut as any I ever saw. These stones were part of a square pilaster before the senate-house.

"The frequent accessions of new land along the coast of Asia Minor will often perplex the classical traveller, especially if not aware of the alteration; and will render him suspicious of the ancient geographers whom he consults, as of false guides on whom he cannot depend. The cities Iasus and Bargylia were situated in the recess of the same bay, which was called the Iasian, or, more commonly, the Bargylietic; yet I inquired for the latter, as a place on the coast, without obtaining any information.

"We set out from Iasus at half an hour after one; and, crossing the plain, ascended a very high mountain. At a quarter before three we had in view,

beneath us, an extensive plain, in which was a Turkish village; and at the mountain-foot, a lake, which communicated by small meandering channels with one opposite, and that with the bay of Iasus. Within was a hillock, resembling one of the rocks of Osebashá, with ruins on it. We led our horses down the mountain by a steep track, on the left hand, into a field, in which the tall stalks of Turkey wheat were standing; and leaving behind us the distant summits of Mount Titanus, came at twenty minutes after three to a level green, occupied by Turcomans. Their flocks and cattle were feeding round the scattered booths; and cotton, recently gathered from the pods, was exposed on the ground to dry, or on the tops of the sheds, which are flat and covered with boughs. Beyond these we passed a wide water-course, and had the hillock again in view, through an opening on the right hand. I wish to have my omissions supplied, as well as my errors corrected, and therefore recommend this hillock to the notice of future travellers into these countries. I have no doubt that there was the site of Bargylia, and there a recess of the bay, since converted into a plain, which is almost enclosed with mountains. The Iasians had a famous statue of Vesta, which, it was the general belief, neither rain nor hail would touch, though standing in the open air. A temple of Diana near Bargylia was supposed to be distinguished, and treated with like reverence, by falling snow and showers. It was at a place named Kindye.

"After Bargylia on the coast, were Myndus and Halicarnassus, colonies from Troezen; and between Bargylia and Myndus was the lake Caryanda, with an island in it, and a town, the birth-place of Scylax, a very ancient geographer. The traveller who shall

examine the coast of Caria, will discover Caryanda, it is believed, encompassed in like manner with Bargylia, and in a plain."*

Proceeding between the mountains, through pleasant cultivated vales, Chandler reached Mylasa soon after sunset. (October.)

On returning from Mylasa to Miletus, Chandler passed through Mendelet, distant four hours from Iasus, three from Mylasa, and nine from Miletus. Leaving on his right hand the level green with the booths of the Turcomans mentioned in the preceding extract, he proceeded northward, and came in an hour to a beautiful and extensive plain, covered with vines, olives, and fig-trees, with flocks and herds feeding, and skirted by mountains studded with villages. Crossing this plain by a winding road, he came to a village called Iakli, where unexpectedly presented itself the "solemn ruin of a temple," standing in a nook or recess; the front, which is towards the east, close by the mountain-foot, the back and one side overlooking the plain. The architecture is very

* "There can be little doubt," remarks Colonel Leake, "that the large peninsula, towards the western end of which is the fine harbour called by the Turks *Pasha Limáni*, is the ancient island of Caryanda, now joined to the main by a narrow, sandy isthmus. *Pasha Limáni* (the port of the Pasha) is the harbour of Caryanda, noticed by Strabo, Scylax, and Stephanus; its position according with that of the other places along this coast." Next to Halicarnassus, according to Strabo, towards the W., was Termerium, a cape of the Myndii, opposite to cape Scandaria of Cos. Proceeding towards Mindus, occurred the capes Astypalæa and Zephyrium; and immediately beyond the latter was the city Myndus, with a harbour; then the city Bargylia, between which and Myndus was the harbour and island of Caryanda. Next occurred Iasus. Myndus is supposed to have stood in the small sheltered port of Gumishlu. See "Journal of a Tour," &c. p. 228.

noble: sixteen columns, of the Corinthian order, with part of their entablature, were still standing; but its marbles had been melted away, piece-meal, in the furnaces for making lime, then in use, close by the ruin. Here has stood an ancient town. Chandler traced part of the walls, which appear to have had square towers at intervals; and within them, he discovered the site of a theatre, cut in the rock, with some seats remaining. In the vineyards beneath, among broken columns and other fragments of marble, were two large, massive marble sarcophagi, carved with heads and festoons; the lids were on, but a hole had been made in their sides: they are raised on pediments. Beyond the temple are ruins of sepulchres. He supposes this to have been the site of Labranda, where was an ancient temple to the Military Jupiter, who was worshipped by the people all around. It stood in the road from Alabanda to Mylasa. But MM. Choiseul Gouffier and Barbié du Bocage suppose the ruins to be those of Euromus, one of the most important places in this part of the country at the time of the Roman wars. The Jupiter of Euromus had also considerable celebrity. An hour further on is Mendelet or Mendeliat, called also Kizeljik. This place is stated by Pococke to be more infested with scorpions than any other in these parts, "insomuch that several die every summer by the sting of this animal." He makes it five or six miles from the sea. At two hours distance, N.W., is the village Tarismanla, near the end of the plain; from which place it is an hour's ride across the mountain to Bafi, in the way to Miletus.

From Mylasa, it is a distance of six hours eastward to Eski-hissar, a poor village built on the ruins of the ancient Stratonicea; so named from Stratonice the

wife of Antiochus Soter.* It was a Macedonian colony, and the Seleucidæ adorned the city with sumptuous structures; but what remains of architectural fragments is of a later age. It was a free city under the Romans, and is said to have been rebuilt or much improved by Hadrian, who called it Hadrianopolis. In the side of a hill is a theatre, with the seats remaining, and ruins of the proscenium. Above it is a marble heap overgrown with moss, bushes, and trees; and without the village are broken arches, pieces of massive wall, and marble coffins. Some shafts of columns are standing singly; but, of the temple of Jupiter Chrysaoreus (with the golden sword), which once stood here, no trace can be made out.† The houses of the modern village are scattered among woody rising grounds, environed with high mountains, branches of Taurus. A limpid and lively rill, falling in cascades, adds to the beauty of the scene.

The chief place in this district is Mullah, about fifteen hours from Eski-hissar, where, in Pococke's time, the Pasha resided.‡ In his return to Ghiuzel-hissar, that traveller lodged the first night at the

* Its previous name was Idrias: it was also called Chrysaoris.

† This temple was common to all the Carians, who met here, at stated times, to sacrifice and to consult about the common weal. In this congress, which was called the Chrysaorean body, the respective cities had votes in proportion to the number of their villages. This temple, as well as that of Hecate at Lagina, in the same territory, had the privilege of asylum.

‡ Captain Beaufort applies to Caria in general, the modern name of Aidyn; but that district, according to Malte Brun's authorities, is more to the north, including Tyria and Ghiuzel-hissar. Mullah, Melasso, and Eski-hissar are in the district of *Mentesha*.

village Lakena, distant about four hours N.W., supposed to be the ancient *Lagenæ* or Lagina. A ruined castle crowns the hill at about a mile from the village. Two leagues to the north is the river *Paieslu*, which runs into the Tshina. Four leagues further, crossing the hills, he reached a very fine plain; and after travelling two miles, reached the village of Tshina, situated at the east end. There are remains here of fortifications, and a few sepulchral grots, shewing it to have been an ancient site,—possibly, Coscinia, which was in this neighbourhood, and to which the modern name bears some resemblance. On the south side of the same plain are the ruins of another ancient city, built partly on two high hills, and partly in the plain. In the side of one of these hills is a theatre; and, among other obscure ruins, are remains of a spacious public edifice and a strong-built church. All the buildings are of a brown sort of granite. The place is now called Arab-hissar. Pococke conjectures that it is the site of Alinda, the capital of Ada, queen of Caria, who was deprived of all her possessions by the Persians, except that city, but had afterwards all Caria restored to her by Alexander. Col. Leake, however, has adduced strong reasons for supposing this, rather than Karpusli, to have been the site of Alabanda; and the oblong Roman building mentioned by Pococke, he supposes to have belonged to the Roman *conventus*, of which Alabanda was the chief town. That city took its name from Alabandus, its founder, who was worshipped there as a god. Its citizens were distinguished by their luxury and gluttony; and the place was famous for abounding with female minstrels and scorpions. It lay in the road from Physcus on the coast, to Tralles, and its territory

was separated by a ridge of hills from that of Mylasa. These hills afford fine herbage for sheep and black cattle, with which the country abounds.

Having now reached the confines of Ionia, we return again to the line of coast, where our chief assistance will be from the accurate survey of Captain Beaufort.

COAST OF CARIA.

BETWEEN what is supposed to have been anciently the island of Caryanda and the high peninsula which terminates in Cape Krio, is the deep Gulf of Kos or of Boodroom, the ancient *Sinus Ceramicus*. Before it lies the island of Kos, which still preserves among its Greek inhabitants its ancient name, although by the Franks of the last century it was generally called Lango, and by the Turks Estanko. The town of Kos is small but populous, with a large suburb; it has a fort, built by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, but its harbour no longer exists. A shallow pond, which separates the fortress from the land, is supposed to mark its ancient port. "The same causes," remarks Captain Beaufort, "that have so marvellously changed the outlines of the coast in many parts of the Levant, and which have filled up the harbour of Kos, appear to have also generated a low alluvial point, which extends for a mile and a half to the northward of the town. It is true, that there is no river in the neighbourhood, to convey the soil and sand which are worn away from the neighbouring mountains; but the two great currents of the Archipelago, the one sweeping to the westward round the south coast of Asia Minor, the other descending from the Dardanelles, meet here, and consequently deposit the materials with which they are fraught.

Accordingly, this long projecting spot is composed of fine sand, broken shells, and rounded pumice stones. Indeed, wherever a pointed tongue of sand is found projecting into the sea, it may be considered as a sure indication of a current. The above point is probably the *Scandaria* of Strabo, which is placed by him at forty stadia from Cape *Termerium* on the continent." The alluvial deposite has since then considerably advanced.

Boodroom,* which is seated on the northern coast of the bay, opposite to the island, is believed to occupy the place of the ancient Halicarnassus. "A more inviting or convenient situation could hardly," remarks Capt. B., "have been selected for the capital." "It rises gently from the head of a deep bay, and commands a view of the island of Kos, and the southern shore of the Ceramic gulf as far as Cape Krio. In front of the town, a broad square rock projects into the bay, on which stands the citadel; a far more respectable fabric than the generality of Turkish fortresses. On the western side of the castle there is a small harbour, formerly sheltered by two stone piers,

* "If any doubt should exist," says a modern traveller, "whether Boodroom were the ancient Halicarnassus or not, it might be removed at once by this circumstance. Strabo points out the situation of the island Arconnesus; and the small island opposite to the fort of Boodroom is now called Arconeso."—(Walpole in Clarke's Travels.) The castle occupies the site of the castle and palace of Mausolus. Of the mausoleum of Artemisia, some ruins are spoken of as then existing by a writer of the sixteenth century. The Knights of Rhodes held Fort San Pietro until it surrendered to the Ottomans, with Cos and Rhodes, A.D. 1522. Boodroom is distant from Cos eighteen computed Turkish miles. Mr. Morritt speaks of the ancient frieze, representing the combats of Theseus and the Amazons, pieces of which are stuck into the walls of the castle, as equal to the marbles of the Parthenon.

which are now demolished: it is still, however, a snug port, frequented by the small Turkish cruisers; and there is generally a frigate, or a sloop of war, upon the stocks. The *serai*, or palace, stands on the margin of the harbour, as well as some small mosques, and the tomb of a Capudan Pasha who died here. The walls of the ancient city may be here and there discerned; and several fragments of columns, mutilated sculptures, and broken inscriptions, are scattered in different parts of the bazar and streets. Above the town are the remains of a theatre, which measures about 280 feet in diameter, and seems to have had about thirty-six rows of seats. We observed many other ruins in the vicinity of the town, varying in character and apparently in age, and well deserving the diligent attention of the antiquary."

The castle, which is comparatively modern, has evidently been constructed with ancient materials; and Capt. Beaufort supposes, that the celebrated mausoleum of Artemisia may have furnished them. Numerous pieces of exquisite sculpture are inserted in the walls, representing funeral processions and combats between clothed and naked figures. This castle was constructed in great haste, about A.D. 1402, by the Knights of Rhodes, on the foundations of one which they had just surprised. The modern name of the town has been supposed to be a corruption of S. Pietro, the name given to the fortress by the Knights; but Captain B. states, that *Boodroom* (the name given also to the ruins of Teos)* signifies, in Turkish, ruined vaults. Not far from Boodroom, among the hills, he was conducted to a high detached rock, flat at the top, and guarded on all sides by a

* Or *Bodrun*. See p. 120.

precipice, on which are the remains of a very ancient castle. A tradition exists, that it was built by a former monarch for the security of his wealth. He suggests, that this impregnable spot may possibly have been the castle of Salmacis, mentioned in the Expedition of Alexander, who was deterred by its formidable appearance from investing it; he is more inclined, however, to identify that castle with another old fortress, called by the Turks *Chifoot-kelassy*, or Jew's Castle, which is seated on the summit of a steep, conical hill, that rises abruptly from the shore a few miles to the westward of the bay. At the foot of this hill are scattered decayed buildings, and a spring of the purest water gushes from its side, the excellence of which is well known to coasting vessels. In the mouth of the bay of Boodroom is a large island, called by the Turks *Orak*, on the highest part of which there are also remains of a castle. On the north-east side of this island, a warm subterranean stream runs through a cave into the sea. The temperature is 100° of Fahrenheit; it is highly impregnated with sulphur, and is frequented by persons afflicted with cutaneous complaints.

The district comprised in this promontory is called *Karabaghla*, the "country of the black grape." It consists chiefly of porphyritic rock, of various colours and hardness, with irregular veins of a soft calcareous stone. Between the hills there are several rich valleys, which, from the number of windmills on the adjacent ridges, would seem to be well peopled. The Karabaghla rocks and islets are numerous. Some of them produce sponge,* which the Greek islanders

* Directly opposite to Rhodes, says Hasselquist, is "a little and almost unknown island named Himia," (a mistake, appa-

of Kalimnos are remarkably expert in procuring, Captain Beaufort witnessed the operation: the little

rently for Simio,) " which is worth notice, on account of the singular method the Greeks, inhabitants of the island, have to get their living." " In the bottom of the sea, the common sponge *(spongia officinalis)* is found in abundance, and more than in any other place in the Mediterranean. The inhabitants make it a trade to fish up this sponge, by which they get a living far from contemptible, as their goods are always wanted by the Turks, who use an incredible number of sponges at their bathings and washings. A girl in this island is not permitted by her relations to marry, before she has brought up a certain quantity of sponges, and before she can give a proof of her agility, by taking them up from a certain depth." (Voyages and Travels in the Levant, p. 175.)

Nizari (Nisyrus), another of these islands, is stated by Van Egmont and Heyman to be famous for having the best divers in the whole Archipelago. " Nor is this," they remark, " at all to be wondered at; for, when a rich man intends to marry his daughter, he appoints a certain day, when all the young men in the island disposed to marry, repair to the sea side, where they strip themselves in the presence of the father and his daughter, and doubtless a great number of spectators, throw themselves into the sea, and begin diving: and he who goes deepest into the sea, and remains longest under water, obtains the lady. This custom had doubtless its rise from the common occupation of these people; for they principally live by the sponges they pluck from the rocks at the bottom of the sea. They are also obliged to furnish a certain quantity of sponge to the Grand Signior. Thevenot relates the same custom, which, he says, prevailed in the island Nicaria; but he was mistaken in the name. On the left hand lies the island of Simio (Syme) about 18 miles in circumference. The divers here should naturally equal those of Nizari, the same custom being observed here; nor is a young man allowed to marry till he can dive twenty fathoms, and remain under water a certain time. On this island is a castle built by the Christians, who are said formerly to have had six churches." (Travels, &c. vol. i. p. 266.) The women of this island are described by Dr. Clarke as having features resembling the Tziganies (or Gipsies) of Russia. They frequent Rhodes for employment, and are the porters and water-carriers of that island. Sponge is found in great abundance off Tripoli. See vol. i. p. 227.

knob of rock from which the sponge was to be detached, was forty feet below the level of the sea. The divers descended by turns, remaining under water between two and three minutes. When quite exhausted, they were drawn up by a rope, and laid out on the deck of the boat to recover.

Cape Krio, the western point of the peninsula which forms the southern coast of this gulf, is stated by Strabo to have been an island, which was then connected with the city of Cnidus by a causeway. It is now united to the main by a sandy isthmus, on each side of which is an artificial harbour. The smallest, on the northern side, has a narrow entrance between high piers, and was evidently the closed basin for triremes mentioned by Strabo. The southern and largest port is formed by two transverse moles, which were carried out into the sea to the depth of nearly a hundred feet. Few places, remarks Capt. Beaufort, bear more incontestable proofs of former magnificence than Cnidus; and still fewer present more striking marks of the ruffian industry of their destroyers. *

* Cnidus was visited by M. Morritt, in June 1795. Of the theatre, the marble seats were then remaining, though mixed with bushes and overturned. A large *torso* of a colossal female figure with drapery, of white marble, was lying in the orchestra. This Mr. Walpole subsequently brought away, and it is now among the Greek marbles in the Cambridge University library. The English consul at Rhodes remembered it in its perfect state. Near the theatre are the foundations and ruins of a magnificent Corinthian temple, also of white marble; and several beautiful fragments of the frieze, cornices, and capitals, lie scattered about the few bases of the peristyle. Other temples and stoas, in a ruined state, occur in different directions. The artificial mole which separated the two harbours in Strabo's time, is now a neck of land about sixty or seventy yards across. The famous Venus of Praxiteles was among the number of the ornaments that once decorated this ancient city; and its effigy is still extant

The whole area of the city is one promiscuous mass of ruins, among which may be traced theatres, gateways, and porticoes. The peninsula on which it stands, is the ancient Triopium; the gulfs of Kos and Syme, which it separates, approach in some parts so near as to leave only a narrow isthmus. The latter, which is the ancient *Sinus Doridis*, or gulf of Doris, remains unexplored.* Its south-eastern shore is formed by a projection of the coast, consisting of mountainous country, running out towards the island of Rhodes. Here, nearly opposite to that island, was port Loryma, which gave its name to the rugged coast: the highest mountain was named Mount Phœnix. The supposed site of Loryma, marked by the ruins of a Hellenic fortress and town, is found on the western shore of the excellent harbour now called *Aplothika* by the

upon the medals of the place. The celebrated light-house of the Isle of Pharos was built by a Cnidian.

Cnidus formed one of the chief objects of the late mission of the Society of Dilettanti. It is said, that scarcely any Greek city contains examples of so many varied forms of Grecian architecture. Besides the two closed ports, there have been found three theatres, one of them 400 feet in diameter, several temples, stoæ, artificial terraces for the public and private buildings, and a great number of sepulchral monuments. At Halicarnassus, there are ruins of a large Doric temple. The Dorian colonies from the Peloponnesus, which settled in Halicarnassus, Cnidus, Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes, introduced the Doric architecture, and the Doric dialect, which is found in the inscriptions, into this angle of Caria.

* "No reliance can yet be placed on the outline of the gulfs of Syme and Kos. Even the extent of those magnificent bays is very uncertain; and nothing is known of the situation of the numerous towns and islands placed in them by the ancient authors, especially by Pliny. In short, the exploring of these two gulfs, with that of the coast in the vicinity of Caunus, is now one of the most interesting desiderata in the geography of Asia Minor."—LEAKE'S *Journal*, p. 221.

Greeks, and *Porto Cavaliere* by the Italians, — the ancient Cressa. The line of coast between Mount Phœnix and Telmissus, was anciently called Peræa. Here stood Physcus, a small city with a harbour and a grove sacred to Latona, from which there was a road to Alabanda and Tralles. Its site is supposed to be occupied by Marmara, which is still the usual place of debarkation from Rhodes to persons going towards Ghiuzel-hissar and Smyrna.

The fine harbour of Marmorice or Mermerycheh, in which stood the ancient Physcus, appears to have been entirely unknown, as well as that of Makri, before the arrival of Sir Sidney Smith on this coast subsequently to Bonaparte's attack on Acre: at least, their position had not been accurately determined. The entrance to this bay lies between a range of high mountains, and is so narrow, that a line-of-battle ship, or even a frigate, is not able to work in with a foul wind. There is no appearance, at some distance, of either inlet or harbour. When, however, the projecting point of land which conceals the bay is once passed, a vast basin of water, presenting an expanse of about twenty miles, with its shores rising to a great height, and covered with wood, bursts upon the view. The form of the bay is that of a triangle, the sides nearly equal, lying east, west, and south. The eastern and western sides are formed by high mountains; the southern, by an island and a peninsula joined to the eastern continent by a narrow neck of land. Between the island and the peninsula is the principal entrance: the passage between the island and the western continent, is more crooked and shallow. The main entrance lies in lat. 36° 47′ 45″ N., long. 28° 32′ 26″ E., about twenty miles almost due N. of Rhodes. It is open to no wind capable of

doing any material injury to the shipping, being completely land-locked. But in very high easterly or southerly winds, the motion of the open sea is communicated to the interior of the bay, and causes a considerable swell; and the wind sometimes blows in heavy squalls from the high land.

The town of Marmorice (Marmara) is situated near the northern extremity of the eastern side of the bay, about five miles from the entrance. It stands on a little rocky eminence, and is very irregularly built, having no street, but merely a few dirty, crooked lanes. The houses are represented by Dr. Hume, who visited the place in 1801, as bearing a striking resemblance to the cottages in Scotland, which, in barren districts, are built of whinstone. In the higher part of the town is a modern castle, almost in ruins, having a few rusty cannon placed on its walls. Behind the town is a small mosque, very plain, but neat. There are no remains of the ancient Physcus here; but this traveller states, that he found part of a shaft of a column among some low wood, about a mile to the west of the town, and more remains might probably be discovered in that direction. To the N. W. of the town is an extensive plain, well watered by a number of rivulets which descend from the adjacent highlands; but in some places near the sea, it is very marshy: it is divided into enclosures, mostly in the state of meadow, among which are a few rude cottages. Near the town are fine plantations of orange-trees. On the western side of the bay, beyond this plain, is a considerable tract of ground nearly level, lying between the sea and the foot of the mountains, covered in many parts with brush-wood; and along the beach is a road leading to a picturesque valley, a little further south than the

entrance to the bay, watered by a rivulet which winds among thickets of myrtle, laurel, willow, and wild sage. On the border of this rivulet are a few rude cottages. On the east side of this valley, at the outside of the harbour, the appearance of the ground rising from near the sea to the foot of the rocks is so singular, as to suggest the idea of its being the work of art. It forms a small segment of a great circle, facing the sea towards Rhodes, and rises by regular terraces, like the seats of an immense theatre, each terrace being about ten feet broad, and three feet in elevation above the one below it. In most parts the terraces are covered with a smooth turf. Neither marbles nor inscriptions were discernible, and hardly any rubbish. The height of the rocks is between fifty and sixty feet. In climbing the terraces, Dr. Hume noticed a prodigious excavation in one part of these rocks, with a road leading to it from the mountain behind; but a deep ravine prevented his reaching the spot from the terraces. This spot seems particularly deserving of further examination.

On the arrival of the English, a number of people soon collected together in the town from the interior of the country: they formed a market upon stands in the open air, offering for sale, among other articles, dried figs, raisins, walnuts, honey, wax, tobacco-pipes of coarse workmanship, and a confection of walnuts and almonds. The Turks in this part are described as stout, handsome men, with swarthy complexions and dark, piercing eyes; but as to the Karamanian women, "the few we saw at Marmorice," says Dr. H., "had no pretensions to beauty; their dress also was unbecoming. The head is enveloped in a large handkerchief or bonnet, the limbs are concealed by wide trowsers, and the whole body is wrapped in a loose

A KARAMANIAN WARRIOR.

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upper garment." On them it devolves to till the ground and follow other laborious occupations, while their husbands are abroad in pursuit of game. The wild boar is found in the neighbouring woods. Jackals are numerous. Partridges with red bills and feet, woodcocks, snipes, wood and rock pigeons, wild ducks, and tortoises abound. The black long-haired goat is common, as is a small breed of black cattle, resembling those of the Scottish Highlands. Sheep are few. Some dromedaries were observed in the vicinity of the town.

The narrow isthmus which connects the high peninsula with the main land, is flat, and in many places covered with sand. It is probable that, if not originally an artificial causeway, it is the formation of the waters. A little to the south-east of the isthmus, is the fine bay of Karagatch, which, though smaller, is as safe as that of Marmorice, and not less picturesque. This is supposed to be the Panormus of the city of Caunus, which was seated on the eastern side of the river Calbis. *

Caunus, the next place on this coast, was the chief city of Peræa: † it had docks and a closed port; near it, the Calbis was navigable for boats. Beyond this, 60 stades inland, was the city Calynda. Then

* For the preceding description of Marmorice Bay, see Walpole's Travels. 4to. pp. 251 — 254.

† Peræa (Rhodium) was the name given to the coast of Caria, opposite to Rhodus, which formed, for several centuries, a dependency of that opulent republic. As a reward for their assistance in the Antiochian war, the Romans gave its citizens a part of Lycia, and all Caria as far as the Meander. The limits of Peræa, according to Strabo, were Dædala on the east and Mount Loryma on the west. Its chief town was Caunus. Vespasian finally reduced Rhodus itself into a provincial form, joining it to Caria.

occurred the cape and temple Artemisium, supposed to be the promontory now called *Bokomadhi*, which forms the western point of the gulf of Makri (anciently Glaucus). The town of Makri, from which it takes its modern name,* is situated on an excellent harbour at the bottom of this deep and safe gulf. From thence the government expresses and travellers from Constantinople embark for Egypt. Firewood is also sent from here to that country, and timber, tar, cattle, and salt, are exported to the island of Rhodes. Small vessels, therefore, are always to be found in the gulf; and provisions are cheap and easy to be procured, owing to the constant demand. The place is dependent on the pashalic of Adalia.

TELMESSUS.

MEI, the port of Makri, is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Telmessus, of which there remain considerable ruins. The theatre, the porticoes, and the sepulchral chambers excavated in the rocks at this place, are some of the most remarkable remains of antiquity in Asia Minor. For the best description of these, we are indebted to the late Dr. E. D. Clarke, who visited Makri, in 1801, in his voyage to Egypt.

"The ruins," says the learned traveller, "lie towards the east and west of the present town, or, in truth, all around it; for, when the modern town was built, it arose from the ruins of the ancient city. The first and principal ruin appears from the sea, before landing, to the west of the town. It is that of an immense theatre, whose enormous portals are

* Macaria was one of the many ancient names of Rhodes, but Pliny mentions an island named *Macris*, lying towards the river Glaucus.

yet standing: it seems to be one of the grandest and most perfect specimens which the ancients have left of this kind of building.* The situation selected for it, according to a custom observed throughout Greece, is the side of a mountain sloping to the sea. Thus, by the plans of Grecian architects, the vast operations of Nature were rendered subservient to works of Art; for the mountains on which they built their theatres possessed naturally a theatrical form, and, towering behind them, exhibited a continuation of the immense *coilon* which contained the seats for the spectators, giving a prodigious dignity to their appearance. Indeed, it may be said, that not only the mountains, but the sea itself, and all the prospect before the spectators assembled in these buildings, must have been considered by the architects as forming parts of one magnificent design. Every thing at Telmessus is Cyclopean: a certain vastness of proportion, as in the walls of Tirynthus or of Crotona, excites a degree of admiration mingled with awe; and this may be said to characterise the vestiges of the Dorian colonies all over the coast of Asia Minor." Some of the stones used in its construction are nine feet long, three feet wide, and two feet thick. Five immense portals, not unlike the ruins of Stonehenge, conducted to the arena. Of these, three are standing. The stones which compose these gates, are yet larger: the central gateway consists only of five, and the two others, of three each, placed together without any cementa-

* It is smaller than that of Patara, the diameter being only 254 feet, (see p. 232), which, Dr. Clarke says, is not half that of the theatre of Alexandria Troas. "Yet the effect produced by it," he adds, "seemed to be greater." It has twenty-eight rows of seats, divided, at the fifteenth seat from the bottom, by a *diazama* or corridor, all of which remain entire.

tion or grooving. The uprights of the central portal are ten feet two inches, and five feet eleven inches high, making the whole height sixteen feet one inch; they are three feet ten inches broad, and twenty inches thick. The transverse stone is ten feet seven inches long. The stones of which the walls consist, between the portals, are eight feet ten inches in length: these, too, are laid one upon another without cement, exhibiting the same simple and massive structure as the rest of the building. Before the front of the theatre extended a noble terrace, to which a magnificent flight of steps conducted from the sea. The walls of the theatre have furnished materials for building the pier of the present town.

Near this theatre there are other remains; among others, a lofty and very spacious vaulted apartment, open in front, hewn in the rock beneath the declivity upon which the theatre is situated. The sides are of the natural stone, but the back part is of masonry, stuccoed so as to look like the rock, but evidently intended to serve as a screen, concealing a recess of the same height and breadth as the vault itself. In this recess, Dr. Clarke conjectures, that the soothsayers, for which Telmessus was renowned,* probably secreted themselves, so that when persons entered the vault to consult the oracle, a voice apparently supernatural might give the answer. The entrance to it is concealed, but, either by accident or design, a small aperture has been broken in the wall, about four feet from the floor. A flight of steps extended from this remarkable cave to the shore.

* So renowned was Telmessus for the art of divination, that Crœsus, king of Lydia, sent, on one occasion mentioned by Herodotus, to consult its seers. The famous *haruspex* or soothsayer of Alexander the Great, was Aristander of Telmessus.

The tombs of Telmessus are of two kinds. The more extraordinary are sepulchres hewn in the face of perpendicular rocks, in places where the sides of the mountain exhibit an almost inaccessible steep. "In these situations," says Dr. Clarke, "may be seen excavated chambers, worked with such marvellous art as to resemble porticoes with Ionic columns, and gates and doors beautifully sculptured, on which are carved the representations of embossed iron work, bolts and hinges. Yet, every such appearance, however numerous the parts that compose it, proves, upon examination, to consist of one stone. A similar style of workmanship may be observed in the stupendous Indian temples. When any of the columns have been broken at their bases, they remain suspended by their capitals, being, in fact, a part of the architrave and cornice which they seem to support, and therefore sustained by the mass of rock above, to which they all belong. These are the sepulchres which resemble those of Persepolis. The other kind of tomb found at Telmessus, is the true Grecian *soros*, the sarcophagus of the Romans. Of this sort there are several, but of a size and grandeur far exceeding any thing of the kind elsewhere, standing, in some instances, upon the craggy pinnacles of lofty, precipitous rocks. It is as difficult to determine how they were there placed, as it would be to devise means for taking them down; of such magnitude are the single stones composing each soros. Nearer to the shore, and in less elevated situations, appear other tombs, of the like nature, and of still larger size, which are formed of more than one stone; and almost all exhibit inscriptions. The largest of those near to the shore, situated in a valley between the mountains and the sea, is composed of five immense masses, four being used

for the sides, and one for the lid. The length is ten feet, by eight feet five inches wide. A small opening, shaped like a door, is barely large enough to allow a passage for the human body. Examining its interior by means of this aperture, we perceived another small square opening in the floor of this vast soros, which seemed to communicate with an inferior vault. Such cavities might be observed in all the sepulchres of Telmessus, excepting those cut in the rocks; as if the bodies had been placed in the lower receptacle, while the soros above answered the purpose of a cenotaph. Such a mode of interment is still exhibited in all our English cemeteries: it is a practice that we derived from the Romans, and the form of their sarcophagus may yet be noticed in almost every churchyard of our island. Gipsies, who were encamped in great numbers among the ruins, had used some of the vaults as sheds for their goats."

"The first species of sepulchres, which Dr. Clarke terms Persepolitan, is evidently of Asiatic origin; the second may be referred to the Dorian colonists, whose dialect is retained in almost every inscription extant on these shores. That which Dr. Clarke copied from the large soros above described, the tomb of Helen, the daughter of Jason,* was supposed by Professor Porson to be older than the 100th Olympiad (B.C.

* The inscription is as follows: "Helen, who was also Aphion, the daughter of Jason, the son of Diogenes, a woman of Telmessus, constructed this edifice for herself, and late in life has buried herself therein; and to Apollonides her own son; and to Helen, who is likewise called Aphion, her own grand-daughter; but to nobody else be it allowed to be deposited in the turret, after that she herself is therein entombed. But if any person presume to put any person therein, let him be devoted to the infernal gods, and let him yearly pay to the treasury of the Telmessensians fifteen drachms," (nine shillings and eight pence farthing.)

377). A little to the east of this, is another singular monument, of a quadrangular form, consisting of enormous masses of stone placed together without cement, and having the appearance of a basement to some obelisk or pyramid. Viewed externally, it seems to be a solid cube; but having effected an entrance by means of chasms produced by earthquakes, Dr. Clarke found within, an arch upon each of the sides. "Between these arches, the intervening parts, that is to say, the solid angles of the building, are each of one entire stone of incredible size, and scooped within so as to form a dome by meeting in the upper part of the fabric. Upon the outside, the arches were walled up, to give additional strength to the building. All the ground before it towards the sea had been levelled, and was formerly covered with masonry." The interior of the excavated sepulchres exhibits a square chamber, with one or more receptacles for bodies, shaped like baths upon the sides of the apartment, and neatly chiselled in the body of the rock. The mouths have been originally closed by square slabs exactly fitted to the grooves cut for their reception. But some of these sepulchres are without any discoverable entrance. The seeming doors proved, on examination, to be integral parts of the solid rock; nor would the interior have been discerned, had not an aperture been made by violence in one of the divisions hewn in imitation of pannels. Dr. Clarke supposes that the real entrance must have been concealed by the curious cement observed in the "oracular cave," and that the only clew was probably in the possession of the family or of the priests. "Hence may have originated the Oriental tales of charms used in admission to subterraneous caves and chambers of the dead." Inscriptions were found on many of these

sepulchres, in various characters, and referrible to very different periods; some in well-formed, legible Greek, but others, it is supposed, "of Phenician workmanship."

The appearance of all the south of Asia Minor, from the sea, is described by this traveller as fearfully grand; and no part possesses more eminently, he says, the sources of the sublime, so far as they are to be found in vastness and terror, than the entrance to the Gulf of Glaucus. The mountains around it, marking the confines of Caria and Lycia, are so high, that their summits are covered with snow throughout the year. It is difficult of access, and is generally dreaded by Greek mariners, because, when sailing towards it with a *leading* wind, they often encounter a "*head* wind" blowing from the Gulf, and causing a heavy swell within its mouth, where they are liable also to dangerous calms, as well as to sudden squalls from the mountains. The Gulf inclines so much to the south, after passing the isles which obstruct the entrance, that ships may lie as in a basin: its extremity is quite land-locked. In summer, the air is quite pestiferous: a complete *malaria* prevails over every part of it. "It may generally be remarked," says Dr. Clarke, "that wherever the ruins of ancient cities exist, the air is bad, owing to water which has been made stagnant by the destruction of aqueducts and conduits used for the public baths, and to the filling up of channels formerly employed to convey water, which is now left, forming fens and stinking pools. But it is not to such causes alone that the bad air of the Bay of Macri may be ascribed. The lofty mountains entirely surrounding it, leave the Gulf as it were in the bottom of a pit, where the air has not a free circulation, and where the atmosphere is often so sultry, that respiration is difficult: at the same time,

sudden gusts of cold wind rush down at intervals from the snowy heights, carrying fever and death to those who expose their bodies to such refreshing but deceitful gales. During the Egyptian expedition, ships came hither to obtain wood and water for the fleet; but their crews being attacked by the natives of the coast, who are a very savage race of mountaineers, it was usual to send to Cyprus for those supplies."

We have now reached the coast of ancient Lycia, included under the modern name of Karamania. To the east of the Gulf of Glaucus, a knot of high and rugged mountains, the ancient Mount Cragus of Lycia, forms the projection of coast known by the name of Yedy-Booroon (Gr. *Hepta* or *Efta Kavi*), the Seven Capes. Mount Cragus was the abode of the fabulous Chimæra, a monster with a lion's head, the body of a goat, and the tail of a dragon. The explanation is, that the summits abounded with lions, the sides with goats, the bottom with serpents. Mount Anti-Cragus, which is to the west of the Seven Capes, nearer to Telmessus, rises to an elevation of 6000 feet. At the foot of Mount Cragus, the river Xanthus winds through an extensive valley; and a little to the eastward of its mouth, the ruins of the city of Patara stand near the sea shore. This place, once celebrated for its oracle of Apollo, still preserves its ancient name and many traces of its former grandeur. It was the port of the city of Xanthus, distant about eight or nine miles inland on the banks of the river of the same name, and described by Strabo as the largest city in Lycia. Xanthus was distinguished by the singularly desperate resistance which it presented to both the Persian and the Roman armies. Its site has never been explored by any modern traveller; but Captain Beaufort was informed of very extensive ruins

in that direction, which he was unable to visit.* The small port of Patara is entirely filled up by encroaching sands: it is now a swamp choked up with bushes, and all communication with the sea is cut off by a straight beach, through which there is no opening. The sand has not only filled up the harbour, but has accumulated to a considerable height between the ruins and the river Xanthus. "Long ranges of sand-hills rise with a gradual slope from behind each other, and then break off in abrupt faces, leaving valleys between each ridge. The acclivity is in the direction of the prevailing wind, from the westward; and the surface, on which small eddies of fine sand are in continual motion, is wrinkled like a sea-beach when uncovered by the tide." The ruins of the city are extensive. There is a theatre, excavated in the northern side of a small hill, resembling the other Asiatic theatres: it is somewhat more than a semi-circle, is 265 feet in diameter, and contained thirty-four rows of marble seats, few of which have been disturbed. The proscenium too is in good preservation, and bears a long and very perfect inscription, recording the building of the theatre by Q. Velius Titianus, and its dedication by his daughter, Velia Procla, in the fourth consulate of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 145). There are ruins of a bath, which appears, from an inscription, to have been erected by the Emperor Vespasian. A small ruined temple stands on the side of the hill on which the theatre is built; and not far from thence, towards the summit, there is a deep circular pit of singular appearance. A flight of steps leads to the bottom, and from

* Dr. Clarke was informed of extensive ruins at a village called Koinooky, a day's journey and a half from Makri, and to the east of Yedy-Booroon, which, he supposed, might be those of Xanthus or of Patara.

the centre, a square pillar rises above the surface of the ground. Capt. Beaufort suggests that this may have been the seat of the oracle; that the insulated pillar may have supported the statue of the deity, and the pit have afforded some secret means of communication for the priest. The town walls, which have enclosed an area of considerable extent, may easily be traced, as well as the situation of a castle which commanded the harbour, and of several towers which flanked the walls. At their northern extreme, facing the theatre, one of the gates is still erect, consisting of a triple arch, with six projecting scrolls between them, on which there have been inscriptions. On the outside of the walls, there is a multitude of stone sarcophagi, most of them bearing inscriptions, but all of them open and empty. Within the walls, temples, altars, pedestals, and fragments of sculpture, appear in profusion, but ruined and mutilated. In a temple, which, from the frequent recurrence of the word ΖΕΤΣ, was probably dedicated to Jupiter, a colossal hand was found, of good workmanship, the fingers nine inches long, in the act of grasping, but the thunderbolt is gone! Dagon has fallen, if not before the Ark, before the baleful Crescent. Patara is now uninhabited. A few solitary peasants only were found, tending the cattle that wandered about the silent plain.

Two miles to the eastward of Patara, there is a large and gloomy bay, now called Kalamaki, and answering to the description given by Livy of Port Phœnicus, in which the Roman fleet anchored previously to the attack on Patara. From the excessive depth of the water, there is but indifferent anchorage: small vessels, however, find shelter in the creeks. From thence, a high rugged shore, off which lie several barren islands, extends to the harbour and town of

Kastelorizo (Castel Rosso), situated on the eastern side of a large rocky island of that name. The harbour is small and snug: merchant-ships of any size can moor within a hundred yards of the houses, and, on the opposite side, may even lie so close to the shore as that it may be reached by means of a plank. Two old castles command the town, the harbour, and the outer anchorage, but they have been almost destroyed by the Russians. On the summit of the island, which is about 800 feet above the level of the sea, there is another small ruined fortress, from its situation all but impregnable. The knights of Rhodes are said to have kept possession of this island till the year 1440; and these castles and fortifications, which seem to be of the architecture of the Middle Ages, may have been their work. In a plain in the interior, Col. Leake found the remains of ancient buildings which he judged to be of Hellenic construction. The island produces absolutely nothing: meat, fruit, corn, and vegetables, all come from the continent. Water is scarce on this part of the coast. "From the valley of Patara to the river of Myra," Capt. B. states, "an uninterrupted range of mountains abruptly rising from the sea, forbids the passage of any stream. The winter torrents cease with the rains, and from April to November, the inhabitants have no resource but in the capacity of their reservoirs." The town is inhabited principally by Greeks, but is under the government of a Turkish aga, dependent on the Bey of Rhodes. It carries on a considerable commerce with Alexandria, which is supplied, in a great measure, with timber and charcoal from the woody mountains of Karamania.

This island, by far the largest of Lycia, (the Megiste of the ancients,) is supposed to derive its modern name (Red Castle) from the reddish tinge given to the cliffs

by an ochry drip which exudes from between the strata of limestone. It forms the west side of a gulf that is crowded with small islands and rocks, and which communicates with the two capacious harbours of Vathy and Sevedo. The latter has almost every good quality that can be desired; a tongue of rock forming a natural pier, with sufficient depth of water for a ship of the line. The former, though very long and well sheltered, is too narrow and too deep to be commodious. In the limestone cliffs that rise from Port Sevedo are several sepulchres, or catacombs, hollowed out of the rock, containing numerous cells; they have been closed with stone doors. Many sarcophagi are scattered on the side of the hill, and a square column crowns the top of a neighbouring mountain; but there were found no remains of any buildings worth notice. The high mountain that rises from the northern shore of Port Vathy, also contains many excavated sepulchres; and on the elevated neck of land that separates it from the gulf, are remains of considerable buildings. Among these is a theatre, with twenty-six rows of seats, rudely built in comparison with that of Patara, but beautifully placed, with its front to the sea, and commanding a view of the little archipelago of islands that dapple the surface of the bay. There is a small temple, in which was found some tesselated pavement, of black and white stone and red brick. Near this are several circular pits lined with stucco; either cisterns or granaries. The shore is here faced with masonry, which appears to have supported a terrace, or avenue, extending about half a mile along the margin of the bay, and connecting the theatre and the other public buildings with the town. Traces of this town may be observed near a small artificial harbour formed by one of those

ancient piers, the remains of which are so numerous in the Levant. Groupes of sarcophagi surround the place, some plain, others ornamented, and generally bearing inscriptions, which, from the rudeness of their execution, and the uncommon characters intermixed with the Greek letters, appear to be very ancient. Some of these sarcophagi have two chambers, one over the other. This little port is the landing-place for boats from the island of Kastelorizo; there is, consequently, the usual appendage of a coffee-house, to which, and a few huts, the inhabitants give the name of Antiphilo. They occupy the site, in fact, of the Antiphellus of Strabo, and the name of the ancient city occurs in two or three of the inscriptions.

"To the eastward of Kastelorizo," continues Capt. Beaufort, "parallel ranges of hills form the coast into long islands and peninsulas, with deep inlets of the sea between them. One of these spacious entrances is called Kakava Bay. It is separated from the sea by an island of the same name, and from an inner harbour by a narrow neck of land terminating in a steep rocky hill. The hill is covered with ruined walls, once intended for fortifications; and on its summit are the remains of a castle commanding both the harbours and every approach by sea or land. A few small cannon are scattered about the walls, which, from their appearance, would be destructive to those only who might fire them; but, in truth, there was nothing to defend, the Aga living at a distance, and the inhabitants of some wretched hovels on the shore having migrated to the mountains during the summer. This, we learned, is a common custom on these coasts, in order to avoid the intense heat, and the myriads of moschitoes that infest the rocks about the shore. They select a spot where the thick foliage of the trees affords

them shelter; a neighbouring valley readily yields a little tobacco and corn; and they enjoy that greatest of all luxuries to a Turk—repose, till the approach of winter again summons them to their huts on the sea-side. At the foot of the hill, there is a small pier and quay; and the foundations of dwelling-houses, reservoirs, and stairs hewn out of the rock, shew that it was once a place of some consequence. On the inside shore of the long island of Kakava, and immediately opposite to the above castle, are the remains of a large collection of houses, extending about half a mile along the bay, but unconnected by any road or street. The face of the island is wholly in a state of nature; so covered with loose projecting rocks, and intersected by irregular chasms, that all communication must have been carried on by water; and accordingly, every house has a flight of steps cut in the rock, for the convenience of boats. It is remarkable, that, in some places, three or four of the lower steps, and even the foundations of walls, are now beneath the surface of the water. Various modern travellers describe submerged ruins at Aboukir and at the Pharos of Alexandria, on the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, and, by a curious coincidence, in nearly the same longitude as Kakava. To account for these and similar facts, some eminent philosophers have supposed, that the level of the sea has gradually risen; but were that the cause, we should undoubtedly have observed a repetition of the same effect in our progress along the rest of the coast. These appearances have also been ascribed to earthquakes, and even to the subsidence of the land itself. I am, however, inclined to think, that the particular case in question, may be more simply explained, than by any of those hypotheses. Though there are no tides in this part of the Mediterranean,

at least none that perceptibly depend on the influence of the moon, yet, a considerable rise and fall of the sea is produced by the alternate prevalence of the north and south winds: the former last for many weeks in summer, and, when violent, lower the surface of the water upwards of two feet. This circumstance would have obviously afforded sufficient opportunity for laying the foundations, and forming the steps of Kakava. A south-east wind may be supposed to produce the same results on the coast of Egypt; but the authors above quoted only mention the facts in general terms, without stating the depth of water.

"The island of Kakava* is a narrow ridge of rock, incapable of yielding a constant supply of water. Each house had, therefore, a tank hollowed in the rock, and lined with stucco. The appearance of these houses is not very ancient; and probably, few centuries have elapsed since these now desolate shores teemed with a numerous and industrious population. At the western end of Kakava Island, there is a small Christian chapel, in a cove called Xera, which, though in ruins, is still visited by the Greek coasting sailors. There are no Turks on the island to molest them; the cove affords shelter during the strong sea breezes; and in the chapel, they pay their devotions to their favourite saint. This deep inlet is divided by a low isthmus from another arm of the sea, that fronts Kastelorizo Bay. On a rocky hill, which rises from the isthmus, stand the ruins of a town, containing a profusion of half-destroyed dwelling-houses, towers, walls, and sarcophagi. Though beautifully situated, it is entirely deserted; and in the course of the morning which was employed in exploring the western extremity of

* The *Dolichisté* of Ptolemy and Stephanus.

this district, only one voice cheered us from the adjacent mountains. A few spots on the isthmus had been recently cultivated, and we found something in the shape of a plough concealed in the brushwood; but the labourers and the produce had alike disappeared. The inner harbour above mentioned is called Port Tristomo. In the entrance are several small rocks, on which (and indeed on every rock and islet in the whole compass of this place) may be found some remains of buildings. Port Tristomo is about two miles long, and, though shallow at one end, is an excellent harbour. No ruins of any magnitude were observed on its shores, but sufficient traces of buildings to prove that they were once as thickly peopled as the other parts of this district. The whole of these islands and bays may be included under the general Greek name, Kakava, pronounced by the Turks, Kěkyŏva. Miletius, the modern Greek geographer, says, that a colony from Myra settled here, who named the place Kakava, from the multitude of partridges. They still abound in great numbers. On landing in one of the eastern coves, a little before sun-rise, two or three hundred were started by the bowman, as he vaulted to the shore; and the noise they made on taking wing together from beneath the bushes, was astonishing. They are of the red-legged species, and a large bird, but not so well-flavoured as the grey. They run with great swiftness, and, though but little molested, are peculiarly wary.

"Future events may possibly restore this place to its former population and importance. Its numerous creeks and easy access will always render it a favourite resort of the small and timid coasters of the Levant; while its great extent, its bold shores, and the facility of defence, may hereafter point it out as an eligible

place for the rendezvous of a fleet. Both here and at Kastelorizo, the many detached islands and secure bays would afford convenient situations for airing stores, for unloading prizes or transports, for stretching rigging, and for the various operations of a refit; and both these ports may be considered as the more valuable, as from hence to Syria there is but one land-locked harbour. In common, however, with Kastelorizo, this place has the serious defect of wanting a constant supply of fresh water; for the scorching heat of summer dries up all the rivulets. Good water was found in several of the reservoirs attached to the ruined houses, but a fleet could not trust to such precarious means. Neither are refreshments easily obtained here. We were obliged to send to Myra to purchase bullocks; and though the officer was accompanied by the Aga of Kakava, he found great difficulty in persuading the inhabitants to part with even one.

"About three miles to the eastward of the innumerable islands and creeks of Kakava, we came to the mouth of the Andraki, a small brackish river that washes the ruins of the ancient and celebrated city of Myra. On the north side of the entrance of this river are several ruined houses, sarcophagi, and tombs; and on the other side stand the remains of a spacious Roman granary: it was divided into seven compartments, each of which had a door to the front. Above the granary, on the summit of a peaked hill, is a small ruined temple of very white marble. This hill commands an interesting view of the indented shores of Kakava, and of the extensive plain of Myra, which is bounded to the northward by a range of huge black mountains. The name of the river bears a strong resemblance to Andriacé, a sea-port town placed a few miles to the eastward of Dolichisté by Ptolemy; and a

passage in Appian seems to place it beyond doubt, that these ruins are the remains of that town. He calls Andriacé the port of Myra; and adds, that Lucullus broke the chain which crossed it, ascended the river, and plundered that city."

The ruins of Myra stand about three miles up the river, and a village near them retains the ancient name. It was seated on a commanding hill. Here is a theatre, 355 feet in diameter, in a very perfect state, together with the remains of several public buildings, and numerous inscribed sepulchres, on some of which are the "Lycian" characters, found also at Telmessus, Limyra, and Cyana. Mr. Cockerell found here some fragments of masterly sculpture; but one of the Turkish inhabitants, who are described as being more than ordinarily jealous and ferocious, exclaimed, as he was examining some statues, "If the infidels are attracted here by these blasphemous figures, the temptation shall soon cease; for when that dog is gone, I will destroy them." Myra is considered by the present race of Greeks as a place of peculiar sanctity. "Here," they say, "St. Paul preached; here is the shrine of St. John; and above all, here are deposited the ashes of St. Nicolo"—their patron saint, to the honour of possessing whose body, however, both Venice and Bari lay claim. The bishop of Myra was the metropolitan of thirty-six suffragan sees. It was originally a Rhodian colony.* The plain of Myra is partly cultivated, and it displayed some symptoms of

* The other chief cities of Lycia were, Pinara, which was under Mount Cragus, in the interior; Tlos, situated at the passage of the mountains leading from the coast; Patara; Xanthus; and Olympus. There was also a city named Cragus. Telmessus is mentioned by Strabo as a small city. It afterwards appears to have risen in importance.

commerce in the heaps of billet-wood and deal plank which lay on the beach, when Captain Beaufort visited it, ready for exportation. A considerable lake intervenes between the plain and the range of mountains which, bending to the southward, forms Cape Phineka. This lake is probably of comparatively modern formation. It is separated from the sea only by a narrow ridge of sand and gravel, the shape and limits of which are prescribed by the opposing efforts of the strong current from within, and of the sea without. The former sweeps along its interior edge, supplying it, probably, with fresh accessions of soil from the mountains, while the external surf rolls back the loose gravel, and piles it up like a wall. The river which feeds this lake, is conjectured to be the ancient Limyrus; and some large ruins on the northern bank of the lake, may be the ruins of Limyra, which, according to Strabo, stood 20 stadia from the sea. On the eastern side of Cape Phineka stands an ancient fortress, in which Captain Beaufort found a solitary inhabitant. There is a village up the valley, the name of which is not given; and the aga asserted, that four hours further up the country, there was an ancient site, where lay many remains of columns and sculptures. It may possibly be the ruins of Tlos. Phineka Bay affords convenient anchorage. Ships lie at no great distance from two rivers of excellent water, on the banks of which grow small trees fit for fire-wood. A few wandering cattle, and, here and there, a patch of cultivation, serve only to render more conspicuous the general desolation which reigns in this once fertile vale. A considerable number of deals, however, are exported, the surrounding mountains being clothed with the dark dwarf-pine which characterises all the coast.

Cape Khelidonia or Khelidhoni, the ancient *Promontorium Sacrum*, is the next point on the coast. It is a termination of a side branch of Mount Taurus. Five rugged islands lie within a short distance from it, which, among the Greeks, preserve their ancient name, *Chelidoniæ*, said to have been derived from the number of swallows by which they are frequented: this name the Italians softened into Celidoni, which the Turks have corrupted into Shelidan. Three of these islands exhibit a very singular appearance, in a cleft which intersects the ridge of the island, "as if the crust of the earth had been cloven in parallel lines, and the intervening belt of rock had descended till again wedged in the chasm." It is remarkable that Strabo mentions only three islands, instead of five; and Capt. Beaufort suggests, that the above phenomenon may have been produced by an earthquake that, at the same time, rent the three islands into five. A similar chasm nearly divides the adjacent island of Grambousa; (the Crambusa of Strabo, and Dionysia of Scylax and Pliny;) and under the high and narrow ridge of rock which connects the two parts, is a natural tunnel, through which sweeps a rapid current. At the northern extremity of this island, a vein of dark and brittle serpentine peeps up from under the limestone cliffs; and on the main land, a stratum of this rock extends for several miles along the shore. A short reef, composed of broken fragments of this rock, projects from every cliff into the sea. If these islands rest on the same basis, it is possible that the various phenomena of clefts, chasms, and tunnels, may be owing to the common operations of nature, rather than to any subterraneous convulsion; the friable substratum being gradually undermined by the unceasing stress of the swell and current. Another

singular circumstance, says Capt. Beaufort, in the island of Grambousa, is a little stream of excellent water, which bursts from a sharp and barren ridge on its eastern side, and the source of which would appear to be in the mountains of the continent. "If so, its channel of communication must pass under the bed of the sea, which is 170 feet deep between this island and the main."

The line of coast now assumes a northern direction. Passing Adratchan Bay and Island, the voyager arrives at Port Genovese, a snug little harbour, but without inhabitants, and with only a few scattered ruins of houses. The scenery is here very grand. White cliffs rise perpendicularly out of the sea to the height of six or seven hundred feet, capped with dark pines; above them towers the majestic peak of Adratchan (*Mons Phœnicus*); while the snowy summits of still loftier ranges exhibit, in the distance, every variety of outline and effect. At the northern foot of that great peak, a small river, that winds by a succession of steep gaps through several parallel ranges of hills, enters the sea from between two rocky points, close to each other. The mouth was formerly guarded by a castle, which stands on one of these points, in the midst of many buildings more or less ruined, but having altogether a neat and comparatively modern appearance. The inhabitants are mostly Turks, who prefer occupying wretched huts, to the trouble of repairing these substantial dwellings. The name of the village is *Deliktash*, the "Perforated Rock;" so called from a natural gateway in one of the points of rock, through which passes the only road to the adjacent valley. The opening between the rocky points through which the river flows, expands into a small circular plain, surrounded with an amphitheatre of mountains,

and filled with ruins of an ancient date, which, by means of inscriptions, are identified with the city of Olympus. Here is a theatre, a spacious temple, and tombs innumerable. About two miles from the village, a volcanic flame issues from the mountain, the small and steady light of which may be seen at night from the sea. Pliny mentions the phenomenon; it must, therefore, have existed for ages; and Scylax, the geographer, mentions a temple of Vulcan which formerly stood on the spot. It is called the *Yanar*, and is thus described by Capt. Beaufort. "In the inner corner of a ruined building, the wall is undermined so as to leave an aperture of about three feet diameter, shaped like the mouth of an oven: from thence the flame issues, giving out an intense heat, but producing no smoke on the wall; and though, from the neck of the opening, we detached some small lumps of caked soot, the walls were scarcely discoloured. Trees, brushwood, and weeds grow close round this little crater; a small stream trickles down the hill hard by; and the ground does not appear to feel the effect of its heat beyond the distance of a few yards. The hill is composed of the crumbly serpentine already mentioned, with occasional loose blocks of limestone; and no volcanic productions whatever were perceived in the neighbourhood. At a short distance, lower down the side of the hill, there is another hole, which has apparently been the vent of a similar flame; but our guide declared, that, in the memory of man, there had been but the one, and that it had never changed its present size or appearance. It was never accompanied, he said, by earthquakes or noises; and it ejected neither stones, smoke, nor noxious vapours, nothing but a brilliant and perpetual flame, which no quantity of water could quench. The shepherds fre-

quently cooked their victuals there; and he affirmed, that it was notorious that the *Yanar* would not roast meat which had been stolen." * Among several contiguous buildings are the remains of a low and rudely built Christian church, the inside of which has been stuccoed and subsequently plastered. An inscription, for the most part illegible, contains the words "Theodulus, the servant of God." But no trace was discernible of the temple of Vulcan, nor did any inscription contain the slightest allusion to the flame.

The coast to the northward of Deliktash, is the Corycus of Strabo: the district is called by the Turks *Tchiraly*, i. e. the country of unctuous wood; the timber of the fir-trees being considered as peculiarly inflammable, a circumstance mentioned by Pliny. Five miles to the N.E. are some small uninhabited islands, called by Turks and Greeks the Three Islands, (probably the *Cypriæ* of Pliny,) opposite to which, about five miles inshore, is the great mountain Takhtalu, its bald summit rising in an insulated peak 7,800 feet above the sea. This is the Mount Solyma of the ancients: it extends 70 miles to the northward. The base, composed of the crumbly rock before mentioned, is broken into deep ravines, and covered with small trees: the middle zone, clothed with scattered evergreen bushes, appears to be limestone. "It is natural," remarks Captain Beaufort, "that such a striking feature as this stupendous mountain, in a country inhabited by an illiterate and credulous

* A flame of the same kind, but intermittent, is to be seen on the western mountain of Samos; and one similar to the Yanar, is enclosed within a temple at Chittagong in Bengal, where it has been converted into an engine of superstition by the priests. Others have been observed in different parts of the world.

people, should be the subject of numerous tales and traditions: accordingly, we were informed by the peasants, that there is a perpetual flow of the purest water from the very apex, and that, notwithstanding the snow which still lingered in the chasms, roses blow there all the year round. The Aga of Deliktash assured us, that every autumn a mighty groan is heard to issue from the summit of the mountain, louder than the report of any cannon, but unaccompanied by fire or smoke. He professed his ignorance of the cause; but, on being pressed for his opinion, gravely replied, that he believed it was an annual summons to the elect to make the best of their way to Paradise. However amusing the aga's theory, it may possibly be true that such explosions take place. The mountain artillery described by Captains Lewis and Clarke in their Travels in North America, and similar phenomena which are said to have occurred in South America, seem to lend some probability to the account. They have also a tradition, that, when Moses fled from Egypt, he took up his abode near this mountain, which was therefore called *Moossa-daghy*, or the Mountain of Moses. This mountain is but a few miles from the *Yanar* of Deliktash, and the flame there may almost be said to issue from the midst of a thicket. May not some confused association between it and the burning bush on Mount Horeb, have given birth to this fanciful tradition of the sojourn of Moses on Takhtalu?"

On a small peninsula, at the foot of this mountain, are the remains of the city of Phaselis, with its three ports and its lake, as described by Strabo. The lake is now a mere swamp, occupying the middle of the isthmus. It was probably, this traveller remarks, the source of those baneful exhalations which, accord-

ing to Cicero, rendered Phaselis so unhealthy. The flat top of the peninsula is covered with ruined houses, of a modern character, resembling those at Deliktash, and, like them, uninhabited. The remains of the ancient city consist of a theatre "scooped out of the hill," 150 feet in diameter, the coarse materials and rude workmanship of which indicate a remote age; an aqueduct, apparently of Roman architecture; a square mausoleum, into which the sea had broken, and washed out of it two large sarcophagi, of the whitest marble and excellent workmanship, which then lay on the beach; the remains of several large buildings; other sarcophagi; and "a straight avenue," flagged with marble, and strewed with columns and pedestals, leading up from the small eastern port to the theatre: it is about 400 feet long and 30 wide, and, from the rows of seats on each side, seems to have been intended for a place of public exhibition. The headland on which the town stood, consists of soft rock, which easily yields to the action of the sea. In many places the cliffs have fallen in, shewing the sections of circular reservoirs; and if the ravages of the sea should continue in the same ratio, there will soon remain but few vestiges of Phaselis: "the peninsula will be undermined, and will gradually sink into a shapeless reef of rocks below the surface of the ocean."

Phaselis was reckoned a city of Lycia, but was under an independent government of its own. It stood on the confines of Pamphylia. Its modern names, according to Miletius, were Phionda and Pitiusa. It is at present called Tekrova. Between this place and Cape Avova, a belt of large and handsome pines borders the shore for some miles. Behind that cape is a small bay, where are a few scattered ruins. From

this point a chain of mountains, the ancient Mount Climax, extends along the shore to the northward: their outline is extremely broken and picturesque, and the regular gradation in which peak rises over peak, as they recede from the shore, strikingly corresponds to the ancient name. At their foot is the narrow defile along the beach, through which, taking advantage of the occasional depression of the sea caused by long-continued north winds, Alexander the Great led his army in his way to Phrygia. The road is interrupted in some places by projecting cliffs, which it would have been difficult to surmount, but round which the men could easily pass by wading through the water; and Strabo states, that the soldiers of Alexander had to march one whole day up to the middle in water, the waves not having subsided. Passes, however, have since been made over these ridges, by hewing away the rough surface to the breadth of several yards. The small uninhabited island called Rashat, is separated from this shore by a narrow channel; part of a wall remains, by which its western side has once been defended. A few miles beyond this island, the coast bends again towards the east, to the city of Adalia, distant from Cape Avova eighteen miles. The large Gulf which takes its modern name from this city, is the ancient Sea of Pamphylia.

ADALIA.

ADALIA is beautifully situated round a small circular harbour: the streets rise behind each other in tiers, like the seats of a theatre, and on the level summit of the hill; the city is enclosed by a ditch, a double wall, and a series of square towers about fifty yards asunder. In the suburbs, the houses are dispersed

amid orange-groves and gardens, and thus occupy a large space of ground. Granite columns and a great variety of fragments of ancient sculpture attest its former importance as a Greek city. Among others, a magnificent gate, or triumphal arch, bears an inscription in honour of Hadrian. It is still a large and populous town, and is considered as one of the best governments in Anatolia, the district being large and fertile, and the maritime commerce extensive. The population is estimated by Captain Beaufort at 8,000, two thirds Mahommedans, and a third Greeks, who speak, however, no language but the Turkish.* Five lofty minarets are seen from the sea, one of which is fluted from the base up to the gallery that surrounds the head of the shaft. The gardens are beautiful, and the corn-lands are more than commonly productive. The soil is deep, and every where intersected by streams loaded with calcareous matter, which, after fertilizing the plain, fall over the cliffs, or turn the corn-mills in their descent to the sea. Alternate breezes refresh the air in a remarkable manner: by day, a sea breeze sweeps up the western side of the Gulf with accumulated strength:† and at night, the great northern valley which traverses Mount Taurus, conducts the land wind from the cold mountains of the interior. "Upon the whole," says Capt. Beaufort, "it would be difficult to select a more charming spot for a city." It stands in long. 30° 45′ E. lat. 36° 50′ N. In the bazar, Capt. B. saw cloth, hardware, and various specimens of English and German manufactures, brought chiefly by the regular caravans from Smyrna; and the demand for wheat, occasioned by the British

* More than 30,000 inhabitants, according to Malte Brun.

† This appears to be of the same description as the *Inbat* which prevails at Smyrna. See p. 106.

garrisons of the Mediterranean during the war, had recently produced a considerable revival of commerce. To the east of the city extends a broad and high plain, terminating in abrupt cliffs, above 100 feet high, which considerably overhang the sea, "not in consequence of their base having crumbled away, but from their summit projecting in a lip, which consists of parallel *laminæ*, each jutting out beyond its inferior layer; as if water had been continually flowing over them, and continually forming fresh accretions." These calcareous deposites have probably interrupted or turned aside the ancient course of the waters; and it is probable that the river Catarrhactes, the mouth of which was to the east of Attalia, once formed here a magnificent cataract. It has now no determinate mouth, being separated into several streams; but, after heavy rains, it is still seen precipitating itself copiously over the cliffs near the most projecting point of the coast, a little to the west of Laara, an ancient site five miles east of Adalia. Near some of the mills, Capt. Beaufort observed large masses of stalactites and petrifactions, formed by the same waters, which are so impregnated with calcareous particles as to be reckoned unfit for either man or beast. Adalia (as the Turks pronounce the ancient name*) still retains the honour

* By the Italians corrupted into Satalia, from the Greek genitive, τῆς Ατταλειας, — by some it has been improperly written Antalia. D'Anville, following Strabo, supposes Adalia to occupy the site of Olbia, "a great fortress at the beginning of Pamphylia," to the east of which that geographer places the Catarrhactes, and, next to this, Attaleia. Captain Beaufort, adopting this opinion, supposes Laara to be Attalia. But there is reason to believe, that Strabo has misplaced those towns, as Ptolemy gives the names in a reversed order: "Phaselis, Olbia, Attalia, the mouth of the Catarrhactes, Magydus." Its position, ruins, and modern name, all concur, as Colonel Leake justly

of being an episcopal see, though the episcopal church is converted into a mosque.* It is governed by a pasha, and is the chief place in the district or *sanjiakat* of Tekieh, which includes the coast of Pamphylia and Lycia. It derived its name from its founder, Attalus Philadelphus, to whom Philadelphia also owes its origin.

Laara, though now wholly abandoned, contains, in its artificial port, decayed aqueduct, and other ruins, sufficient evidence of its having been a city of some magnitude. It is supposed to be the ancient Magydus; a place which flourished under the Byzantine empire, and was a bishopric of the province of Pamphylia. The remains of a broad, flagged quay are visible along

remarks, to prove its identity. Captain Beaufort is clearly wrong in thinking that much reliance cannot be placed on the tradition of names, in countries which have often changed their masters. The instances are very few, in which ancient names have been transferred, except to modern towns in the immediate neighbourhood of ruined sites, and which have risen out of them. Olbia, according to Stephanus, did not belong to Pamphylia, but to the country of the Solymi, and was probably at some distance from the coast.

* Paul Lucas describes this as a very grand edifice, dedicated to the Virgin, and says, that on all the doors and walls there still appear the escutcheons of the Christians; in particular that of Godfrey of Bouillon. In this mosque, he adds, is a chapel which the Turks keep shut up, there being a tradition, that when attempts have been made to open it, and any one of their religion has entered, he has been struck dead; a circumstance which they attributed to the spells of the Christians, and the Christians ascribe to the number of saintly relics concealed there. This traveller also states, that the gates of the city were always closed on a Friday between twelve and one, on account of a prophecy, that the Christians should take the city at that hour on a Friday. The heat he represents as excessive, and says, that the greater part of the inhabitants retire in the summer up the country, as at Smyrna.

the margin of the harbour, from which the ground rises in a gentle slope, overspread with small remnants of columns, sculpture, and building materials: nothing remains erect, but a few piers of an aqueduct, and some vaulted ruins of a more modern appearance. "One remarkable circumstance," says Capt. Beaufort, "was observed here. An old water-course, by the continual deposition of sediment, has actually crept upward in the shape of a wall. This self-raised aqueduct is, in some places, nearly three feet high. The substance is a light, porous stone, and contains small pieces of petrified reeds and sticks. So rapidly does the sediment become indurated, that some recent specimens of it were collected on the grass, where the stony crust was already firm, though the verdure of the leaf had yet but imperfectly withered." This singular petrescent quality of the water confirms the representation previously given, as to the cause of the projecting lip of the cliffs near Adalia. These streams, however, though highly deleterious, are said to be, when mixed with the salt-water of the harbour, an unfailing remedy for rheumatism; and a multitude of patients resort to Laara every autumn for the purpose of bathing. Advancing to the eastward, Captain Beaufort came to the mouths of the rivers Cestrus and Eurymedon; the former 300 feet, the latter 420 feet wide, and both fifteen feet deep within the curved bars which extend across their mouths. These bars are now so shallow, as to be impassable to boats that draw more than one foot of water, and there is generally a violent surf. They were anciently navigable; and a long way up the Eurymedon, Cimon destroyed the Persian fleet. This latter river is now called the Kapri-su. Beyond this is a small river,

fifty feet wide, which winds round the ruins of a village now uninhabited, about a mile from its mouth: the houses, among which are the ruins of a Christian church, have a modern appearance. This river is navigable at its mouth by small vessels. A few leagues more of this sandy and uninteresting coast bring the traveller to the magnificent ruins of Sidé. From the eastward of Mount Climax to this point, the coast assumes a quite different character from the cliffs and mountains of Lycia, which bluffly project into the sea. About Adalia, a flat but elevated country extends a considerable distance inland; and beyond it, a belt of sand hills skirts the beach, behind which, broad, swampy plains, with groups of low hills, intervene between the shore and the distant mountains. These plains are apparently alluvial; and though covered with coarse grass, which supports numerous herds of cattle, have every appearance of being overflowed in winter.

Sidé, called by the natives Eski-Adalia (old Adalia),* was originally a colony from Sime, and boasted of a temple of Minerva. It stands on a low peninsula, surrounded by walls. The wall fronting the sea is slightly built, but that which faces the land is of excellent workmanship, and much of it is still perfect. It is about thirty-eight feet high, and is provided with two galleries or platforms for the purpose of throwing missile weapons: the lower platform is supported on arches, and is furnished with a tier of loop-holes; the

* D'Anville seems to allude to *Laara*, when he says that the place is now called *Palaia* (old) *Attalia*. Col. Leake states, that that name is given by the Greeks to *Perge*. Capt. Beaufort found it applied to the ruins of *Sidé*, which he reckons thirty miles E. of Laara. During the Middle Ages, Sidé bore the various appellations of Skandalor, Candaloro, Canalahora, and Chirionda.

upper one is adapted to the battlements. This wall is flanked, at intervals of about 200 feet, by towers, most of them square. There were four gates, one from the country, and three from the sea. From an esplanade inside of the land-gate, a paved street, with high curb-stones, conducted to an *agora*, or market-place, about 180 feet in diameter, surrounded by a double row of columns, of which the bases yet remain: in the centre is a large ruined pedestal, as if for a colossal statue. One side of the square is occupied by the ruins of a temple and portico; and from the middle of the other three sides, avenues communicated with the land-gate already mentioned, with the principal sea-gate, which nearly faces the temple, and with the front of a magnificent theatre. This theatre is the most striking feature of Sidé, and Capt. Beaufort represents it to be the largest and best preserved by far, of any that came under his observation on this coast. From the shore, it has the appearance of an acropolis rising from the centre of the town. Situated on a gentle declivity, the lower half only has been excavated; the upper half consists of masonry. It is shaped like a horse-shoe: the exterior diameter is 409 feet, that of the area 125; and the perpendicular height from the area to the uppermost seat, is seventy-nine feet. It contains forty-six rows of seats, divided, at the twenty-sixth row from the bottom, by a broad platform, or *diazomotos*, as at Patara. This gallery and its parallel corridor, which is vaulted, are on a level with the surface of the ground at the back of the theatre, with which they communicate by twenty-three vomitories. A smaller corridor surrounds the thirteenth row of the upper division; and these two corridors are connected by seven staircases, branches of which are continued to the top. The

seats are of white marble admirably wrought: few have been disturbed, and even the stairs are, in general, passable; but the proscenium has suffered considerably. The area is overgrown with bushes, and choked up with stones and earth. In digging here, Captain Beaufort met with some inscriptions and several pieces of sculpture, among which was the statue of a clothed female. He calculates that the theatre would contain upwards of 15,000 spectators. From its vaulted structure, he infers that it is not very ancient; and a cross, carved in the key-stone of one of the arches, seems to indicate, that it has been repaired subsequently to the introduction of Christianity: it has evidently been, in later times, converted into a bulwark, the proscenium having been closed up, and walls, with towers and gates, of inferior workmanship, continued on each side to the shore. At no great distance from the front of the theatre, were found ruins of a small circular edifice, "in some manner dedicated to astronomy." On the ground lay some large slabs of marble, shaped like sectors of a circle, on which was represented a zone of sculptured compartments comprising a series of figures evidently belonging to a zodiac. Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer, are placed in due succession; but the next is a swan, and then occurs the naked figure of a youth, perhaps Antinous. Outside of the land-gate is another ruined building, probably a bath. One long wall is standing, which is divided into three concave recesses; and in the centre of each recess, a few feet from the ground, is a hole through the wall, with a projecting lip or spout. The interior has been profusely ornamented: among the ruins were found many representations, in low relief, of familiar mythological subjects; such as the rape of

Proserpine, Diana and Endymion, &c., together with a multitude of small soffits, on each of which is carved a rose, a dolphin, or a mask. Most of the sculpture is heavy and ill-proportioned, but some pieces are designed with spirit and correctness; they seem to have been executed in a very rapid manner, as every stroke of the chisel is still apparent. About 200 yards from this ruin are remains of an aqueduct, which has been long since ruined: at present there is neither stream nor spring in the immediate vicinity, which has probably led to the abandonment of the site. The double harbour at the extremity of the peninsula, is now almost filled with sand and stones borne in by the swell; and one of the moles, 260 yards in length, by which it was formed, has been destroyed. The entire harbour must have been 500 yards long; "a most spacious station for the galleys of the Sidetians, who, it appears from Livy, were famed for their naval skill and prowess." From some herdsmen in the adjacent plains, Captain Beaufort learned that there is no modern town in the neighbourhood.

A few miles from this desolate spot, is the mouth of the Manavgat river, the ancient Melas. It had anciently a port, but the coast is now a straight beach of sand. About four miles up the river, on the right bank, there is an irregular and dilapidated fortress, inhabited by a few Turkish soldiers. The shore to the eastward is a continuation of low sand hills, frequently intersected by small rivers, extending to Cape Karaboornoo. Near that point is a small island, 300 yards in length, and but a few feet above the level of the sea; yet, Capt. Beaufort found on it a number of excavations and foundations, and the fragments of walls, the signs of its being formerly inhabited. Further on

is another cape, which Capt. Beaufort names Ptolemais, on each side of which there appears to have been an artificial harbour, but the piers are now entirely destroyed: here are many traces of buildings and remains of that ancient species of wall called Cyclopean. Low, fertile hills and well-watered valleys stretch from thence into the country, confirming the opinion that this has been a site of some note. The promontory of Alaya, (the Cape Ubaldo of D'Anville,) the next point, is the commencement of the Cilician coast. In approaching it, Capt. Beaufort states, that he passed several villages, castles, and churches, of comparatively recent construction, yet all ruined and deserted, and affording a striking picture of the rapid impoverishment of this part of the Turkish empire.

Alaya * occupies the site of the ancient Coracesium, the first town in *Cilicia Aspera;* and the barren ridges of Taurus, which here come down to the shore, sufficiently indicate the beginning of that rugged coast. The promontory on which it is seated, rises abruptly from a low sandy isthmus, which is separated from the mountains by a broad plain. Two of its sides are cliffs of great height, and absolutely perpendicular; and the eastern side, on which the town is placed, is so steep, that the houses seem to rest one upon another. It seems a natural fortress, that might be rendered impregnable; and accordingly, when all the other places on this coast had submitted to Antiochus the Great, Coracesium alone held out against him.

* Alaya is said to derive its name from its founder Alah-ed-din (Aladdin), son of Kaikosru, surnamed Kaikobad, who was the tenth of the Seljukian dynasty, and the founder of the Iconian race. It became the principal maritime fortress and naval arsenal of these sovereigns, and their successors, the princes of Karaman. Its general appearance resembles Gibraltar.

It was one of the positions which particularly assisted in supporting the spirit of piracy on this coast; and it was the last at which the Cilician pirates ventured to make a united resistance to the fleet of Pompey, before they separated and retired to their strongholds in Mount Taurus. Its present importance, however, is not great, although the town is the capital of a pashalic: * the streets and houses are miserable; there are few mosques, and they are mean; there were no perceptible signs of commerce; and the population is estimated by Capt. Beaufort as not exceeding two thousand at the utmost. There are no vestiges of ancient buildings of any interest. The bay is open to southerly winds; there is now no harbour, and the anchorage is indifferent. The cliffs of Alaya consist of a compact white limestone tinged with a red drip, agreeing in character with the rocks to the westward of the Gulf of Adalia. On the north side of the promontory, the brown schistus base rises up from beneath the limestone. Their perpendicular height is from five to six hundred feet above the sea, and they continue equally perpendicular sixty or seventy below it. From the shore they have a magnificent appearance, but, at a little distance from the coast, they are lost under the lofty mountains of the interior. About three miles N.W. of Alaya, and two miles from the coast, the deserted remains of an ancient town occupy the top of a high conical hill. It was surrounded with walls, some parts of which are Cyclopean; there are ruins of a handsome temple, and much broken sculpture, with Greek inscriptions, but they throw no light on the name of the place. In advancing to

* More properly, a sanjiakat; the Pasha of Alaya being subject to a superior pasha.

the eastward, Capt. Beaufort passed no fewer than eight deserted towns and villages, within a short distance of each other, most of them placed on low hills, enclosed by slight walls, and appearing to occupy ancient sites. On the top of a little rocky peninsula, the sides of which are not more than 150 feet high, but perpendicular, were found a mixture of ancient and modern ruins; and from the head of the cove formed by this peninsula and an adjacent point, a considerable extent of similar ruins stretches up the hill, with the addition of some Christian churches.* A few miles further, the rocky coast opens into a cultivated plain, five or six miles in extent every way, crossed by two small rivers: the most easterly of these winds round a lofty and romantic headland, called Selinty, the ancient Selinus. The shore bounding the above-mentioned plain was once a gravel beach; but, from the upper part of the slope and some distance into the sea, it is now a solid crust of pudding-stone from one to two feet thick. "This *petrified beach*," remarks Capt. Beaufort, "is not peculiar to the plain of Selinty. Many instances of it, on a smaller scale, had been already observed on the coasts of Asia Minor, and a few on those of Greece; and I have been informed that an example of it occurs in Sicily. Being generally covered with loose sand and pebbles, it presents to the eye an extraordinary appearance; but the unwary boat that should mistake it for a common beach of yielding materials, and should run upon it before a following surf, would be fatally apprised of its error.

* On this coast was *Laertes*, of which Diogenes Laertius was a native: according to Strabo, it was the third town to the S.E. of Coracesium, and on the coast. Another ancient town on this coast was *Syedra*, beyond which were *Hamaxia* and *Jotape*.

The specimens that I have examined, taken from various places, differ but little from each other. Gravel predominates in some; coarse sand in others; or they lie in alternate layers of each: the pebbles in all are more or less rounded, but the more jagged and angular they are, the stronger is the aggregate. The gravel is a collection of a great variety of different species, though the major part of them seems to be calcareous. The cement, or paste, by which they are united, is likewise calcareous, and so tenacious, that a blow sufficient to break the mass, more frequently fractures even the quartz pebbles, than dislodges them from their bed.

" Close to the westward of Sidé, we had found some ledges of rock, partly above and partly under water, which appear to have been produced in a similar manner: they contain a large proportion of broken tiles, both red and yellow, of shells, bits of wood, and such rubbish as might be expected in the vicinity of a town; but they are uncommonly hard, and as we had no tools in the boat, satisfactory specimens could not be detached. Near to these rocky ledges, a ridge of low hills, which rises to the height of about eighty feet, consists of thin horizontal strata of soft grey limestone, or rather, of half-indurated marl: it is intersected by deep gulleys, which have been worn through by streams that trickle across the beach into the sea. Perhaps, the calcareous particles thus washed down, may point out the source from whence the cement for this recently formed rock has been derived; and perhaps, wherever the petrified beach occurs, a similar mode of accounting for it might be furnished by an attentive investigation of the adjacent strata. In the island of Rhodes, there are hills of pudding-stone considerably elevated above the sea. I have

fragments of it which cannot be distinguished from those we had procured on the coast of Selinty, or from the beach of Port Raphti in Greece; except that its consolidation is rather more complete, which may possibly arise from the greater pressure of the incumbent weight, and from its longer exposure to the air. It is remarkable, that a horizontal stratum of stone-marl appears to have once covered these hills. At Cape Krio, the ancient Cnidus, there is also much calcareous breccia, which is extremely hard: the base of one of the temples is composed of it, though the superstructure is of marble. At Phaselis, also, we found a patch of the petrified beach; and again at a few miles to the eastward of Alaya, where, being thin, the sea has in several places undermined and blown it up, leaving the subordinate gravel in its natural state. It is, however, needless to enumerate here all the places where it may be found on this coast. * Future visiters will be enabled to ascertain whether the principle continues at work, or whether the efforts of the sea are now employed in the subversion of what has been already formed."

The hill which forms Cape Selinty, rises steeply from the plain, breaking off on the other side into a chain of magnificent cliffs. On its highest point are the ruins of a castle, which commands the ascent in every direction, and affords a beautiful prospect of the plain, with its winding rivers and ruins, and a prodigious ridge of mountains in the back-ground; the island of Cyprus may also be distinctly seen, though at a distance of sixty-five geographical miles. Part of the hill only was enclosed by the ancient wall. Between the foot of the hill and the river, are remains of some

* The beach of Pompeiopolis affords another instance.

ancient massive structures. The most remarkable of these, a single vault seventy feet by fifty, has the appearance of having been a basement story to some splendid superstructure; probably a mausoleum. Lower down the river are the remains of a small theatre, scooped out of the hill; and nearly fronting it is a long ruined aqueduct, which, crossing the river, communicates with the distant hill. There must have been some motive for this apparently unnecessary and expensive mode of supplying the town with water; and it is probable, therefore, that the river, like the Catarrhactes, is so impregnated with calcareous matter as to be deleterious. Near the mouth of the river are some baths, built against the side of the rock, and vaulted: in each of the chambers there have been flues. The banks of the stream are covered with oleander, and nothing can be more beautiful than this shrub with its slender stem, delicate leaf, and clusters of large crimson flowers. There are numerous sepulchres at the south-eastern foot of the hill. Selinus, on the death of Trajan, assumed the name of Trajanopolis.

The ruins of an ancient town further to the eastward, are supposed to be those of Antiochia *ad Cragum*. Between the plain of Selinty and Cape Anamour, (a distance of thirty miles,) the ridge of bare rocky hills that forms the coast, is interrupted but twice by narrow valleys, through which mountain torrents find their way to the sea. The first of these, where stood the ancient *Charadrus*, a fort and harbour, is still called Karadran. At the second opening, there are a few modern ruins, which may occupy the site of *Platanus*. Cape Anamour terminates in a high bluff knob, one side of which is inaccessible; the other has been well fortified by a castle and outworks

on the summit, from whence a flanked wall, with towers, descends to the shore, separating it from the rest of the promontory. A second wall, without flanks, but six feet thick, runs nearly parallel to this; it appears of later construction. Two aqueducts on different levels, that wind along the hill for several miles, supplied this fortress with water; and within the fortified wall are several reservoirs, with much rubbish. Between the two walls are two theatres facing the sea; one, of the usual construction, partly cut out of the slope of the hill, about 200 feet in diameter; the other, probably an *odeum*, has been roofed; it is 100 feet by 70, and contained six semicircular rows of seats. The seats of both theatres have been carried away; and it is remarkable, that in the whole extent of this place, there is scarcely a vestige of a column, or a loose block of marble, of more than ordinary size, although there are no modern buildings in the neighbourhood. Capt. Beaufort supposes that the materials must have been shipped to Cyprus, which is at no great distance. Outside of the walls is the ancient necropolis, which, at first sight, appears like the remains of a large city: it is, indeed, remarks Capt. B., "a city of tombs." "The contrast between the slight and perishable materials of which the habitations of the living were constructed, and the care and skill bestowed by the ancients to render durable the abodes of the dead, is more than ordinarily impressed upon the mind at this place; for, though all the tombs have been long since opened and ransacked, the walls are still sound, whereas, of their dwellings, not one continues in existence." The tombs are of all the three distinct kinds found on this coast: the excavated catacomb, closed by a slab of rock in imitation of a door, as at Makry, Myra, &c.;

the *soros*, of a single block of stone hollowed like a chest, with another immense stone as a roof or lid, as at Patara and Phaselis; and the "house-built sepulchre," arched, and separated into two chambers, one for the dead, and one for the mourners. The former two generally bear inscriptions, whereas the latter display no record of the names and qualities of their occupants, or of the regret or ostentation of those by whom they were erected. Other sorts of tombs are also mixed with these more ancient ones, in which we seem to have distinct traces of the Asiatic, Greek, and Roman inhabitants. The place is now altogether deserted: the Turks call it Eski-Anamour, and there can be no doubt of its being the ancient *Anemurium*. The promontory on which it stands, is the southernmost extremity of Asia Minor. The modern castle of Anamour stands on the edge of the sea, about six miles to the east of the cape, not far from the mouth of a rapid river, about 150 feet wide, called the *Direk Ondessy* (supposed to be the ancient *Arymagdus*). Though in a very ruinous state, it has a resident aga. In its general appearance it strongly resembles some of the ancient castles of Great Britain. Its extreme dimensions are about 800 feet by 300. On the banks of the river are some remnants of ancient buildings; and in the plain which it traverses are many small villages with patches of cultivation. The district is under the government of an independent bey, whose authority extends to the bounds of Itchil.* Anamour is the vernacular name, but, in the public firmauns, the territory is called Memoriyeh. About two miles in-shore are the ruins of a town on the top

* The name given to the lower part of the state of Karaman south of the Taurus, answering to Cilicia Trachela.

of a hill; and, further to the east, on a rising ground is a ruined fortress called *Softa Kalassy* (Philosopher's Castle): the arches of the gates are pointed, and it seems to be of the same date as Anamour Castle. Further on is a high peninsula covered with ruins, with a little bay on its eastern side. Cape Kisliman is a fine, bold promontory, with perpendicular cliffs of stratified limestone. Near the low isthmus which connects it with the main, these thin strata succeed each other with prismatic regularity, in strong, well-defined colours of a violet red, a brownish yellow, and a deep blue.* The brown schistus seen to the east of Alaya, again peeps up from under this isthmus. A high rocky coast succeeds, occasionally broken into narrow valleys, with here and there a solitary hut, or a few scattered ruins. Chelindreh, (by the Turks called *Gulnar*,) a snug but very small port, (the ancient Celenderis or Paleopolis,) exhibits the ruins of a fortress and a great number of sepulchres. The couriers from Constantinople to Cyprus embark here, and it is the residence, consequently, of a few Turks.† The peninsula of Cape Cavalieré is the last and highest of the series of noble promontories on this coast: its white marble cliffs rise perpendicularly from the sea to the altitude of between 6 and 700 feet. Towards the head of the bay, to the westward of this point, the limestone rocks vary into cliffs of black slate, and, a little further on, to breccia composed of angular fragments of white limestone, embedded in a red or yellow calcareous cement. Near some ruins, in a cove on the western side of the isthmus which connects Cape

* This description, taken from Capt. Beaufort, would seem to answer rather to sand-stone.

† It is distant, according to Kinneir, twelve hours from Anamour, and eighteen from Selefkeh.

Cavalieré with the main land, Capt. Beaufort noticed many bay-trees; and he remarks, that this shrub was seldom observed except in the vicinity of ruins of high antiquity. A few miles to the eastward is an island, now uninhabited, but once a place apparently of great strength, called, by the inhabitants of the shore, *Manavat*, but its common appellation among the coasting sailors, Turks as well as Greeks, is Provençal Island.* On the north-west side there is a profusion of ruined dwellings and churches, columns and sarcophagi: a citadel crowns the summit of the highest peak. The old walls swarm with lizards and cameleons; the rocks abound with seals; and the cliffs with a sort of wild duck, of extraordinary size and beauty, its plumage white, with orange and dark glossy spots.† The shore is broken here into small creeks and valleys, each having its stream and a little knot of ruined houses; and on the inland hills are seen some respectable castles and square watch-towers.

To the eastward of Cape Cavalieré, the higher

* The name of Provençal, coupled with that of Cavalieré, is, no doubt, a vestige of the days of the Crusaders. The Knights Hospitallers of St. John, after their expulsion from Jerusalem, took possession of several islands and castles on this coast, to serve as points of refuge to the Christian slaves.

† "These ducks," says Capt. B., "are peculiar to this part of the shore; and it is a singular fact, that, though the whole coast of Karamania lies in nearly the same parallel of latitude, yet several species of the feathered race seem to be confined to particular districts. The red-legged partridge, whose almost incredible numbers at Kakava have been already noticed, were seldom seen to the eastward of Adalia. Every hole and crevice in every rock about Chelindreh, had its family of pigeons or of crows. They, also, had disappeared, and the elevated cliffs near the Papadoula, or Butterfly Islands, were usurped by eagles. Even gulls had now become scarce, and were succeeded by swarms of the noisy sea-mew."

mountains recede from the coast, which assumes a more north-easterly direction; a succession of low points succeeds, and the general aspect of the country materially changes. *Agha-liman* (Port Aga) is a small sheltered bay commanded by a small fortress: it formerly served as a harbour to Selefkeh, the ancient Seleucia, distant nine miles inland. The ruins of that city are scattered over a large extent of ground on the west side of the *Ghiuk-su* (Heavenly or Sky-blue river), the ancient Calycadnus, there about 180 feet wide: there are remains of a theatre, a temple, which has been converted into a church, numerous porticoes and large Corinthian columns, an extensive necropolis, and a citadel surrounded with a well built wall and a double ditch. Over the outer gate was found an inscription in Armenian. Selefkeh is said to have been given to the Knights of Rhodes by Leo, king of Armenia, as a recompense for their services, about the year 1200. The modern town is a mere assemblage of mud-huts and wooden huts; the aga's house being but little better than the rest. The Ghiuk-su,* after passing through two or three parallel ridges of hills to the northward, which stretch down obliquely to the coast near Ayash, finds an outlet at the eastern angle of an extensive sandy flat, formed apparently by the deposite of its waters. The south-west point terminates in a low dangerous spit, called the *Lissan el Kahpeh*, or *Lingua di Bagascia.*† The name of *Pershendy* is given to extensive ruins of a walled town, with temples, arcades, aqueducts, and tombs, situated round a

* Capt. Kinneir calls it the *Girama* or *Mout Soui.*

† For further illustrations (chiefly conjectural) of the ancient geography of this coast, we refer our readers to Col. Leake's Tour, &c., already referred to, and Beaufort's Karamania.

small flat valley eastward of the sandy plain. An inscription found here, seems to fix the origin of this settlement about the reigns of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian. Beyond this are two decayed and uninhabited fortresses called *Korghos Kalaler*; one standing on the main-land, and connected with the ruins of an ancient town, the other covering the whole of a small island close to the shore. The walls of the city may still be traced; the remains consist of churches, baths, dwelling-houses, tombs, and catacombs; and the inside area of the castle, which has evidently been constructed with the remains of more ancient buildings, contains a church, several large reservoirs, and a multitude of ruined houses. The fortress on the island is in much better preservation than the one on the main-land, and might, at a small expense, be rendered a respectable port. Here, over an arched door, in the eastern tower, were found two more Armenian inscriptions in relief.* Korghos is supposed to be a corruption of the ancient *Corycus.*† Ayash, the name given to a collection of miserable huts in the midst of extensive ruins further to the eastward, is the site of *Sebaste.* Here is a ruined temple with fluted columns of the Composite order, a theatre, and three

* This country was in the possession of the Armenians in the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1432, Korghos belonged to the king of Cyprus. In 1471, it was taken from the Turks under Mahommed II., by the Venetians, who gave it up to the Prince of Karaman.

† "Within twenty stadia, therefore, of this place," remarks Capt. B., "must be the saffron cave and subterranean river described by Strabo, but we could learn nothing about them from the few persons we saw. Of the many interesting objects in Cilicia, which the superior claims of the survey compelled us to pass unnoticed, there were few that I regretted more than this celebrated Corycian cave."

aqueducts, together with numerous sepulchres. The ruins extend also over a little peninsula opposite the town, supposed to have been once the island Eleusa, the sandy isthmus being of subsequent formation. One of the aqueducts is derived from the river Lamas (the ancient *Latmus*), six miles distant. Between the mouth of this river and Ayash, is a ruined castle with arcades, balconies, and turrets, commanding a little creek or nook behind a point four miles eastward of the latter place.*

The Latmus was the ancient boundary which divided *Cilicia Trachea* from *Cilicia Campestris;* and here the rocky coast finally terminates, being succeeded by a gravelly shore, and broad plains extend inland to the foot of the mountains. A long straight beach of gravel, mixed with limestone and grey granite pebbles, extends to *Mezetlu*, the name given by the Turks to the deserted site of the ancient Soli or Pompeiopolis. These magnificent ruins deserve a particular notice. There has been a beautiful basin or artificial harbour, now filled with sand. The sea still flows a little way within the piers, where it is bounded by a beach of pudding-stone similar to that of Selinty. Several square blocks of stone which have fallen from the piers, are buried in this crust, shewing how rapid and comparatively recent has been the petrifying process. Opposite to the entrance of the harbour, a portico rises from the surrounding quay, leading to a double row of two hundred columns, of which forty-four are still standing. This colonnade appears to have been united by arches; crossing the town, it

* In the neighbourhood of Ayash, Captain Beaufort saw Turkish women unveiled, and mixing promiscuously with the men; a circumstance very rarely to be seen in any part of the empire.

communicated with the principal gate towards the country, from which a paved road was continued to a bridge over a small river. The effect of the whole, even in its present state of wreck, is most imposing; but the details of the execution will not sustain examination, as the architecture is fantastic, irregular, and in bad taste. Corinthian pillars are intermixed with Composite, and the ornaments are of a meretricious character. The theatre is almost destroyed: it seemed to have been inferior to most of those already described. An aqueduct may be traced along the paved road, and detached ruins, tombs, and sarcophagi are scattered to a considerable distance. To the eastward are some small hills which have the appearance of artificial *tumuli*.

Soli was at one time the chief city on the coast of Cilicia. It was founded by a Rhodian colony. Strabo speaks of it as an important city, and places it at the beginning of *Cilicia Issensis*. It had fallen into decay, chiefly through the ill-treatment of Tigranes, when Pompey, having reduced Cilicia, rebuilt it, removing thither such of the pirates as he thought most worthy of clemency and protection, and named it Pompeiopolis. The public buildings were probably erected by Pompey: they bear a general resemblance to those of Antinoe in Egypt, and Djerash (Gerasa) in Syria. Some miles in-shore are two large villages; *Karahissar* (Black Fort), inhabited by Turks, and *Ghiaourkioy* (Infidel Village), inhabited by Greeks. At Bikhardy, six hours to the N.E., are some curious springs of tar, mentioned by Pliny as in the neighbourhood of Soli. In the plain are cultivated wheat, rice, and excellent cotton. Near the village of *Karadoovar* are a few ancient ruins, but of no magnitude. This village is the western boundary of the sanjiak of Tersoos,

the aga of Mezetlu being under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Konieh. Further on is *Kazalu*, the *scala* or port to Tersoos, and beyond it another village called *Yeni-kioy*. The mouth of the Tersoos river, the ancient Cydnus, next occurs. It is now inaccessible to any but the smallest boat, owing to the bar formed at its entrance; though, within the bar, it is deep enough, and about 150 feet wide. The lake towards its mouth, which once served as a naval arsenal to Tarsus, is converted, by the alluvion of the river, into a sandy plain. A little further on is a second river, 270 feet wide at its embouchure. This is the ancient Sarus, now called the Syhoon or Syhān, which flows through the city of Adana. From this river, it is a distance of twenty-six miles to Cape Karadash, from which a range of low hills, clothed with a stunted oak, extends about ten miles to the N.E. The mouth of the Gulf of Iskenderoon (Scanderoon) lies between Cape Karadash and Cape Hanzir (the *Rhóssicus Scopulus* of the ancients), from which rises Mount Pieria, to the height of 5,400 feet, the beginning of the lofty chain of Mount Amanus, which separates Cilicia from Syria. To the eastward of Karadash, the same dreary waste of sand, interspersed with partial inundations, that characterises the coast to the westward as far as the river Lamas, again occurs, extending to the present mouth of the river Jyhoon or Ghihoon, the ancient Pyramus. This river, half a mile from its mouth, is 490 feet wide, and is the largest of all the rivers on the southern coast of Asia Minor. The bar formed at its entrance, renders it, however, no longer navigable; and it has pushed out, like the Ghiuk-su, a low sandy point, which has already advanced six miles beyond what appears to have been the original line of the shore. Having taken a direction parallel to

the coast of Ayas (the ancient Αἰγαὶ or Ægæ), a narrow arm of the sea is left between them, called Ayas Bay.* On the extreme point of the northern shore is Ayas Kalassy, a small village comprised within the walls of a "half-ancient castle," but no ruins of any consequence were discovered in the neighbourhood. Here Captain Beaufort's survey of the coast was terminated by an unfortunate accident, which had nearly deprived the service of a most meritorious officer. A Turkish mob, instigated and led on by a rascally old dervish, attacked a small party of the ship's crew while embarking from a small cove to the westward of Ayas; and one of them, taking aim at the Captain, wounded him dangerously. The outrage was disclaimed by the inhabitants of Ayas, and promises were made that every exertion should be used to bring the assassins to justice. A fine young man, a midshipman, fell a victim to the fury of the same party. Capt. Beaufort was compelled by the state of his health to return to Malta.

* This long estuary would seem, from Capt. Beaufort's account, to be the very *preserve* of Asia Minor. It contained, he says, the greatest number of fish and fowl that he ever saw collected together. "Every part of its unfrequented beach was covered with companies of pelicans, swans, geese, ducks, and gulls; and myriads of fish leaped out of the water, when roused from their muddy bed by the boat's keel, as it dragged along the bottom. There was also an abundance of very fine turtles, the chase of which afforded much amusement. When alarmed by the approach of the boat, the direction of their flight was marked by a ripple on the surface; and the water was shallow enough to admit of the men pursuing them on foot. Some of the larger turtles were so powerful as to escape with two heavy fellows lying on their backs, who in vain strove to turn them before they got into deep water. In less than an hour, however, sufficient were caught to load the boat; and many of them weighed upwards of 200 pounds."

BAIAS.

BAIAS, or Payass,* the ancient *Baiæ*, is seated on the eastern side of the gulf of Scanderoon: it stands in a small plain at the foot of Mount Amanus, which rises from the extremity of the gulf. It has a small harbour protected by a castle, and was, not many years ago, a wealthy and populous town, the residence of the rebel chief, Kutshuk Ali, who plundered the Aleppo caravans, and laid under contribution all the neighbouring districts. But at length, the Porte, irritated at his piracies and depredations, fitted out an expedition against him, which took Payass, and reduced it to a mass of ruins.† The town, when

* Kinneir writes it *Pias*, Burckhardt *Badjazze*.

† The history of this execrable marauder affords a striking instance of the imbecility of the Turkish government, which for upwards of forty years he set at defiance. In the early part of his life, he was a simple bandit, inhabiting the neighbouring mountains, at which time Payass was a populous and flourishing town. He laid the foundation of his power, by making nocturnal excursions from the mountains, to rob the gardens in the vicinity. To be exempted from these depredations, some gardeners, in the first instance, stipulated to pay a trifling annual tribute; others entered into similar engagements; and from a rotolo of coffee, or a few rotolos of rice, the whole town became at length compelled to furnish a stated contribution. Kutshuk Ali, now become the head of a band of forty or fifty robbers, aspired at length to become master of the place. He began by waylaying the chiefs of the principal families; and in the course of a few years, he succeeded in exterminating every individual of power or consideration in Payass and its vicinity. One person only of those unfortunate families, whose adherents he could neither subdue by open force nor corrupt by bribery, for some time contended with him for the supreme authority, till at length, Kutshuk Ali, having lulled his suspicions of treachery by giving him his daughter in marriage, murdered him with his own hand. He now assumed the govern-

visited by Mr. Kinneir in 1813, seemed almost entirely forsaken, though a kia (or kiaya) resided in the only habitable dwelling. Like the whole country from Adana, a distance of twenty-six miles, it pre-

ment of Payass; his circumscribed territory, however, would have afforded him very slender means of acquiring wealth, had his only dependence been on the miserable wretches inhabiting his dominions. The grand annual caravan of pilgrims from Constantinople to Mecca, must either pass by Payass, or make a very disagreeable and expensive journey through the mountains of Armenia. From this caravan he drew a considerable revenue, taxing every individual according to his own caprice, and not suffering the pilgrims to proceed till his rapacity was satisfied. In order the better to dispose them to comply with his extortion, he never failed to prepare for them, as a beacon of his power and cruelty, the spectacle of two impaled bodies, transfixed on the gate of Payass. On one occasion, when his prisons were empty, a poor sick man, a Christian, was made to serve this purpose. The Porte, at various times, sent great forces to subdue the rebel; but Kutshuk always managed to secure himself by retreating to his mountain fastnesses, till, by negotiation and bribery, he had averted the danger, and purchased his pardon of the Sultan, who seldom proves implacable when it is his interest to forgive. Among his acts of unprovoked and unprincipled aggression may be mentioned, his detention and imprisonment of the Dutch consul of Aleppo, in his way from Constantinople, although possessed of imperial firmauns, and although for many years previously there had subsisted the most amicable intercourse between them, and a reciprocation of presents: his sole object was to extort money. The sum fixed for the consul's ransom was 25,000 piastres; and because this unfortunate person could furnish only 7,500, he underwent, during eight months, the most atrocious ill-treatment, till at length, a caravan from Smyrna was made to advance the money on the consul's bond. In 1789, the master of an English vessel, with four of his men, who went to water near Payass, were seized and thrown into prison, where they all perished. Two years after, a French merchant-ship from Marseilles was taken possession of, unloaded, and sunk, the crew being sent away by land to the French consul at Scanderoon. This system he had carried on, as has been mentioned, forty years, up to the year 1800. The most

sented a melancholy picture of the baneful effects of misrule and oppression. It is sixteen miles from Scanderoon. At the ninth mile in the road to the latter place, are the ruins of a castle romantically situated at the foot of the mountains, which here approach the sea; and near it, on a projecting point of land, is a sort of obelisk, apparently ancient. At the twelfth mile is a small, but rapid river, supposed by Captain Kinneir to be the Pinarus; and about half a mile further, the fragments of massive walls jut into the sea. He supposes Payass to be the ancient Issus, with which the distance of the latter from Scanderoon, as given by Ptolemy, would agree; and "the flat between Payass and Scanderoon," he considers as accurately corresponding to the description of the field on which the memorable battle of Issus was fought, which decided the fate of Darius and the Persian empire. Pococke, however, seems to claim for a somewhat different spot the distinction of being the scene of that memorable victory. "The plain of Baias," he says, "is two miles long. At the south

astonishing circumstance of all is, that his whole armed force is said never to have exceeded 200 men. Conscious of his weakness, he used every art to conceal it. He had fabricated a cordon of buildings along the mountains, which had the appearance of towers, and were reported to be such: they were, in reality, formed of mud and chalk, and a night's heavy rain would frequently damage them. His territory is accessible only through thick woods, and he would so dispose his men in the thickets, as to give the idea of a numerous army. By what means he met his deserved fate, we are not informed. Burckhardt speaks of him, in 1812, as openly declaring his contempt of all orders from the Porte, and defying all the neighbouring pashas. In Nov. 1813, Mr. Kinneir found Payass in ruins. See "Some Account of Cuchuk Ali, in a Letter from John Barker, Esq., to the Earl of Elgin, in Travels by the Hon. E. L. Irby and J. Mangles." 8vo. 1823.

end of it is a low hill, over which the road leads for about a mile, into *a plain three quarters of a mile wide, and about a mile and a half long*, having the mountains to the east, the sea to the west, and to the south some low hills, which extend four miles, almost as far as Scanderoon. Two rivulets run through this plain from the hills: that to the south, which is smaller than the other, is called *Merkes*, from a village of the same name on the mountain. A wall five feet thick runs into the sea a little to the north of it; at the end of which there is a round tower in the sea, which is in ruins, and another within it, which might be the remains of the ancient port of Nicopolis. A little further are the ruins of an oblong building of brick and stone: it is possible this might be the foundation of the altars which Alexander is said to have built near the river Pinarus. Opposite to the middle of the plain there is a narrow vale between the mountains, resembling a large cleft, in which the small river *Mahersey* runs: this, I am inclined to think, is the Pinarus, being the larger of the two rivers. These rivers being choked up, the ground is become so morassy, that now two armies could not be drawn up in that place: the sea seems likewise to have gained on the plain. It is not improbable that the battle was in the plain of Baias, because that is large enough for two great armies to draw up in; and Darius is said to have marched towards the river Pinarus, the day after he took Issus, which implies that he marched some way from Issus. But what seems to determine that famous action to this place, is, a very curious piece of antiquity, which nobody has taken notice of as such. On the hills to the south, in the face of the plain, and rather inclining down to the sea, there is a ruin that appears

like two pillars, which are commonly called *Jonas's Pillars*, on some tradition that the whale threw up that prophet somewhere about this place. It was with the utmost difficulty that I got to this ruin, by reason that it is in the middle of a thick wood. I found it to be the remains of a very fine triumphal arch, of grey polished marble: the top of it and a great part of the piers were fallen down. The corners were adorned with pilasters. The principal front was to the south, where there was a pillar on each side, the pedestals of which only remain. There seems to have been a passage in the eastern pier up to the top of it. The inner part is built of a kind of mouldering gravelly stone or earth, and appears almost like unburnt brick; and I should have thought that it was a composition, if I had not seen such a sort of stone in this part. In order to strengthen the building, there is a tier of marble at every third or fourth layer. There are remains of a thick wall which seems to have joined the arch. It was, probably, part of the walls of Nicopolis, which city was doubtless built in memory of Alexander's victory over Darius, and on that account received its name. If this wall of Nicopolis extended to the mountains, it might serve as a defence of the pass, which may be the reason why it was demolished."*

Not far from this spot, at all events, must have been the pass known by the name of the Gates of Cilicia, which were between Baias and Alexandretta. The northern pass called the Amanic gate, is between

* Pococke's Travels, vol. ii. part i. chap. 20. For a further investigation of this learned question, we refer our readers to Major Rennell's Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus, Macdonald Kinneir's "Journey," &c. (p. 139), and Col. Leake's Tour, (p. 209).

Baias and Ayas. That of Beilan, called the Gates of Syria (*Pylæ Syriæ*), was the third.* Issus was, according to Xenophon, the last town in Cilicia, and fifteen *parasangs* beyond the Pyramus; which answers to the situation of Baias. The topography of this part must, however, be considered as requiring further elucidation.

FROM BAIAS TO TARSUS.

POCOCKE has given an indistinct account of the route from Baias to Tarsus; the same, apparently, that was travelled by Capt. Kinneir in his way from Cesarea to Syria. In about two hours, proceeding to the N.W., the travellers mentioned by the former, arrived at a shallow stream thirty yards broad. In half an hour further they arrived at Karabolat. In three hours they came to the end of the bay of Scanderoon; and, in thirty-five minutes more to "the *iron gate*, which was probably the old gate of Cilicia." This gate is thus described by Capt. Kinneir. "At the eighth mile" (from Kastanle) "the rocks of the defile on either side approached each other, and we passed under an arch of an old gateway, built of black granite, and called *Kara Capé*, or the Black Gate. This building was once, without doubt, much more extensive than it now is: it was evidently intended to defend the entrance into the defile; and I should guess it to have been constructed at a period antecedent to the conquests of the Turks." On the side next Baias, from which place it must be between 17 and 18 miles distant, the pass immediately expands.

* See vol. i. p. 335. Col. Leake suggests that, perhaps, Beilan is only a corruption of Πύλην or *Pylan*, the accusative form of *Pyla*.

The narrow valley to which it leads, is clothed with thick copse-wood and evergreens. Kastanle, the town mentioned by Capt. Kinneir as eight miles beyond the pass, is a ruined town, inhabited by four or five Turcoman families: it is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Castabala. From this place, it is a stage of twenty miles to Messis, a large village of mud-huts erected on hillocks of sand and rubbish, the ruins of the ancient Mopsuestia.* It is seated on the right bank of the Ghihoun, the ancient Pyramus. The inhabitants are a gang of Turcoman freebooters, tributary to the Pasha of Adana, from which city it is distant a stage of nineteen miles. The whole of this road, when Capt. Kinneir travelled, had for many years ceased to be frequented, in consequence of the depredations and murders committed by the Turcomans; and he passed through fertile plains wholly deserted and uncultivated. Adana, which retains its ancient name and situation on the western bank of the Sihoun, the ancient Sarus, is still a considerable town, and the capital of a pashalic including the greater part of Cilicia Proper. This city was, next to Tarsus, the most flourishing in Cilicia; it was one of the towns to which Pompey banished the pirates; and it subsequently shared the same fate as Tarsus itself. The modern town is situated on a gentle declivity, surrounded on all sides with groves of mulberry, peach, apricot, fig, and olive trees, and vineyards. On every side extends a plain of exuberant fertility. It is large and well built: the population, composed chiefly of Turks and Turcomans, is nearly equal, Capt. Kinneir

* Corrupted, under the Byzantine empire, into Mampsysta, Mamista, and Manista. It stood a long siege against John Zimisces and Nicephorus Phocas, but was at length taken.

supposes, to that of Tarsus. There is a bridge over the Sihoon, said to have been built by Justinian. Parts of the ancient walls remain; and a noble gateway in the middle of the bazar, forms a lively contrast to the grovelling architecture of the Turks. Near the bridge, on the bank of the river, is a castle about a quarter of a mile in circuit; the work, apparently, of the Mahommedans. It is in lat. 37° N.

Adana is eight hours, or about twenty-eight miles E.N.E. of Tarsus. This once proud capital retains its ancient name, pronounced *Tersoos;* but scarcely a vestige remains of its former magnificence. The modern town does not occupy a fourth part of the area of the Roman city. It is watered by a number of small canals drawn from the Cydnus; but the river itself, which, in the time of Cyrus and Alexander, flowed through the middle of Tarsus, holds its course half a mile to the east of the present town. Capt. Kinneir passed a week here, devoting his mornings and evenings to the exploring of the town and its vicinity; he could not, however, discover a single inscription, or any monument of beauty or art. The houses seldom exceed one story in height; they are terrace-roofed, and the greater part are constructed with hewn stone furnished by the more ancient edifices. There is a castle, said to have been built by Bajazet; and a portion of the city is surrounded by a wall, which Mr. Kinneir is disposed to refer to Haroun al Raschid. The foundations of a more ancient wall may be traced, extending far beyond the limits of the town; and on an eminence to the S.W. are ruins of a spacious circular edifice, possibly the gymnasium. About 200 yards further to the west, is an ancient gateway almost entire. Near it

is a very large mound, apparently artificial, with a flat top, commanding an extensive view of the adjacent plain and the course of the Cydnus. There are two public baths, a number of respectable-looking mosques, several handsome caravanserais, and a small church, some parts of which bear marks of high antiquity. Tradition, as might be expected, makes St. Paul its founder, and in the burying-ground by which it is surrounded, stands a tree said to have been planted by his own hand. Capt. Kinneir, who mentions this tradition, omits, however, to state of what species this tree is, or what is its appearance. A tree seventeen hundred and fifty years old, would claim to rank as a curiosity next to the cedars of Mount Lebanon! There are remains of a theatre near the river, but buried in rubbish and bushes, and it escaped the observation of this traveller. Captain Beaufort's party, who visited Tersoos from Kazalu, the year before, were assured by an Armenian, that, with the exception of this theatre, all the remains of antiquity had been destroyed or converted into modern buildings.* Although the houses are very straggling, the population seemed considerable; the bazars were well-stocked, and the inhabitants had a look of business. From a Venetian merchant, a certain Signor Castilian,

* At some distance beyond the walls, however, Mr. Kinneir was shewn a singular structure, 120 paces in length and about 60 in breadth; the walls, seventeen feet high, and fifteen feet in thickness, are composed of small round stones and mortar, which have acquired the solidity of a rock. "The building has two divisions within, has neither doors nor windows, but a large opening at either side, and, towards the extremities, a solid mass of masonry sixteen paces square. The structure has neither beauty nor ornament, nor is it easy to determine for what purpose it could have been intended."

who had been twenty years resident at Tarsus, and called himself French consul, Mr. Kinneir learned, that, during the winter, the population amounts to about 30,000 souls: among these, there are 200 Armenian families and 100 Greeks; the rest are Turks and Turcomans, who remove with their families to the mountains in the summer, to avoid the pestilential heat of the place. The adjoining villages are inhabited chiefly by Greeks. The land is exceedingly fertile, yielding abundance of wheat, barley, sesame, and cotton. During the war in the Spanish Peninsula, a large quantity of corn was exported to Malta, and thence to Spain and Portugal for the supply of the British army; by which the said Signor Castilian acquired a considerable fortune. Copper from Maden, and gall-nuts from the mountains, are staple commodities. The imports consist of rice and sugar from Damietta, coffee from Yemen, and coffee, sugar, and hardware from Malta. The city was governed by a Mutsellim appointed by Chapwan Oglu, who, on the death of that prince and the ruin of his family, hoisted the standard of revolt, and declared himself independent. The district is comprised in the pashalic of Adana.

Tarsus, according to Arrian and Strabo, was founded, together with Anchiala, by Sardanapalus king of Assyria. Its origin is referred by others to an Argive colony under Triptolemus, who is represented on the medals in a chariot drawn by dragons. It was, at all events, of high antiquity, and became so illustrious for learning and science, that Strabo gives it the preference in that respect over Athens and Alexandria. It was visited by Alexander the Great, who nearly caught his death by bathing in the cold waters of the

Cydnus;* and it was here that Mark Antony had his first interview with the fascinating but unprincipled queen of Egypt. It was called *Juliopolis* in honour of Julius Cæsar, who spent some days at Tarsus during his expedition against Pharnaces. It was much favoured by Augustus also, as well as by Hadrian, and bore in succession the names of various imperial patrons. At what period it became a Roman colony, is a matter of dispute; some maintaining that it obtained that privilege as the reward of its adherence to Julius Cæsar; others that, though a free city, and governed by its own laws, no trace is found on its medals, of its being a colony before the reign of Caracalla or Heliogabalus. St. Paul, who was born at Tarsus, was a Roman citizen; but this, it is contended, he might be, not as a denizen of Tarsus, but by virtue of some hereditary right. He says, "But I was free-born." This seems the more probable, because the officer who apprehended him, had already learned that he was a citizen of Tarsus, when about to put him to the question by scourging, but did not know that he was a Roman. On hearing this, he was afraid of being called to account even for having bound him.† Cilicia, after being subject, by turns, to the kings of Assyria and the successors of Alexander, was

* The extreme coldness of this river, which is said to have proved so nearly fatal to Alexander, is stated also to have occasioned the death of Frederick Barbarossa. "We found the water undoubtedly cold," says Captain Beaufort, "but not more so than that of the other rivers which carry down the melted snow of Mount Taurus; and we bathed in it without feeling any pernicious effects." Capt. Kinneir, who also bathed in the stream, bears the same testimony.

† Acts xxi. 39; xxii. 27. See Calmet's Dictionary. *Tarsus.*

reduced into a Roman province by Pompey;* it was conquered by the Saracens under Haroun al Raschid; it composed part of the Armenian kingdom of Leo in the thirteenth century; and has been subject to the Turks ever since the reign of Bajazet the Second.

FROM CESAREA TO TARSUS.

CAPTAIN Kinneir reached Tarsus from Cesarea, the ancient capital of Cappadocia, seven days' journey to the northward; lat. 38° 41′ N.; it is thirty-six hours from Siwas (Sebastia of Pontus), and seventy hours from Malatia on the Euphrates.† Its ancient

* In the time of Cicero, the government of Cilicia included Cilicia Proper, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Isauria, and part of Phrygia: the residence of the Roman governor was at Laodicea in Phrygia.

† Mr. Kinneir travelled to Cesarea from Ooscat, which lies between Angora and Tokat. First day, through a hilly country, without wood, but tolerably cultivated, in a direction S.E. by S., to the village of Ingurly, distant eighteen miles; thence, a second stage of twenty-two miles, to Kislar, a Greek village: passing, at twelve miles, the river Konak, a considerable stream flowing to the south. Second day, to Booslyan, a large Greek village, twenty-five miles S. E. by S. of Kislar. The greater number of villages in this part, are inhabited by Greeks. Third day, through a dreary country, twenty-four miles to where the Kizil-Ermak issues from an opening in a ridge of rocky hills, in a stream of forty yards wide: it is crossed by a bridge, seven miles beyond which is the village Emlar. Thence, after ascending a steep hill, seven miles over a table land, with Argis-dag in front, and Mount Taurus running from S. to N. at about twenty-five miles distance on the right, to Hiklar. This town is hung on the steep declivity of a rocky mountain which bounds the plain of Cesarea to the N. It is crowned by an artificial mound, thought to be the tomb of one of the ancient kings of Cappadocia. From Hiklar six miles to Cesarea, which this traveller reached the third day from Ooscat, a distance of 109 miles. The roads, almost the whole way, are excellent, and passable for cannon or wheel-carriages of any description.

name was Mazaca, which, according to Josephus, it derived from its supposed founder, Meshech, the son of Japhet. It received the name of Cesarea in honour of Tiberius, which it still retains, being called Kaiserieh by the Osmanlis. It was the royal seat of the kings of Cappadocia. After its annexation to the Roman empire by Tiberius, it continued to increase in wealth and splendour; and when, in the reign of Valerian, it was pillaged by Sapor, king of Persia, it contained a population of not less than 400,000 souls. Its dimensions were afterwards contracted by Justinian, on rebuilding the walls. In the ecclesiastical division of the empire, it was the metropolis of the great diocese of Pontus. It was the birth-place of St. Basil, who is said to have been buried near the town. The army of Alexius Comnenus is stated to have encamped amid the ruins of this city, soon after it had been destroyed by an earthquake; but it was subsequently rebuilt, and became subject, successively, to the sultans of Iconium, the princes of Karaman, and the Grand Signior. It is now a sanjiakat in the pashalic or province of Konieh (Iconium). The area of the modern town is inconsiderable, and the houses, though built of stone and mortar, have a mean appearance. It is, however, the emporium of an extensive trade, and the resort of merchants from all parts of Asia Minor and Syria, who come to purchase cotton, raw and manufactured. The population is stated to amount to about 25,000 souls, of which number 1500 are Armenians, 300 Greeks, and 150 Jews.

Kaiserieh is situated on the south side of a fertile plain of great length, watered by the Kara-su, or Black Water, (the ancient Melas,) which flows from west to east, entering the Euphrates at Malatia. Although an inconsiderable stream in the autumn, it

frequently inundates the country, like the Kizil Ermak, during the melting of the snows. The town is built at the base of Argis-dagh, or Mount Argish (*Argæus*), in a sort of recess formed by two branches of the mountain, which advance a short distance into the plain, so that it has the mountains on three sides. Mount Argish rises from the plain in a peak similar to Mount Elwund near Hamadan in Persia, but is of far greater elevation: its summit being clothed with perpetual snow, indicates an elevation of from 9 to 10,000 feet. Capt. Kinneir states that, towards the latter end of October, when the whole of the surrounding country was parched with drought, the snow enveloped the mountain half-way from its summit. The natives have a strange tradition, "that the Romans had a castle at the top, where Tiberius Cæsar used to sit;" but they confessed, that, although many had made the attempt, no one had been known to pass its frozen steeps.

Ruins of the ancient city are seen all round the modern town. To the south, the sides of the hills are strewed with mouldering piles of rubbish about a quarter of a mile from the suburb. On the summit of a small hill, close to a perpendicular rock, a modern structure seems to have been erected upon the foundations of a more noble edifice. Under this building a number of subterraneous passages have been hewn out of the rock. About fifty paces in advance are the vestiges of a large and solid superstructure, 170 paces in length by 80 in width. A part of the wall, built of stone and excellent cement, is still standing: although the exterior incrustation has been removed, it is still fifteen feet thick. A second wall, running at right angles with the first, is nearly thirty feet high; it is cased with a fine kind of brick, having in its centre

a gateway of three arches: these arches are "semi-circular, in the Roman style, not pointed according to the fashion of the Moors," and the whole bears the marks of high antiquity. In an adjacent suburb is a ruin still more extensive, but so hidden by modern edifices erected in the courts and along the walls, that no idea could be formed of its original shape. "In one part, (says Capt. Kinneir,) the remains of the ancient wall are about forty feet above the roof of an adjoining building. It presents one end of a vast arched hall, sixteen paces wide, and at least thirty feet more elevated than the spot where I measured it. The fragments of decayed buildings, mantled with shrubs and ivy, are seen on all sides above the level of the suburb; but I looked in vain for any monument of refinement or elegance: there are no columns, no sculptured marble, nor even a single Greek or Latin inscription. A considerable part of the city wall is still standing; but this, in all probability, owes its origin to the Mahommedans, since we are informed that Cesarea was fortified by a prince of the house of Seljuck in the thirteenth century. Several of the towers, indeed, are evidently more ancient, and far superior in construction to the other parts of the works. The castle, which was erected by one of the Turcoman princes of Karaman, is rapidly sinking to decay."

The Armenians have two churches in the town. The Greeks have a convent said to contain the tomb of St. Basil, the bishop of Cesarea. The country extending eastward towards the Euphrates, is so in-

* Paul Lucas states, that he found in the environs of this town all the mountains perforated with grottoes. The same traveller assures us that he saw, not far from Cesarea, near Yrkup, 20,000 little pyramids, each having doors and windows.

fested by wandering Kourds as to be impassable without a strong guard.

The plague of dogs, by which most of the Turkish towns are infested, is exchanged, at Kaiserieh, for a still more insufferable nuisance. The dogs which swarm in other cities, are at least useful in devouring carrion and the offal thrown into the streets. But here the dogs are killed for the sake of their skins. The consequence is, that nothing can exceed the filth and stench of some of the streets, which are literally blocked up with dunghills: no pains seemed to be taken to remove the dead horses, dogs, and cats which, together with butchers' offal and stagnant pools of water, presented continually the most disgusting spectacle. "The stench was sufficient," says Mr. Kinneir, "to occasion a pestilence, which actually raged in the city at the time."

From Cesarea, it is a stage of nineteen miles, in a westerly direction, to *Enja-su*, a *casaban*, or town, seated on a river of the same name, containing some vestiges of antiquity. From this place, the road, for ten miles, continues to round the western end of Argis-dagh, bearing from Enja-su, E.S.E. At twenty miles from that town is the casaban of *Kara-hissar* (Black Castle), a small and ruined town, covering the sides and slopes of a steep eminence, crowned with the mouldering walls of an old castle from which it takes its name. It is supposed by Mr. Kinneir to occupy the site of Cybistra. The place is famous for its orchards, extending along the declivities of the adjacent hills, which afford an abundant supply of excellent water, that is conveyed through every part of the gardens by small aqueducts or canals. The third day's journey led through the gorges of a chain of hills west of Kara-hissar. At the end of the third

mile, the road passes under a high perpendicular rock, crowned with an ancient fortress named *Yengi Bar* or *Nour;* the ancient Nora, where Eumenes stood a siege against Antigonus. At the seventh mile, Capt. Kinneir was struck with "the singular appearance of several large oblong fragments of a rock, in number about thirty, placed vertically, two and two, on the top of each other, in the manner of those of Stonehenge. The upper stones must have been raised by art, as they could not possibly have been placed so by nature; and, had they been ranged in any sort of regular order, I should have been apt to conclude that it was an ancient place of worship, since I observed in the face of the adjoining hill a number of small excavations." At the eighth mile, the defile opened on a cultivated plain; and sixteen miles further, is the village *Mislee.** From thence, the road still leads S.W. through a noble plain, partially inhabited and cultivated, bare of trees, but producing wheat, barley, sesame, and cotton, and containing many artificial tumuli. At the end of the eighteenth mile, this plain contracts into a narrow valley, watered by a branch of the Kisil-ermak, flowing to the west. At twenty-two miles from Mislee is *Nidegh*, or *Nighdé*, a town of consequence, and the residence of a pasha: it is thought to be the ancient Cadyna.† This day's journey consisted of two stages: distance from Karahissar, forty-six miles.

Nidegh has an appearance of high antiquity. It is built on a conical rock, having a valley on the E., a fine plain to the W., and ranges of hills to the N. and

* About six miles S. of Mislee is Maden, famous for its copper mines.

† Col. Leake supposes Nighdé to be Castabala.

S. Those parts of the wall which are still standing, are evidently very ancient; the large stones with which they are built, being apparently decayed to their centre through age. Mr. Kinneir saw the shafts of several marble columns, with their capitals and pedestals overturned, in the streets. The greater part of the rock, which is a soft sand-stone, has been excavated: these excavations are divided into distinct apartments, with doors and windows, and serve as habitations to many of the natives. The population is estimated at 5,000 souls, Greeks and Turks, most of whom are very poor, deriving their subsistence from the produce of their gardens and vineyards.

From Nidegh, it is a short stage of about thirteen miles S.W. by W. to a *casaban* called *Kilisa-hissar*,* the residence of an aga. Great quantities of gunpowder are manufactured here, the surrounding country being impregnated with nitre. Here also are very considerable ruins of an ancient city, which may be with confidence pronounced to be those of Tyana (the Dana of Xenophon), otherwise called *Eusebeia ad Taurum*; the chief town, under Archelaus and the Romans, of one of the prefectures of Cappadocia, and, under the Byzantine emperors, the capital of the second Cappadocia, and the see of a metropolitan till the Turkish conquest.† The city of Tyana, which was visited by both Cyrus and Alexander previously to their descent into Cilicia, was situated in the road between Mazaca and the *Portæ Ciliciæ*: it was the capital of the district called *Tyanitis*, a rich and fertile plain extend-

* By Kinneir called Ketch-hissar.

† It was made a colony by Caracalla, under the name of Antonina; was afterwards included in the empire of Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra, and stood a siege against Aurelian.

ing along the foot of Taurus. This exactly corresponds to the position of Kilisa-hissar, which stands in a fertile plain at the foot of that mountain, and is not a day's march from the pass alluded to. It is, moreover, acknowledged by the Greek clergy as the site of their episcopal see of Tyana.

The aga of the place knowing nothing of either king Thoante, (its reputed founder, according to Strabo,) or of Archelaus, or of Caracalla, claimed for the town a higher origin, asserting that it had been founded by Nimrod. The aqueduct, moreover, which is decidedly Roman, as well as the other buildings, are all ascribed by the natives to Nimrod. It is of granite, supported on lofty, but light and elegant arches, extending, the aga assured Mr. Kinneir, to the foot of the mountains, a distance of about seven or eight miles; but our traveller could only trace it about a mile and a half, when it disappeared amid the thick foliage of trees. The massive foundations of several large edifices are to be seen in different parts of the town. Shafts, capitals, and pedestals lie half buried in the ground: one handsome granite column alone was noticed standing erect, near the vestiges of an ancient edifice.

From Kilisa-hissar, the road leads for eight miles across the plain, and afterwards over a ridge of hills to the narrow valley of Tchekisla; a mud village situated at a short distance from one of the principal gorges of Mount Taurus, distant from Kilisa, seven hours or about twenty-four miles S.W. by S. The road then enters a narrow vale, running for sixteen miles between a chain of hills on the left, and a ramification of Taurus on the right. At the eighth mile are remains of a Roman camp. At the sixteenth, the road crosses a mountain into an intricate defile, at the

bottom of which flows the Sehoun. At the twenty-first mile is a khan, situated at the confluence of that and another small stream; it is a temporary hut, erected for the accommodation of travellers.

The next day, crossing a stream, the road enters a dark and gloomy defile on the left bank of the Sehoun, which is gradually enlarged by many mountain torrents. For the first nine miles, the breadth of the pass varies from 50 to 200 yards, the steeps of Mount Taurus, covered with pine-trees, rising vertically on each side. At the ninth mile, after crossing the Sehoun by an old stone bridge of one arch, the pass opens into a valley. Here a torrent is seen bursting from an abyss in a most extraordinary manner, in a volume of water equal to the river. At fourteen miles is a khan, near which two roads diverge; that on the left to Adana, the right to Tarsus. Mr. Kinneir followed the latter, which crosses the mountains in a southerly direction, by a path extremely rugged and steep. At the tenth mile, is a post-house where he lodged. Remains of an ancient way, in some parts hewn out of the rock, in others built up, were noticed at different times.

The seventh day's journey from Kaiserieh, the road lay for two miles and a half over a tolerably good road; and then descending to the left bank of a streamlet, entered another romantic pass, five miles in length, and, in several places, not more than ten or twelve paces wide from rock to rock. The cliffs and sides of the mountains, clothed with the most beautiful evergreens and pine-trees, hang like a vast canopy over the defile, while their bare and desolate peaks tower above the clouds. "The road ran along the brow of the precipice, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. It was in so bad a condi-

tion, that it could only be passed during the day, many of the large stones which had been used in the construction of the Roman way, having either been removed or fallen down; whilst the surfaces of those that still remained in their places, were so smooth and slippery, that the horses could not tread upon them without the momentary danger of being precipitated over the rocks. This is undoubtedly the part of the pass most capable of defence, and where a handful of determined men, advantageously posted, might bid defiance to the most numerous armies."* At the end of the eighth mile, the mountains again retire to the right, shewing the ruins of a fortress built on the summit of a stupendous cliff. At the tenth mile is a khan, placed at the mouth of the defile which, Mr. Kinneir remarks, "is in all likelihood the *Pylæ* through which the armies of the younger Cyrus and of Alexander entered Cilicia." From the khan the road lies, in a S.S.E. direction, through a country interspersed with gentle slopes; and at the twenty-first mile, the traveller descends into the level plain of Tarsus, bounded on three sides by the mountains. The city, which bears S.W., has the appearance, at this distance, of a park or forest, more than a town, nothing being visible but its extensive gardens: the distance from the mouth of the defile is about thirty miles, and not more than twenty from the foot of the mountains.*

FROM TARSUS TO KONIEH (ICONIUM).

THERE were five ancient routes across Mount Taurus, from the interior plains to the southern coast:

* We cite Mr. Kinneir. Col. Leake says, without giving his authority, about twelve miles, which is doubtless erroneous.

1. from Tyana to Tarsus, which we have been pursuing; 2. from Iconium to Tarsus; 3. from Iconium by Tetrapyrgia to Pompeiopolis; 4. from Iconium to Seleucia, and a branch to Anemurium; 5. from Iconium to Side, with a branch to Antiocheia of Pisidia. The second of these routes was taken by Mr. Browne in 1801. After passing through the above-mentioned defile, (the *Pylæ Ciliciæ*,) the road diverges in a westerly direction, and crosses an elevated branch of the mountain to Erkle or Erakli, supposed to be the ancient Archalla: a distance of twenty-nine hours, and reckoned three days' journey. The town is agreeably situated in the midst of gardens full of fruit and forest-trees. On the summit of the interjacent mountain is a small village; and the Turkmans with their flocks are found dwelling in tents in this almost inaccessible region, where the air is cool and salubrious, even in the hottest season, and pellucid springs give spirit and animation to the scene. A number of very ancient cedars, whose stunted growth and fantastic branches cast a gloomy shade, diversify the rugged sides of the mountain. The juniper is found mingled with the cedars: and the dwarf-elder, the odour of which is agreeable, skirts the mountain at a certain height. Loose stones of granite and hornblende were found by Mr. Browne near the summit: lower down, lime-stone prevails. It occupied nearly five hours to reach the summit in coming from Erakli. Beyond that town, the road lies over a sandy plain, with little cultivation, to Kara-bignar; distant about twelve hours. This is a town consisting principally of mud hovels, but containing a spacious and substantial khan and mosque, built by a eunuch of one of the emperors. Adjoining the mosque are some fragments of alabaster columns. A manufacture of gunpowder is carried on

at this place; and the women make socks of a coarse woollen yarn, which are strong and warm, and much sought after by travellers in winter; they are sold for nine or ten paras the pair. From Kara-bignar, it is ten hours to Yeshil, a village standing on a small eminence in an extensive plain of excellent soil, but almost wholly uncultivated, and subject to frequent inundations: it is inhabited by peasants who till the ground. This plain extends to Konieh, distant from Yeshil nine hours.

Iconium was the capital of Lycaonia: it is mentioned by Xenophon, Cicero, and Strabo, and is repeatedly referred to in the Apostolic history; but it does not appear to have been a place of much consideration until, after the taking of Nice by the Crusaders in 1099, the Seljukian sultans of Roum made it their residence. These sultans rebuilt the walls and embellished the city. It was subsequently taken by assault, in 1189, by Frederick Barbarossa; but, on his death, the sultans re-entered their capital, where they reigned in splendour till the irruption of Tchengis Khan and his grandson Hulokow, who broke the power of the Seljukians. Under the name of Cogni, or Konieh, it has been included in the domains of the Grand Signior ever since the time of Bajazet, who finally extirpated the ameers of Karamania. The governor is a pasha of three tails; he is, however, inferior in rank to the pasha of Kutaya, who, under the title of Anadol Beglerbeg, has the chief command of all the Anatolian troops, when they join the imperial camp.

"The modern city," says Capt. Kinneir, "has an imposing appearance, from the number and size of its mosques, colleges, and other public buildings; but these stately edifices are crumbling into ruins, whilst the

houses of the inhabitants consist of a mixture of small huts, built of sun-dried brick and wretched hovels thatched with reeds. To the E. and S. the city extends over the plain far beyond the walls, which are about two miles in circumference; to the N. is the range of *Fondhal Baba*, (the ancient *Lycadnum Colles*,) of no great elevation; and immediately behind the town, to the W., the slopes of the hills are covered with gardens and pleasant meadows. A great portion of the water of a small river, which flows on the N.W. side of the town, towards the N.E., is absorbed in the irrigation of the gardens and fields: whilst that which remains, empties itself, or rather forms a small lake and morass, five or six miles N. of the city. Mountains covered with snow rise on every side, excepting towards the E., where a plain, as flat as the desert of Arabia, extends far beyond the reach of the eye. The chief ornaments of the city are its mosques, of which there are twelve large, and upwards of a hundred small. Those of Sultan Selim and Sheikh Ibrahim, (the former built in imitation of St. Sophia at Constantinople,) are large and magnificent structures, much admired for the beauty of their interior; but I was not permitted to enter them. The *madressas*, or colleges, are also numerous; but most of them are deserted and falling to decay; the only one now inhabited being a large modern edifice, called the *Capan Madressa*. Several of the gates of these old colleges are of singular beauty; they are formed entirely of marble, adorned with a profusion of fretwork and a fine entablature in the moresco fashion, far excelling any thing of the kind I had ever seen. The city wall is said to have been erected by the Seljukian sultans: it seems to have been built from the ruins of more

ancient buildings, as broken columns, capitals, pedestals, bas-reliefs, and other pieces of sculpture, contribute towards its construction. It has eighty gates of a square form, each known by a separate name, and, as well as most of the towers, embellished with Arabic inscriptions. Several of the latter are well executed; and the walls, which, upon the whole, are better built than those of most Turkish towns, are, in some places, chequered with loop-holes, formed of the pedestals of pillars placed erect at the distance of two or three inches from each other. I observed a few Greek characters upon them, but they were in so elevated a situation that I could not decipher them. A considerable part of the front of the gate of Ladik, on the north side of the town, is covered with a Turkish inscription; immediately below which, and fixed in the wall, is a beautiful alto-relievo, together with a colossal statue of Hercules. The style and execution of the former equalled, and perhaps surpassed, any thing I had witnessed in my travels; it is about nine feet in length, and contains ten figures, each about eighteen inches high. A Roman prince is represented sitting in a chair, with his toga falling in easy drapery over his body, and in the act of receiving a ball, the symbol of the world, from another person, who is dressed in flowing robes, and attended by three Roman soldiers. The remaining figures are standing, and some of them are much mutilated; but the Turks have supplied the deficiency by adding a few legs and arms, the bad taste and rude construction of which form a ludicrous contrast to the exquisite symmetry of the other parts of the piece. The statue of Hercules having lost its head and right arm, the Turks have also been industrious enough to replace part of the de-

ficiency by a new arm, still more absurd than the legs on the relief. These sculptures are on the face of the tower which forms the gate, and are only observable on turning to the left, after you have issued from the town. There were many bas-reliefs wedged in different parts of this tower; amongst which I remarked the disproportioned figure of a hideous monster, and the representation of an armed warrior, with a streamer flowing from his helmet, in like manner as those on the figures at Persepolis and Takte-Bostan. Above the gate of Aiash I saw a relief of a lion couchant; and in an adjoining street, a marble statue of the same animal. The statue stood near an opening which led into an extensive suite of subterranean apartments, arched with stone, and apparently belonging to some ancient edifice. In the middle of the town is a small eminence, about three quarters of a mile in circuit, which appears to have been fortified, and where probably the old castle of Iconium once stood. The arched foundations of a superstructure crown its summit, and are said to indicate the site of a palace once inhabited by the Seljukian sultans. The population is reported to amount to nearly 30,000 souls, principally Turks, there being but a small proportion of Christians. There are four public baths, two churches, and seven khans for the accommodation of merchants; but there is little or no trade, and the far greater portion of the adjacent territory is permitted to lie waste. This city was formerly the capital of an extensive government, and the seat of a powerful pasha, who maintained a military force competent to the preservation of peace and order, and the defence of his territories. But it has now dwindled into insignificance, and exhibits, upon the whole, a mournful scene of desolation and decay."

Konieh is in lat. 37° 52′ N., long. 32° 40′ 15″ E.* A vast plain surrounds the city, the middle of which is occupied by a lake. The low situation of the town, and the vicinity of the lake, seem not to indicate a salubrious situation, but, says Col. Leake, "we heard no complaints on this head; and as it has in all ages been well inhabited, these apparent disadvantages are probably corrected by the dryness of the soil, and the free action of the winds over the surrounding levels." The country around supplies grain and flax in great abundance. In the town carpets are manufactured, and they tan and dye blue and yellow leather. Cotton, wool, and hides are sent to Smyrna by the caravans. Konieh is distinguished as a city of peculiar sanctity on account of its containing the tomb of a saint highly revered throughout Turkey, named Hazret Mevlana, the founder of the Mevlevi Dervishes. This sepulchre is the object of a Mussulman pilgrimage: it is a cylindrical tower of a bright green colour, surmounted with a dome. In consequence, the city abounds with dervishes, who meet the passenger at every turning of the streets, and demand paras with the greatest clamour and insolence.†

* According to Niebuhr. Kinneir made the mean of two meridional observations lat. 37° 54′ N.

† Leake's Journal, &c. p. 50. Mr. Browne says: "The splendid *Tekié* (or monastery) of Mewlawy Derwishes, is the first among such buildings in the Turkish empire, and is universally celebrated. Its cupola, covered with shining green tiles, is conspicuous from afar. The tomb of the founder is of black marble: it is known by the name of *Mulla Hunkiar*. Voluntary contributions are brought to the fraternity from all quarters, and from very distant regions. Even the Emperor of Morocco, according to their report, annually sends them a hundred pieces of gold. Notwithstanding the celebrity and comparative opulence of this institution, there is reason to believe that it is one

At the head of the Greek community in Konieh, is a metropolitan bishop, who has several dependent churches in the adjacent towns. The Greeks are, for the most part, ignorant of their own language, and it is not even used here in the church service: they have the four gospels and the prayers printed in Turkish. There is also an Armenian church.

Mr. Kinneir came to Konieh from Kelendri on the coast; and Col. Leake took the same route in proceeding from Konieh to Cyprus. In this track occur some interesting sites.

FROM KONIEH TO KELENDRI.

THE road from Konieh to the southern coast, pursues a perfect level for upwards of twenty miles, and is in excellent order for travelling. The plain of Konieh is considered as the largest in Asia Minor. In the centre of it, the huge mountain of Karadja Dag (or Kara-dagh) suddenly rises in a peak almost as lofty as Argish. "Like most of the plains of Phry-

of the most decent and respectable of the monastic orders in the Turkish empire. The order was founded by Jalâl-ed-dîn Mohammed, Ben Mohammed, el Balkhi, el Konawi, (also named Mullar Hunkiar,) who lived at Konieh, where he was regarded as a saint, and visited by Ertoghrul, the father of the first Othman, who recommended his son to the saint's prayers. He died at that place A D. 1273. The Mewlawis have the tenth place in the chronological enumeration of these orders, which have their date as early as the first century of Mohammedism. There are, on the whole, not fewer than twenty-four distinct bodies, each wearing a different habit, and observing different rules. Jalâl-ed-dîn was the author of the *Mithnawi*, in which the use of music and the dance is taught. It is written in elegant Persian verse, and contains the rules of the order, with a variety of moral reflexions and maxims. Many commentaries have been written upon it."—WALPOLE'S *Travels in the East*, p. 121.

gia," says Capt. Kinneir, "not a tree, nor even a shrub, is any where perceptible over an immense expanse of ground as level as the sea; in some parts very fertile, in others impregnated with nitre. A very trifling proportion of it is cultivated or inhabited; and even the roads are rendered impassable, without a guard, from the depredations of thieves and assassins, who are known to quit the cities in the night, in order to waylay caravans and travellers." It is reckoned a six hours' stage to Tshumra, a small village with a scanty cultivation round it. Here the best accommodation Col. Leake could procure, was a Turk's cottage, which is thus described. "It consists of two apartments. The inner, which is considerably the larger of the two, is for his horse; the other is separated from the passage leading into the stable, by two or three steps and a low rail, and is just sufficient to contain the fire-place, and a sofa on either side of it." From Tshumra to Kassaba, nine hours, over the same uninterrupted level, but quite uncultivated, except in the neighbourhood of a few widely dispersed villages. It is painful to behold such desolation in the midst of a region so highly favoured by nature. "At three or four miles short of Kassaba," says Col. Leake, "we are abreast of the middle of the very lofty insulated mountain, called Karadagh. It is said to be chiefly inhabited by Greek Christians, and to contain 1001 churches; but we afterwards learned, that these 1001 churches (*bin-bir-klissa*) was a name given to the extensive ruins of an ancient city at the foot of the mountains."* Kassaba seems to have

* Mr. Kinneir says, that these ruins are now called *Maden*, or the Mine: "they are about twenty-six miles from Karaman." "The ruins," he adds, "were described to me as covering a

been a Turkish town of some importance. It is surrounded with a wall, flanked by angular projections, and has some handsome gates of Saracenic architecture: the houses are built of stone, instead of sun-baked bricks, the usual material in Turkish towns; and it has a well-supplied bazar. From Kassaba, it is four hours to Karaman. The road still passes over a plain. At one hour from Kassaba is Illisera, a small town with low walls and towers, seated on a rising ground half a mile from the foot of the mountains. Between these mountains and the Karadagh, there is "a kind of strait," forming the communication between the plain of Karaman and the great levels eastward of Konieh; and there is a similar passage round the northern end of Karadagh, so that this mountain would seem to be completely insulated.

Karaman is situated at the southern extremity of the plain, about two miles from the foot of the lofty range of Bedlerin Dagh, a branch of Mount Taurus. It covers with its squares and gardens a large area, but the houses are mean, built of mud and sun-baked bricks, and its general appearance indicates poverty.

great extent of ground. My landlord, indeed, who had been there, informed me, that, besides other buildings, he had counted the remains of a thousand churches, and that there were many Greek inscriptions. The Turks sometimes call it *Bin Eglisa*, or the Thousand Churches; and it seems to answer the position of a place called *Psibela*." Col. Leake conjectures, that the site is that of the ancient Derbe, mentioned in the Apostolic history, with Lystra, as a city of Cappadocia. "Nothing," he adds, "can more strongly shew the little progress that has hitherto been made in a knowledge of the ancient geography of Asia Minor, than that, of the cities which the journey of St. Paul has made so interesting to us, the site of only one (Iconium) is yet certainly known. Perga, Antioch of Pisidia, Lystra, and Derbe, remain to be discovered."

The population is said to amount to 3,000 families, composed of Turks, Turkmans, Armenians, and Greeks. It trades with Kaiserieh, Smyrna, and Tarsus, and has an extensive manufacture of blue cotton cloth, worn by the lower classes. The mountains above Illisera produce madder in great abundance, which, with acorns, also used in dyeing, wool, and hides, are sent to the neighbouring coasts and to Smyrna. There are twenty-two khans for the accommodation of merchants, a number of mosques, and six public baths. The town was formerly defended by a castle, which was built with the materials of the ancient Laranda, now mouldering to decay. The ancient Greek name is still in common use among the Christians, accented on the first syllable, Lárenda, and is even retained in the firmauns of the Porte; but there are no Greek remains to be seen.* The town is distant from Erkli eighteen hours; about the same distance from Konieh and Erminak: and thirty from Nighdé, through a flat and deserted country.

Karaman (or Caraman) was the capital of a race of princes of the house of Seljuk, who, under the title of Beys or Sultans of Caramania, reigned for upwards of a hundred and fifty years over the greater part of Cilicia and Cappadocia, until Hassan Beg, the last of the family, was destroyed by the Ottoman emperor Bajazet (Bayazid II.), in 1486. It derives its name from the first and greatest of its princes, Karaman Oglu, who, on the death of Sultan Aladdin II., about the year 1300, made himself master of Iconium, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and a large

* The ruins of Larenda, Mr. Kinneir states, of which nothing remains but a church, now converted into a mosque, are about three miles S.E. of Caraman.

portion of Phrygia and Cappadocia. His name, like those of some other Turkish chieftains, who at the same time shared among them a great part of the western provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, has been preserved in one of the great Turkish divisions of the country. On the conquest of Karamania by the Ottomans, Iconium, the former Seljukian capital, became the seat of the Ottoman pashalic; and the decline of the town of Karaman may be dated from that period.*

From Karaman, it is a distance of nineteen hours, (caravan time,)† or about forty-eight miles to Mout. Near where the road enters the hills, there is a great number of sepulchral excavations, now inhabited by peasants and shepherds. At eight hours from Karaman is a khan, in the wildest part of the mountain, now deserted and partly in ruins. With the exception of a village four hours from Karaman, the traveller meets with no habitation the whole of this route; nor did a living creature present itself to Col. Leake's party, though the woods which clothe the lower regions of the mountain, are said to abound with deer, wild-boars, bears, and wolves. The road lies over the highest ridges of the mountain range, where, amid the forests of pines, are several beautiful valleys and small plains, forming, with the surrounding rocks and woods,

* The chieftains who, together with the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, on the breaking up of the Seljukian kingdom of Iconium at the death of Aladdin II., shared Asia Minor among them, were, Karaman, Kermian, Teke, Aidin, Sarukhan, Sassan or Sagla, and Karasi. All the north-eastern part of the peninsula fell to the share of Amur and his sons.

† "The camels," says Col. Leaké, "step a yard at a time, and make about seventy-five steps in a minute." This makes about two miles and a half in the hour. Mr. Kinneir makes the distance in miles as above stated.

the most beautiful scenery. "The country between Kelendri and Karaman," says Capt. Kinneir, "may with propriety be denominated an immense forest of oak, beech, juniper, and fir-trees. It is inhabited by a few straggling tribes of Turkmans, who breed camels, horses, and black cattle of a diminutive size. We saw no sheep, but numerous flocks of goats, protected by large shaggy dogs, remarkable for their sagacity, strength, and ferocity. The whole of the province yields but a slender revenue to the Sultan, the only flourishing part being in the vicinity of Erminak, where the natives wear a green turban; a distinction peculiar, in other parts of the East, to the descendants of the Prophet. The roads are bad, impassable for cannon; and the country is, in every respect, difficult of access." There is ample proof, however, that these mountains were anciently well inhabited. The traveller meets with scarcely a rock remarkable for its form or position, that is not pierced with ancient catacombs. Many of these rocks present, at a short distance, the exact appearance of towers and castles. Between five and six hours from Mout, near where the rugged descent into the valley commences, is a khan, which, from the fragments of ancient architecture built in its walls and lying round it, seems to occupy the site of some Greek or Roman temple. There is a village not far off, named Mahilé. A little beyond the khan is a tall rock, which, partly by its natural form, partly by the effect of art, represents a high tower. Here are many sarcophagi, with sculptures evidently Roman. Mout itself stands on the site of an ancient city of considerable extent and magnificence. "No place we have yet passed," remarks Col. Leake, "preserves so many remains of its former importance; and none exhibits so melancholy a contrast of wretchedness in its

actual condition. Among the ruined mosques and baths, which attest its former prosperity as a Turkish town under the Karamanian kings, a few hovels," (Mr. Kinneir says, about 200 huts,) "made of reeds and mud, are sufficient to shelter its present scanty population. Some of the people we saw living under sheds and in the caverns of the rocks. Among these Turkish ruins and abodes of misery, may be traced the plan of the ancient Greek city. Its chief streets and temples, and other public buildings, may be clearly distinguished, and long colonnades and porticoes, with the lower parts of the columns in their original places. Pillars of verd antique, breccia, and other marbles, lie half-buried in different parts, or support the remains of ruined mosques and houses. Most of the inhabitants whom we saw, appeared half-naked and half-starved; and this in a valley which promises the greatest abundance and fertility, and which is certainly capable of supporting a large population. Its scenery is of the greatest beauty; the variegated pastures, groves, and streams, are admirably contrasted with the majestic forms and dark forests of the high mountains on either side. Everything is seen, that can be desired to complete the picturesque, unless it be an expanse of water." The castle is a fine old building, almost entire: its walls are surmounted with battlements, flanked by square towers open to the interior. In the middle is a round tower within a circular wall, resembling the keep of Launceston castle, Cornwall. On one side of the castle is a precipice, washed by a branch of the Ghiuk-su; it is here called (according to Kinneir) the Girama. Among the most remarkable of the modern buildings, is an old Turkish mosque, with the tomb of Karaman-Oglu, its founder. On leaving the town, an ancient road leads through the cemetery,

where sarcophagi stand in long rows on either side; some entire, others thrown down and broken, and the covers of all removed: the greater part are adorned with the bull's head and festoons, and have tablets with Greek inscriptions. The town and territory of Mout are governed by a pasha of two tails.*

It is a day's journey of twelve hours for walking horses, and eighteen for camels, from Mout to Sheikh Amur. Mr. Kinneir makes it thirty miles. About seven miles from Mout, another branch of the Ghiuk-su, or Calycadnus, called the Ermenek-su, is crossed at a ford. It is described as a formidable river, bounding furiously along to the S.E.; and the force of the current renders the passage both difficult and dangerous. "It is customary," we are told, "when the waters are full, for travellers to swim, supported on bladders or inflated skins, while their baggage is transported on the backs of the Turkman shepherds who live in the neighbourhood." The river takes its name from the town of Ermenek, near its source, about four hours N.W. of the ford, where considerable remains of antiquity are to be seen, similar to those of Mout. Other ruins are said to exist lower down the valley, between Mout and Selefke. The river of Mout falls into the Ermenek-su further down, in its way to the Mediterranean. Soon after crossing the Ermenek river, the road ascends a mountain defile through thick forests, first of oak, intermixed with juniper, arbutus, ilex, and cornel, and, in the higher region, of pines,—a rugged and gloomy track. Sheikh-Amur is delightfully situated, "perched on a rocky hill in a

* To the N.E. of Mout, and distant about four hours, Mr. Kinneir was informed that there are vestiges of another ancient city.

small hollow, surrounded by an amphitheatre of woody mountains." From hence, it is a distance of six hours (for horses) to Kelendri: the road lies through the most beautiful mountain scenery, — romantic valleys, covered with pine, juniper, oak, and beech, with rivulets of clear water trickling through. In one part, where the road is more open and level, high perpendicular rocks of the most grotesque and varied forms, stand up among the trees, "resembling the representations of rocks on Chinese earthenware." At length, on arriving at a pass between two summits, the sea bursts on the view, with the island of Cyprus in the horizon; and the traveller finds himself conducted along the beds of torrents adorned with oleander and agnus castus, and through groves of myrtle, bay, and other shrubs produced only in the softer climate of the coast, into a luxuriant and cultivated valley, which finely contrasts with the steep mountains and gloomy forests which rise behind.*

We return to Konieh, whence we shall strike off in a north-easterly direction, premising a few general observations, on the authority of Colonel Leake.

"From the sources of the rivers Sangarius and Halys, on the N. and E., to the great summits of Mount Taurus on the S.W. and S., there is an extent of country nearly 250 miles long and 150 broad, in which the waters have no communication with the sea. Its southern part consists of fertile valleys or of

* Of the ancient towns in this route, Mout is supposed by Kinneir to be on the site of Philadelphia, and Ermenek to be the ancient Hamonada. The town to the N.E. of Mout, he conjectures to be Olba, or Olbasa. Col. Leake inclines to identify both Olbasa and Claudiopolis with Mout, Philadelphia with Ermenek, and Diocesareia (Nazianzus) with the ruins between Mout and Selefke.

extensive plains, intersected by a few ranges of hills; and it is bounded, to the southward, by the great ridges of Mount Taurus, from which are poured forth numerous streams, which, after fertilizing the valleys, collect their superabundant waters in a chain of lakes, extending from the neighbourhood of Synnada in Phrygia, through the whole of Lycaonia, to the extremity of the Tyanitis in Cappadocia. In the rainy season, these lakes overflow the lower part of the plains, and would often form one entire inundation 200 miles in length, were it not for some ridges which traverse the plains, and separate them into several basins. By the structure of the hills, and the consequent course of the waters, these basins form themselves into four principal recipients, having no communication with each other, unless it be in very extraordinary seasons. These are, 1. the recipient of Kara-hissar and Ak-shehr; 2. that of Ilgun and Ladik, which receives (it is believed) the superfluous water of the lake of Kara-jeli; 3. that of Konia, which collects the overflowings of the lakes of Sidy-shehr and Bey-shehr; 4. the basin lying between the Cilician Taurus on the S.E., and the Cappadocian mountains in the opposite direction, now called the *Hassan Daghi*, which give rise to the western branch of the Halys. Were the bountiful intentions of Providence seconded by a rational government, the inundations would but prepare the plains for an abundant harvest. At present, they water only an immense extent of pasture land, while the lakes supply the surrounding inhabitants with fish, and with reeds for the construction of their miserable cottages.

"To the northward of the region of lakes and plains through which leads the road from Afiom Kara-

hissar to Konia and Erkle, lies a dry and naked region, anciently called Axylus, which extends as far as the Sangarius and Halys. The southern part of this open country consists of a range of mountains running parallel to Mount Taurus, and bordering the great valleys of Philomelium (Ilgun), Iconium, and Tyana, on the northern side. The western part of this range is a summit called Emir-dagh, which rises to a considerable elevation from the lakes of Bulwudun and Ak-shehr, slopes gradually into the open champaign to the eastward, and to the north, is bounded by a very broad, naked valley, which, on the opposite side, is included by the hills which originate some branches of the Sangarius. To the N.W. this valley opens into the great *axylous* plains of Phrygia, extending to Dorylæum, and to the S.E. into those of Galatia or Lycaonia. The ridges lying to the northward of Konia and Erkle, form the district described by Strabo as the cold and naked downs of Lycaonia, which furnished pasture to numerous sheep and wild asses, and where was no water, except in very deep wells." *

FROM KONIEH TO KUTAYA AND BROUSSA.

NINE hours, or about thirty miles from Konieh, is Ladik, a mud town containing between 4 and 500 inhabitants; the representative of the ancient Laodicea Combusta, once the most considerable city in this part of the country. It is situated at the foot of a range of hills, branching from the great range of Taurus, which separate the plain of Laodicea from that of Iconium. Inscribed marbles, altars, columns, capitals, and friezes, dispersed throughout the streets,

* Leake's Journal, &c. pp. 51—67.

among the houses, and in the burying-grounds, where the Turks have turned them into tomb-stones, are the only vestiges of the ancient city. This place is stated to be famous throughout Asia Minor for its manufacture of carpets: it is called Yorgan-Ladik, or Ladik-el-Tchaus. Three hours further, is a still larger town, (said to consist of 1000 houses,) called Kadunkiui, Kanun-hana, or Kadin-khan. Six hours beyond this, is Ilgoun, supposed to be the ancient Philomelium;* a large but wretched village, with only a few scattered fragments of antiquity. Three hours to Arkut-khan; and thence, seven hours to Ak-shehr. The country here appeared to Capt. Kinneir to be in a more prosperous state than most parts of Asia Minor; but in the plains between Arkutkhan and Ladik, not a tree or an inclosure is to be seen.

Ak-shehr (White City) is a large town, situated on the foot of the mountains which form the boundary between Phrygia, Isauria, and Pisidia. It is surrounded with pleasant gardens, but, in other respects, exhibits the usual Turkish characteristics of extensive burying-grounds, narrow, dirty streets, and ruined mosques and houses. The burying-ground is full of remains of Greek architecture converted into Turkish tomb-stones, furnishing ample proof that the town occupies the site of an ancient city of considerable importance. A number of torrents rush from the mountains through the streets, and a cold wind blows here almost continually during the winter. It is said to contain 1,500 houses. Its principal ornament is a handsome mosque and college, consecrated to the memory of Bajazet, who was confined in this town by

* According to D'Anville. Mr. Kinneir supposed it to be Tyriæum.

Timour, and expired here. At a small distance from the western entrance is the sepulchre of Nureddin Hoja, a Turkish saint, which is the object of a Mussulman pilgrimage: the columns which adorn it, have been taken from some ancient edifice. Ak-shehr is considered by D'Anville as the ancient Thymbrium, afterwards denominated Antioch *ad Pisidiam*. By others it has been thought to be Tyriæum. Col. Leake supposes it to be Julia or Juliopolis. Such is the obscurity resting on the ancient geography of these parts. The lake of Ak-shehr is at the distance of about six or eight miles: it communicates with that of Bulwudun; and after a rainy season, these lakes form a continued piece of water from thirty to forty miles in length.

From Ak-shehr to Bulwudun is eleven hours. At the end of five hours is Saakle or Ishaklu,* a large village surrounded with gardens and orchards, in the midst of a small region well watered by streams from Sultan-dagh: it is the residence of an aga, who has several dependent villages in his territory. Bulwudun, or Baloudeen, is a straggling town of considerable size, but consisting chiefly of miserable cottages: it contains, however, five mosques, the tomb of a saint, and several comfortable houses. There are many remains of antiquity lying about the streets, but they appeared to Col. Leake chiefly of the time of the Byzantine empire. The town is situated on the north side of a great plain, under the Emir-dagh: the high range called the Sultan-dagh, running parallel with those mountains, bounds the plain to the south. From this place, two roads lead towards the coast; that by Konieh and Karaman, which we have been pursuing,

* Mr. Kinneir writes it *Ketchluk*.

and another to Adalia. Bulwudun is supposed to be a corruption of Πολυβοτὸν, *Polybotum*, a bishopric under the metropolitan of Synnada.

The next stage is ten hours W.N.W. to *Afioum* Karahissar (Opium-Black-Castle), so called, to distinguish it from other places of the same name, on account of the extensive opium-plantations in the vicinity. Although its ancient name is doubtful,* there can be no question that it was a station of importance before the fall of the Greek empire. It has a strong citadel; several small streams, which have their source in the mountains immediately behind the town, tumble down its steep and narrow streets, while it opens into a plain well suited for a hunting park, through which the Akar-su takes its sluggish, meandering course towards the east, losing itself in the lake of Ak-shehr. In the Turkish annals, it is mentioned as having had for its founder, Aladdin, one of the Seljukian sultans: it was the patrimony of Othman, the founder of the Turkish empire, and has ever since composed part of the domains of the Grand Signior. The town, which is nearly three miles in circumference, lies round the southern base of the high, perpendicular rock† on which the citadel is built, and up the sides of the adjacent mountains. It is said to contain 12,000 families, of which 400 are Armenians, and 150 Greeks. There are twelve mosques with minarets, and a great number of smaller ones, five baths, six khans, and two Armenian chapels. In one of these, there is a block of marble, with some

* D'Anville supposes this to be the Celænæ and Apamea of the Greeks and Romans; but the Meander flowed through that city. Col. Leake considers it to be Metropolis.

† This rock, Pococke calls "a sort of bastard brown granite:" it is of a black hue, from which the town is called Karahissar.

rude antique sculptures in relief, for which the Armenians profess some veneration. The town is celebrated as well for its manufacture of black felts, as for the vast quantity of opium grown and prepared here: of the latter, the average produce is 10,000 oke, (about 30,000 lb.) which is sold principally to the merchants of Smyrna. In remarkably favourable seasons, twice that quantity has been obtained; but, if the winter proves severe, not more than 5,000 can be expected. One year, the opium merchants having, the preceding season, gained large profits, all the cultivators of the land thought to make their fortunes by planting poppies instead of corn: the first consequence was, that the market was overstocked with the drug, and could not obtain a sale; the second was, a famine. Karahissar is in lat. 38° 46′ N. long. 30° 21′ 35″ E.* It is reckoned half way between Smyrna and Angora, being seven days' journey from each; that is, according to Pococke, 140 miles from the former, and 104 from the latter. The town is consequently a great thoroughfare, and is the residence of an inferior pasha. In the country between this town and Smyrna, according to the last-mentioned traveller, they make most of the Turkey carpets.

About ten miles S.E. of Karahissar, in the road to Bulwudun, there are vestiges of antiquity, such as broken columns of porphyry, &c. at the village of *Surmina*. About seven miles to the S., Capt. Kinneir was informed of a village embosomed in wood, "said to be erected on the site of an ancient town, and not far from one of the sources of the Meander."† About

* Mr. Kinneir makes the latitude 38° 3′ N. We have followed Malte Brun's authorities, Niebuhr, and Pococke.

† "Probably," says Col. Leake, "the Oblmas, whose sources, according to Livy, were at Aporis."

seven miles to the W., is "an extraordinary monastery, formed of several excavations, and consisting of three subterraneous chambers, inhabited by several monks."

From Karahissar, Capt. Kinneir proceeded to Kutaya, distant about twenty-one hours, or sixty-five miles, N.N.W., the road lying chiefly over a hilly country, at first bare and uncultivated, and afterwards interspersed with forests of stunted oak, fir, and juniper. The roads all the way from Konieh are excellent. Kutaya, the ancient Cotyæum, though much inferior in size to either Smyrna, Tocat, or Angora, yet, as the residence of the Beglerbeg of Anatolia, may be considered as the capital of the province. It is not so populous as formerly, but is said still to contain between 50 and 60,000 souls, including 10,000 Armenians and 5,000 Greeks: the former live in affluence; the latter are miserably poor. The city is built partly at the foot, and partly up the sides of the Poorsak-dagh, a cluster of mountains bounding a fertile plain, or rather valley, on the south. On one of the smaller hills stand the ruins of the castle, which occupies the site of the ancient citadel. The town spreads over a considerable area; the streets are steep, but contain many handsome fountains, the water being conveyed by subterraneous conduits from the mountains.* There are twenty khans, thirty public baths, fifty mosques, (twenty of which have minarets,) four Armenian churches, and one Greek church.

* The water of the Poorsak, (a branch of the Sangarius,) which has its source in the mountain behind Kutaya, and flows across the plain in a N.W. direction, is reckoned extremely unwholesome. Although the snow lay deep on the ground, and the thermometer was down at 30°, Mr. Kinneir found it as warm as the Tigris in the hottest day of summer.

The road to Broussa lies through Toushanlu, a town containing seven mosques with minarets and a small castle, distant eight hours; and thence a three days' journey over the summits of the Mysian Olympus, called by the natives *Domaun-dagh*, or the smoky mountain. The mountains are covered with large and luxuriant beech-trees, firs, small oaks, ashes, laurels, hazels, and other shrubs, and evergreens. * The ascent occupied Capt. Kinneir three hours from the village of Turba; and he was four hours descending on the other side to the village of Delash. Turba is one of five wooden hamlets, at the foot of Olympus, the inhabitants of which are exempted from every kind of tribute, on condition that they protect and act as guides to all travellers passing the mountain: "they are held accountable that no person shall ever perish in the snow; and, like the monks of St. Bernard, they have a species of bloodhound which discovers by the scent any traveller who has lost his way. Eight hours short of Broussa, and the same distance from Nice, is the casaban of Yeni Goul (the New Lake), situated near the centre of a rich and well-wooded valley, about sixteen miles long and five wide, bordered on the S. by Olympus, and on the N. by a range of hills. It stands on the banks of the Yeni-su, (the ancient Gallus,) in the vicinity of a lake or morass, from which it takes its name, formed by the expansion of the river in flowing through a hollow part of the plain. Its ancient name was Modra. Five miles further, a woody defile, seven miles in length, leads to the valley and town of Ak-su (White Water);

* Seetzen states, that the middle region of Olympus is composed of granite; the higher region, of marble ("*marbre salin, sans la moindre trace de pétrification*"). Mr. Browne observed no granite.

beyond which the road leads along the base of the mountain, among rocks and hills covered with groves of box and myrtle. At the eighth mile from Ak-su, the verdant plain and city of Broussa, contrasted with the cliffs and snowy summits of Olympus, glittering through the woods, presents a prospect at once picturesque and impressive. "In point of rural beauty indeed," says Mr. Kinneir, "as well as of magnificence of scenery, diversified with fruitful fields and delightful solitudes, the environs of this city are seldom, perhaps, to be equalled, and not to be surpassed. We now descended into the plain, crossed a rapid torrent flowing nearly due north, and, after a journey of six miles through green meadows and groves of trees, entered the city at sunset."

Broussa, or Boursa, the ancient Prusa, was long the capital of the kings of Bithynia. It was founded by Prusias, the protector of Hannibal. We hear little of it after it fell into the possession of the Romans, although it was always famous for its baths, and admired for the beauty of its situation. It was one of the most considerable cities of the Greek empire, until stormed and sacked by Sief ul Dowlah in 947. It was, however, retaken by the Greeks, who rebuilt the walls, and kept possession of it till the year 1356, when it surrendered, after a long siege, to Orkan, the son of Othman, who adorned it with a mosque, a college, and an hospital. It was seized by Timour after the battle of Angora, rebuilt by Mahommed II., and became the usual residence of the first princes of the house of Othman, until Amurath removed the seat of government to Adrianople. It is now the chief place in the sanjiakat of *Khudavendkiar*, which comprises Southern Bithynia and the interior of Mysia. The population is variously stated at from

40,000 to 60,000. While Capt. Kinneir was there in 1813, many thousands were carried off by the plague, which raged with such violence all over the city, that he found it necessary to use the precaution of having two persons armed with sticks to prevent any of the inhabitants from approaching him. The Armenians were computed to number about 7,000, of whom 120 families are wealthy, and carry on a considerable trade: "indeed, none of that nation," says Mr. Browne, "are absolutely poor at Broussa." The Armenian bishop is a person of considerable importance. There are 3,000 Greeks and 1,800 Jews. The town is built at the south-west end of a beautiful plain or valley, about twenty miles in length, and varying from three to five miles in breadth. The houses occupy the face of the mountain, commanding a fine view of the plain: they are built principally of wood, on the model of those of Constantinople; many of them with glass windows.* The streets are, in some places, so narrow, that you might leap from one house into the opposite one. "Boursa is, upon the whole," says Capt. Kinneir, "one of the most populous and flourishing cities in the Turkish empire." Mr. Browne adds, that the air is unquestionably salubrious. He commends also the cleanliness of the streets, and compares the environs to those of Damascus. The castle stands on a perpendicular rock in the centre of the town: its walls are of great solidity. The chief ornaments of Broussa are its mosques, said

* This renders fires peculiarly destructive. Between June 1801 and June 1802, a dreadful fire destroyed one half of the city; the natives said, the best half. When Mr. Browne visited the city the second time, a considerable portion had been rebuilt, but the houses were principally of timber, very slightly and hastily constructed.

to amount to no fewer than three hundred and sixty-five. The baths are handsome structures, containing a number of apartments, and supplied both with hot and cold springs: some are chalybeate, others sulphureous. The *Kaplutcha Hammam*, situated nearly a mile and a half from the gate leading to the N.W., is a very spacious and commodious one. The spring is slightly sulphureous; the heat about 100° of Fahrenheit. Here is a circular pool, not less than twenty-five feet in diameter, paved with marble, and lined with coloured tiles, the water about four feet and a half deep, in which the youth of Broussa divert themselves by practising swimming. This apartment is surmounted by a lofty cupola. There are two other apartments, in the centre of each of which is a sumptuous marble fountain, yielding a stream of pure and cold water for drinking. Near this superb bath, is a similar building for women. The khans and colleges of Broussa are also numerous and respectable. The bezesteins and bazars are extensive, and filled with silk and cotton stuffs, manufactured here for exportation. A great quantity of silk is produced in the environs. Mr. Browne gives the latitude, 40° 9′ 30″ N., the longitude 29° 4′ 45″ E.* The thermometer sometimes stood at 88° in the month of June, but the heat is not often excessive. This traveller mentions, that the Mahommedans of Broussa, especially the women, are particularly furious against Christians.

From this place, Capt. Kinneir proceeded to Modania on the coast, distant twenty-one miles, in a direction N.W. by W. This town anciently bore the names of Myrlæa and Apameia. It is now chiefly inhabited by Greek mariners, and is described as old

* According to Seetzen, it is in lat. 40° 27′ 2″: long. 28° 56′ 27″.

and dirty, built chiefly of wood. It is situated on the eastern shore of a gulf of the same name, formerly called *Caianus Sinicus*, from the town of Caius, now Gemlik, or Kemlik, at the head of the gulf, which is still a place of trade.

We left Colonel Leake at Bulwudun, as the route he describes from that point, differed from the one taken by Mr. Kinneir. Before we resume our account of his journey northward, we shall give the route of Mr. Leake's companion, General Koehler,

FROM ADALIA TO SHUGHUT.

First Day.—From Adalia (see page 249,) to Bidjikli, seven hours due north, over a region of rugged rocks, intersected with hollows full of water; no cultivation in sight. Second day.—To Karabanarkiui, nine hours:—for two hours over the same rugged plain; and then the road, leaving on the right the gorge through which the river Duden finds its way, ascends the mountain by a paved winding causeway, a work of great labour and ingenuity. It now enters an elevated level surrounded with mountains, and proceeds along a winding valley, amid rocks and precipices which appear, at a distance, like castles and towers. At the foot of the plain, before ascending the mountain, there are remains of an ancient city, which once commanded this formidable pass. There are ruins of a castle, and many towers and gateways of elegant architecture, with cornices, capitals, and fluted columns lying on the ground. Sarcophagi, with their covers beside them, are seen in great numbers, as well in the plain as for a considerable distance up the side of the hill. This is supposed to be the site of Telmessus, which, next to Selge, was the largest of the Pisidian cities, and was situated at the passes

of Mount Solyma, leading from the maritime plains, through the mountainous district of Milyas, to the lake Ascania, and thence to Celænæ.

Third day.—From Karabunar-kiui to Tshaltigtshi-kiui, five hours and a half. At one hour is a khan, formed out of the remains of what appears to have been a church of the earliest ages of Christianity. On either side of a large arched gate, there are angels sculptured. A neighbouring town called Butshuklu, is said to contain 1,000 houses. "The district exhibits marks of superior industry, and a better kind of public economy: good roads and bridges are seen, and large clean pieces of wheat surrounded with ditches and fences. In the mountain not far from Butshuklu, there are said to be ruins of ancient buildings with columns, and sculptured and inscribed stones. A hill which bounds the district of Butshuklu to the north, limits the command of the Mutsellim of Adalia. At the foot of this hill is a khan, which appears to have been constructed from the ruins of some large ancient building; fragments of architecture, and ruins of walls, are seen on every side of it. The hill is rugged and extensive, and has on the north side a level much lower than all those lying between it and Adalia. A river flows through this plain; and there are many villages, among which is that of Tshaltigtshi. The people appeared simple and hospitable, and welcomed the travellers with presents of fruit and flowers, which they threw down at their feet, and then departed without saying a word. The villages are surrounded with fruit-trees, but no oranges, nor lemons, nor olives are seen among them; and the season here is a month or six weeks behind that of Adalia. Wheel-carriages are used; the wheels being either solid trucks formed of one piece of wood, or of three pieces

joined together, and shod with an iron plate turned up at the edges, and thus fixed on without any nails. They had also iron axles, and a box for them to turn in, exhibiting a neatness of workmanship seldom seen in Turkey.

Fourth day.—From Tshaltigtshi to Burdur (Bourdour), seven hours and a half, the road lying chiefly over a mountainous country. At two hours short of Burdur, they came into a valley full of rocks, thrown about in the wildest manner. "Some of these were of a kind which looked like bundles of rushes incrusted with cement, and petrified into a solid mass. In some places, the scene around had the appearance of a succession of enormous sand-pits." They passed several water-mills, and saw nothing of either the town or lake of Burdur, until they were close upon them. The town is large and comparatively well paved, and there is some appearance of industry in the streets. Streams of clear water run through most of them. Tanning, weaving, and bleaching of linen, seemed to be the chief occupations. The salt lake of Burdur, the ancient Ascania, begins at a very short distance from the town, and stretching to the N. and N.W., forms a beautiful picture, with its winding shores, its shrubby, or bare, rocky capes, and the cultivated lands, numerous villages, and woody hills around it. There is a road along the edge of the lake; but this being rendered difficult by the rains, Gen. Koehler proceeded along a track nearer the hills, to Ketsiburlu, distant six hours. In this day's journey, (the fifth,) they passed a great deal of arable land, and many villages amid gardens and vineyards. Sixth day.—To Dombai-ovasi (the valley of Dombai), five hours. Dombai (corrupted from Tabæ), which gives its name to the district, is

the chief of several villages in this rich valley. Very near it are the ruins of the ancient town, with remains of columns, statues, and inscribed tombs. At no great distance to the eastward is Isbarta, or Isparteh, supposed to be the ancient Sagalassus Lacedæmon: it is the seat of a pasha, being the chief place in the sanjiakát of Hamid, which comprises the Milyas and the interior of Pisidia.

Seventh day, to Sandukli on the Meander; distant seven hours, through a fine undulating country, but bare of wood. Eighth day, to Sitshanli, seven hours. Ninth day, to Altun-Tash, (*Golden Stone*, so named from the yellow rocks,) nine hours. This place stands on the left bank of the Poursek, the ancient Thymbrius. Tenth day, nine hours to Kutaya. Eleventh day, to Inoghi, twelve hours. Near this village are extensive excavations. "One enormous cavern is shut up in front by a wall with battlements and towers, and seems once to have served as a sort of citadel to the town." Twelfth day, five hours to Shughut.

FROM BULWUDUN TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

We now return to Bulwudun, from which place the road to Shughut lies through Kosru-Khan, Seid el Ghazi, and Eski-shehr. The first day's stage, to Kosru Khan, is twelve hours: the road crosses a ridge of hills, in which are many sepulchral excavations, and there are appearances of extensive quarries of the Phrygian marble. To Seid el Ghazi, the distance is seven hours. A few miles to the left of the road, is the romantic valley, or small plain, of Doganlu, embosomed in the midst of an extensive forest of pine-trees. The plain is about a mile long, and a quarter

of a mile broad, and presents one of those fantastic assemblages of rocks rising perpendicularly out of the soil, and assuming the shape of ruined towers and castles, which have been mentioned as occurring in other parts of the country. "Some of these," says Mr. Leake, "are upwards of 150 feet in height; and one or two, entirely detached from the rest, have been excavated into ancient catacombs, with doors, and windows, and galleries, in such a manner that it required a near inspection to convince us that what we saw were natural rocks, and not towers and buildings. We found the chambers within to have been sepulchres, containing excavations for coffins, and niches for cinerary urns. Following the course of the valley to the S.E., we came in sight of some sepulchral chambers, excavated with more art, and having a portico with two columns before the door, above which a range of dentils forms a cornice. The most remarkable of these excavations.... is a rock which rises to a height of upwards of 100 feet above the plain, and at the back, and on one of the sides, remains in its natural state. The ornamented part is about sixty feet square, surmounted by a kind of pediment, above which are two volutes." Two inscriptions are engraved on the face of the rock, in characters resembling the letters of the Greek alphabet in their earliest form: "some of the words agree with the semi-barbarous style of the sculptured ornaments, in indicating that the inscriptions are not in pure Greek." The entrance into the sepulchre, (for such, no doubt, it is,) is concealed; but, in place of a door, is an excavation resembling an altar. It is in the highest degree probable, that this remarkable monument is the work of the ancient Phrygians. "The sculpture, though unlike any thing of Greek workmanship, is very much in the

same style as the elaborate ornaments which covered the half-columns formerly standing on either side of the door of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ; a building said to have been erected by the Cyclopes, who were supposed to have been artisans from Asia." The valley in which it stands, is in the heart of the ancient kingdom of Phrygia; and the words in the inscription, which Col. Leake reads ΜΙΔΑΙ ΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ, "to King Midas," furnish a presumption that the monument was erected in honour of the monarchs of the Midaian family. According to this supposition, it dates from between B.C. 740 and 570. "Close by this magnificent relic of Phrygian art," proceeds Mr. Leake, "is a very large sepulchral chamber, with a portico of two columns, excavated out of the same reddish sand-stone of which the great monument and other rocks are formed. It is an exact resemblance of the ordinary cottages of the peasants, which are square frames of wood-work, having a portico supported by two posts made broader at either end. The sepulchral chambers differ only in having their parts more accurately finished."

The country between Kosru Khan and Doganlu is wild and woody, with few traces of habitations. At the village of Doganlu are remains of an ancient fortification called *Pismesh Kalesi;* which Col. Leake supposes to mark the site of Nacoleia, named by Strabo among the cities of Phrygia Epictetus, and, in the reign of Arcadius, the chief fortress in this part.

Seid el Ghazi is a poor ruined village, but bears marks of having once been a place of more importance even in Turkish times. On the side of a hill commanding the village, stands a fine mosque, dedicated to the Mussulman saint from whom the place derives its name. There are also several fragments of Greek

architecture, denoting an ancient site. It is a computed distance of nine hours from this place to Eski-shehr, through a country bare and uncultivated, but exhibiting, in the sepulchral excavations of the rocks, and scattered fragments of ancient architecture, proofs of its ancient populousness. Eski-shehr (the Old City) is advantageously placed on the root of the hills which border, on the north, the great plain of Dorylæum.* This plain, extending not less than thirty miles in length and twelve or fourteen in breadth, is very thinly peopled and not above one-third cultivated. The town is divided into an upper and a lower quarter, both composed of miserable mud-huts, half of them in ruins. It is situated on two rivers; the Poursek-su (Thymbrius), which, rising in the mountains S. of Kutaya, enters the Sangarius a few hours to the N.E. of Eski-shehr; and a smaller stream, which comes from the hills above the town, traverses it, and falls into the Poursek a little to the east of it. The hot baths for which the place is still celebrated, identify it with the ancient Dorylæum. They are four in number, situated in the lower part of the town, not far from the Poursek. The mineral springs are very abundant. The principal bath is an ancient structure, crowned with a dome supported by columns of jasper. Capt. Kinneir found the water so hot that he was unable to remain in the bath longer than a few minutes. There are no remains of any interest; and altogether, notwithstanding the advantages of its situation, Eski-shehr is "a most wretched place." It is, however, the chief place in the sanjiakat of Sultan Eugny.

It is a distance of ten hours to Shughut, or Sugat.

* In this plain Godfrey of Bouillon defeated the Seljukian Sultan Soliman.

Between seven and eight miles from Eski-shehr are some ancient Greek ruins on a rising ground in the plain, among which are several square pedestals of a clumsy construction, called by the Turks *Besh-Kardash* (the Five Brothers). The last five or six miles lie over rocky hills partially covered with dwarf oak and fir. Shughut is said to contain 900 houses, but it exhibited a wretched appearance when Col. Leake visited it in 1800, chiefly in consequence of a recent insurrection, which had issued in the massacre of a party of 300 persons, and the flight of the insurgents to the mountains, from whence they descended and pillaged the place. Large mulberry-plantations surround the town, and every house manufactures a considerable quantity of raw silk. Upon an adjacent hill stands the tomb of Ali Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty; situated in the midst of a grove of cypresses and evergreen oaks. Shughut was bestowed upon Ertogrul, the father of Osman, by the Sultan of Konieh, for his services in war; and became the capital of a small state, which included the adjacent country as far as Angora on the east, and, in the opposite direction, all the mountainous district lying between the valleys of the Sangarius and those of the Hermus and the Meander. From hence, Osman made himself master of Nice and Broussa, and gradually of all Bithynia and Phrygia, and thus laid the foundations of the Turkish greatness. There is another tomb of Osman at Broussa, but the Turks here assert, that it is only a monument, and that the bones of Osman were laid by the side of those of his father Ertogrul, in this his native town. Shughut is included in the pashalic of Broussa.

To Vizir-Khan, eight hours N.W. by N. over a barren and bleak tract, intersected by deep, winding valleys. This town, situated at the head of the

beautiful vale which extends to Lefke, (distant four hours,) is surrounded with mulberry-plantations, orchards, vineyards, and enclosed corn-fields, the neatness and beauty of which are in striking contrast with the misery of the houses. Lefke,* a neat town built of sun-baked bricks, is situated in the midst of this fine valley, the cultivation of which is represented to be as perfect as that of some of the most civilised parts of Europe. The fields are separated by neat hedges and ditches. Many villages are seen on either hand, but the population is thin and scattered. The Turks of this part are an extremely handsome race: they have a great variety of head-dresses, most of which are highly becoming to their fine countenances. The valley is watered by the Sakaria, (corrupted from Sangarius,) the ancient Gallus. Lefke is situated near the river, which is crossed by a handsome stone bridge a little beyond the town. At three miles' distance, the road ascends a barren mountainous range, and then, descending a narrow, uncultivated valley, conducts the traveller in six hours from Lefke to the far-famed city of Nice.

NICE.

THAT which now represents the ancient metropolis of Bithynia, is styled by Col. Leake "the wretched Turkish town of Isnik." It consists, in fact, of only about a hundred hovels of mud and wood. Yet, it occupies a beautiful situation; and, under a rational government, could not fail again to become a flourishing town and an agreeable residence. It stands at the S.E. extremity of the Lake Ascanius, which is ten miles long and four wide. The approach from

* Mr. Kinneir writes it Lowka: it is the ancient *Leucæ*.

the north is very fine. On gaining a summit about four hours distant, (an hour from Kizderwent,) the lake suddenly presents itself, surrounded on three sides by steep, woody slopes, behind which rise the snowy summits of the Olympus range. A forest of ilex and other evergreens mixed with oaks, clothes the nearer hills, while, on the left, along the head of the lake, extends a rich cultivated plain, at the extremity of which soon afterwards appears the entire circuit of the ancient walls of Nice, with their massy towers and gates. Nothing is more striking in this magnificent prospect, than the transparent clearness of the atmosphere, which gives to the scene a brilliancy seldom seen in our northern scenery.

Nice had originally the name of Antigonia, from its founder; but Lysimachus, on enlarging and beautifying the city, changed its name to Nicæa in honour of his wife. Its chief celebrity is derived from the two ecclesiastical councils convened here; the first under Constantine in the year 325, to which is ascribed the Nicene Creed, the last in the reign of Irene, A.D. 787. On the decline of the Roman empire, Nice fell into the possession of Solyman, Sultan of Roum, from whom it was taken by the Crusaders, after a siege of seven weeks, A.D. 1097. When the Franks had made themselves masters of Constantinople in 1204, Theodore Lascaris seized upon Nice, which he made the capital of an empire extending from the Bosphorus to the Meander. After his death, and the expulsion of the Franks from Constantinople, it again fell under the dominion of the Greek emperors, and finally received the Ottoman yoke. It is now, with Isnikmid (Nicomedia), Kadikeui (Chalcedon), and Iskudar (Chrysopolis), comprehended in Kodja-Ili, which is an imperial domain.

The ancient walls,* towers, and gates are in tolerable preservation. Their construction resembles that of the walls of Constantinople, with which they are coeval. In most places, they are formed of alternate courses of Roman tiles and large square stones, joined by a cement of great thickness: in some places have been inserted columns and other architectural fragments. Some of the towers have Greek inscriptions. The ruins of mosques, baths, and houses, dispersed among the gardens and tobacco-plantations, which occupy a great part of the space within the Greek fortifications, shew that the Turkish Isnik, though now so inconsiderable, was once a place of importance; but it never was so large as the Grecian Nicæa, and seems to have been almost entirely constructed of the remains of that city: the walls of the ruined mosques and baths are full of fragments of Greek temples and churches, and columns of marble and granite adorn the modern structures. Not far from the north gate, Mr. Kimeir noticed the name of Theodore Lascaris in Greek characters on the top of a tower, the letters formed of variously coloured bricks inserted in the wall. There is a church, described as a small, very old building, ornamented with a mosaic pavement of different-coloured marbles, a beautiful sarcophagus of transparent white marble, three figures in mosaic in the wall, under which are Greek inscriptions, and some small pieces of gilded glass, common in many Greek and Armenian churches. What is shewn as the palace of Theodore, is situated on an eminence about 300 yards from the lake, and has the appearance

* Mr. Kimeir states, that they are about twenty-five feet in height, nine in breadth at the top, and about four miles in circumference.

of an amphitheatre, rather than a palace. A small part of the wall, and nearly the whole of the foundation of this stupendous mass of masonry, have acquired the firmness and consistency of a rock, presenting a remarkable specimen of the solidity of the Roman buildings. Mr. Kinneir counted twelve subterraneous apartments, built in a circle, each vault having a gradual declination to the middle of the edifice, and connected with each other by narrow apertures of about two feet and a half in diameter. No cement appeared to have been used in their construction, the weight of the stones, which are from ten to fourteen feet in length, rendering this unnecessary. The greater part of the vaults were choked up with rubbish, but, by the aid of a torch, this traveller entered three of them, and, in the most remote, discovered the bones of a human being, who probably perished in these loathsome dungeons. He supposes them to have been intended for the reception of wild beasts: they are now filled with nitre, of which the Turks make gunpowder. In the walls which divide the vineyards, are seen numerous fragments of architraves, columns, and capitals. Close to the gate of Syria is an old aqueduct, which still supplies the town with water from the mountains. Both this gate and that of Constantinople exhibit ancient inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which have been purposely mutilated and defaced: the inner port of the latter is decorated with two colossal heads of Medusa, and the lentil of the outer port rests on two beautiful columns of verd-antique.

Kizderwent (the Pass of the Girls), a village five hours (twenty miles) from Isnik, is inhabited solely by Greeks. It is situated in a retired valley near the source of the Draco, surrounded with mulberry-plan-

tations, and is one of the numerous villages that supply Broussa with the excellent silk for which it is noted. Vineyards on the slopes of the hills around, furnish also a tolerable wine. It is reckoned nine hours (about thirty-two miles) to Ghebse, crossing the Gulf of Nicomedia, at the ferry of the Dil (Tongue). Ghebse is a Turkish town on the site of the ancient Dacibyza, being still called by the Greeks, Givyza (Κίβυζα). The only remarkable object it contains is a fine mosque of white marble, in the midst of a grove of large cypresses, which, with some good baths, was built by Mustafa Pasha, Grand Vizier to Selim I. From Ghebse to Kartal, five hours, the road winds along the side of the Gulf. From Kartal, it is four hours along the borders of the Sea of Marmora, to Iskudar, or Skutari, which, with a population of 30,000 inhabitants, would be considered as a large and fine city, were it not opposite to Constantinople.

NICOMEDIA.

At the head of the Gulf which is crossed by persons going to Constantinople at the ferry of the Dil, is the city of Ismid, the ancient Nicomedia, finely situated on the side of a hill rising from the Gulf, where it expands into a sort of bay. It is built principally of wood, in the manner of Constantinople, and contains about 700 families, among whom there are 150 Greeks and 50 Jews.* It is governed by a pasha of two tails,

* In Pococke's time there were about 200 Armenian families, with their archbishop, who had a monastery five or six miles to the N.E.; they had one church in the city. The Greeks also, (consisting of about 100 families,) had their archbishop, and a church out of the town, dedicated to St. Pantaleon. The only

and is a place of considerable traffic. The country around is very beautiful. Nicomedia is said to have been originally called Olbia, from its founder. It was afterwards rebuilt by Nicomedes I., king of Bithynia, who made it his capital. When that kingdom sank into a Roman province, it became the usual residence of the proconsul. In the reign of Diocletian, it was raised to the dignity of the metropolis of the Roman empire; an honour which it maintained till the building of Constantinople. The wealth of the East was employed in its embellishment. "By the taste of the monarch," says Gibbon, "and at the expense of the people, Nicomedia acquired, in the space of a few years, a degree of magnificence which might appear to have required the labour of ages, and became inferior only to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, in extent or populousness." Pliny mentions an aqueduct, an amphitheatre, and a temple; but of these no vestiges remain. "An old church," says Capt. Kinneir, "is all that is left of the ancient Nicomedia."

The ancient Chalcedon, famous in ecclesiastical history, has shared the same fate, being in like manner absorbed in the modern capital. The promontory on which it stood, is a very fine situation, and would still be esteemed such, remarks Pococke, "if Constantinople was not so near it." There are, he says, "no remains of this ancient city, all being destroyed, and the ground improved with gardens and vineyards. The Greeks have a small church here, which carries no great face of antiquity; and yet, they pretend to say that the council of Chalcedon was held in it. The church is in a low situation near the sea. Mr. Kin-

antiquities he saw, were remains of an ancient fortress on the highest hill.

neir says: "Nothing remains of the ancient city, but some decayed walls and a subterraneous passage."

The kingdom of Bithynia, when bequeathed by Nicomedes IV. to the Roman people, extended from the foot of Mount Olympus to the shores of the Euxine, and from the Bosphorus to the river Parthenius and the frontiers of Galatia. Bithynia was taken possession of by Mithridates; re-conquered by Lucullus and Cotta; again seized upon by Pharnaces, king of Pontus; and, after his overthrow, was thenceforth governed by a Roman prætor. Under Valentinian, it was divided into two provinces, of which Nicæa and Nicomedia were the capitals. This continued till the greater part of Asia Minor became subject to the Seljukian princes. Bithynia was recovered from them in the twelfth century, but was finally lost to the Greek empire in the reign of Andronicus the younger. It is now included in the great province of Anatolia. Capt. Kinneir describes it generally as a beautiful and romantic country, intersected with lofty mountains and fertile valleys, rich in fruits and wine, and abounding in forests and fine trees.

Two other routes taken by the same enterprising Traveller, will complete our survey of this interesting part of the empire; viz. from Constantinople to Angora and Ooscat, and from Constantinople to Kastamouni; which will comprise the country lying between the Sangarius and the Halys. The pashalics of Siwas, Tarabozan, and Merash, which lie to the east of the latter river, and are but little known, will, together with those of Erzeroom, Mosul, Orfa, Bagdadt, Diarbekir, and Koordistan, more properly fall under another division, comprehending the great basin of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

ANGORA.

THE route from Constantinople to Angora, which we are now to follow, is by way of Nice and Eski-shehr.* The first place of any note, after leaving the latter town, is Yerma, the ancient Germa. It lies, indeed, out of the direct route, but was visited by Capt. Kinneir in search of antiquities. Germa was a Roman colony, and esteemed a place of peculiar sanctity. Hither, we are informed, the Emperor Justinian came on a pilgrimage, in consequence of a vow, to visit the shrine of St. Michael. "The principal ruin is a square edifice built of stone, (most probably a church,) about fifty paces in length at each face, consisting of a number of arched vaults, still about twenty feet deep, and used as receptacles for corn, straw, and fuel. The arches are semicircular, and composed, as well as the gate and belfry, which are entire, of freestone from the adjoining hills. Traces of many other buildings are discernible: the garden walls are filled with broken shafts and capitals of pillars; and the substructions of a bath surround a mineral spring in one of the gardens. Such fountains have ever been abundant in this part of the province,† which deservedly received

* From Syed Guz (Seid el Ghazi) to the village Kymak, in a vast, desolate plain, distance about 27 miles. From Kymak to Sevri-hissar, 23 miles E.—still the same wild, solitary plain. This is a casaban, containing 1,500 Turks and 400 Christians, with an old Armenian church, a castle, and a few scattered fragments of ancient marbles: it is governed by an hereditary chieftain. From Sevri-hissar to Yerma, 26 miles, generally S.E.

† Mr. Kinneir passed numberless springs, and in particular, a village named *Hamman Aida*, beautifully situated in a valley, and embosomed in trees, which is celebrated for its mineral waters, and is supposed to be the ancient *Therma*.

the name of (Phrygia) Salutaris from the ancients. It was contiguous to Galatia; and the cities of Pessinus and Gordium, which stood on the banks of the Sangarius, were in the vicinity of Germa Colonia." The town stands in a fine plain, watered by a deep and rapid river, flowing eastward through the ruins and gardens of Yerma.

The whole surface of the country in this direction is overspread with the vestiges of dilapidated towns and villages. The inhabitants of Yerma stated, that the wandering Turcoman hordes, who pasture their flocks on the rich plains of the Sangar or Sakaria, not only deprecate the idea of residing in villages themselves, but will not suffer others to settle within the range of their jurisdiction. Capt. Kinneir had an opportunity of witnessing the wheat and barley harvest. The corn, after being reaped, is collected into a spot levelled for the purpose, where it is immediately thrashed by means of an indefinite number of horses or cattle, placed abreast, and driven in a circle; and advantage is taken of the first windy day to separate it from the chaff. This process concluded, the straw is chopped by a sort of cylinder stuck round with sharp-pointed flints, and drawn by two oxen. The whole is then put into sacks and baskets, and carried into the village. The other implements of husbandry correspond to the rudeness of this process. The plough is frequently not even shod with iron, and is in general drawn by four oxen. The harrow is merely a large bunch of thorns bound together, with a beam or stone laid across to increase the pressure. No care whatever is taken to improve the land; nor is there any rational inducement to attempt it, since the husbandman is certain to be taxed or plundered in exact proportion to the yearly produce of his farm. The Greeks,

here called *Uroomi* by their Turkish lords, constitute in this part a considerable portion of the peasantry; and, adds Capt. Kinneir, "are not, in my opinion, the fallen and dastardly race they are usually represented to be."

From Yerma, it is a distance of about 100 miles to Angora. At the fourteenth mile, Capt. Kinneir came suddenly upon the river Sakaria, where it is not more than thirty feet wide, but deep and rapid: he crossed it by a wooden bridge. Pococke crossed it on a float, about twelve miles E.N.E. of Sevri-hissar. This river is the boundary of Great Phrygia and Galatia, so named from a colony of the Gauls, who first established themselves along the coast of the Euxine, and subsequently, in consequence of a dispute with Attalus I. King of Pergamus, retired towards the banks of the Halys. Siding with Antiochus the Great against the Romans, the Galatians were defeated by Manlius in the defiles of Mount Olympus; and the Roman general advancing into their country, laid siege to Ancyra (Angora). This city afterwards assumed the name of Sebaste in honour of Augustus, who, when Galatia was reduced to a Roman province, made Ancyra the capital, adorning it with many stately edifices. The inhabitants, grateful for his favours, are said to have paid him divine honours, and to have erected a temple to his memory; an honour which they afterwards awarded to several of his successors. When the Emperor Julian passed into the East, the priests of Ancyra came to meet him with their idols. Here, it is supposed, St. Paul preached to the Galatians; and when the Christian religion had spread itself over the Roman world, it was advanced to the dignity of an apostolic see. In the reign of Heraclius, the city was taken by the generals of Chosroes Purviz, and after-

wards by the renowned Haroun al Raschid. In 1102, it was besieged and taken by the Count of Thoulouse, but recovered by Sultan Amurath I., A.D. 1359.

The modern town of Angora (pronounced Engouri) is situated on several small hills encircled by a range of mountains on the N. and E. The castle occupies the summit of a high rock, perpendicular on three sides, and sloping towards the south. As a fortress, it is incapable of defence, not only as being in a most dilapidated and ruinous condition, but it is commanded by an adjoining mountain. The city walls are in the same mouldering state. The houses are built chiefly of brick and wood, in general two stories high, with pent-roofs and projecting verandahs. The population does not exceed 20,000 souls,* of which one-third are said to be Armenians of the Catholic persuasion. The trade, which has declined of late years, is almost entirely in their hands; they import cloth and colonial produce from Smyrna, and make their returns in the fine camlet of different colours manufactured from the hair of the goat peculiar to this province, which in fineness resembles silk.† Angora is also famous for its fruits; in particular, for a delicious pear, cultivated in the gardens of a plain to the N.W. of the city. A lofty range of mountains, seen at a distance to the N.W., (another of the several different chains to which was given the name of Olympus,) formed the ancient boundary between Galatia and Bithynia.

* In Pococke's time, there were computed to be 100,000 souls, including 10,000 Christians, chiefly Armenians, and forty poor families of Jews.

† "The natives," says Capt. Kinneir, "attribute this quality to the soil; and there can be no doubt that the hair loses its fineness whenever the animal is removed to a distance." It is said to be found only within the bounds of Wulli-khan on the west, and the Halys on the east.

The modern walls and gates of the city are constructed chiefly of ancient marbles. The Smyrna gate is built to all appearance from the shattered fragments of a portico or temple: pieces of sculpture and broken columns are wedged in the walls, and the arch rests upon two blocks of marble about eight feet in length, which appear to have composed part of an architrave. Not far from this gate is a small eminence, on which, Capt. Kinneir was informed by the consul, that a temple formerly stood. Its demolition has, therefore, probably been recent. The ground all around is strewed with shafts, capitals, and fragments of entablatures. The shapeless ruins of a large edifice, supposed to be the amphitheatre, are scattered over the brow of a rising ground. The form appears to have been elliptical. The fragment of the wall that remains, is about thirty feet in height, composed of stone and layers of brick. The external coating of the building continued to be daily removed by the natives, to build their houses. The area has been converted into a Turkish burying-ground. The most curious relic of antiquity is found on the summit of a small hill, near the mosque of Hajji Biram. It consists of a vestibule, a large oblong hall, and a small apartment behind, built entirely of white marble. On the right and left of the wall of the vestibule as you enter, is an inscription recording the principal actions in the life of Augustus Cæsar;* but part of it has been intentionally effaced. The gate leading from the vestibule into the saloon, is a masterly piece of workmanship, and in astonishing preservation: it is about twenty-five feet high by nine in breadth. The supporters of the

* Said to be copied from the brazen tablets placed before the mausoleum of Augustus at Rome.

lintel are beautifully decorated, as well as the moulding and entablature. The saloon is twenty-nine paces long by twelve in breadth. The roof has fallen, but the walls, which exhibit the remains of a beautiful cornice, are supposed to be still about forty-five feet in height: they are three feet three inches in thickness. On each side are three windows with semicircular tops, which have before them "a grate of marble." Of the columns which probably supported the roof, no vestige remains. This interesting monument of antiquity is generally believed to have been the temple erected in honour of Augustus; but Capt. Kinneir thought it intended rather as a *basilica*, or public hall, the recess at the further end being for the tribune. The whole is about ninety feet long by fifty. The castle is modern, but some of the towers are ancient. On the top of the rock are marble statues of two lions, one as large as life, and the other colossal, tolerably well finished. An adjoining mosque abounds with the most beautiful columns and some fine bas-reliefs: the verandah is supported by six columns with Ionic and Tuscan capitals. Some great building has, probably, occupied the site. Towards the N.W. corner of the city, there is a marble column still erect, crowned with a singular capital "rather in a Gothic taste," which Pococke supposes to have been erected in honour of the emperor Julian when he passed through Ancyra from Parthia, there being an inscription to his honour on the castle walls. The pedestal is raised on a stone work about ten feet from the ground: the shaft is about four feet in diameter, composed of fifteen stones, each two feet deep, and is "fluted horizontally." In the plain is an Armenian monastery, the residence of the archbishop: it is said to be richly endowed. The burying-ground attached

to it, as well as the Jews' cemetery near the Smyrna gate, is full of ancient remains.* Angora is in latitude 39° 31′ N., longitude 32° 41′ 42″ E.

The pashalic of Angora is about a hundred miles in length and sixty in breadth. It is rich in fruits and pasturage, although, compared with the neighbouring province of Changra (or Kiangari), it produces but a very small quantity of corn. Bread is consequently both scarce and dear, as well as every other necessary, the exclusive monopoly being in the hands of the Pasha. The prosperity both of the town and the pashalic, was, at the time of Capt. Kinneir's visit, fast declining; and the peasants were throwing themselves in crowds on the protection of Chapwan Oglu. The territory to the S.E. nearly as far as Konieh and Kirshehr, is overrun with Turcoman hordes, who pay no tribute to the Porte, but are said to be subject to a chief residing at Bey Pasha, a village between Angora and Ooscat: he was called Mahommed Beg, and was brother-in-law to Chapwan Oglu.

Ooscat, or Yuzgat, then the residence of this extraordinary man, by whom it had been almost entirely rebuilt, is thirty-six hours S.E. of Angora,

* Pococke says: "Two-thirds of the Armenians are of the Roman communion, and have four churches; the others have three. In rebuilding one of their churches not long ago, they found the bodies of seven children uncorrupted. I saw the head and hand of one of them: they were like the bodies at Bremen and at Venzoni in Friuli, but rather more fair and entire. They suppose that these are of the twelve children who were martyred when St. Clemens Ancyranus suffered." The convent belonged to the Armenian church; the archbishop not being of the Roman communion. The Greeks had also an archbishop here, who was one of the twelve great metropolitans under the patriarch of Constantinople, being the fourth in rank, with the title of primate (or exarch) of all Galatia; but he had no bishop under him.

eighteen from Changery, and thirty from Tokat. It is situated in a hollow, surrounded on all sides by naked and barren hills. The population in 1814, was computed to be 16,000; the greater proportion Turks, the remainder Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. The houses, though small, are neatly constructed, of brick and wood, painted in the manner of those of Constantinople. The palace occupies a large space in the centre of the town, and a handsome mosque of hewn stone has been erected in imitation of St. Sophia. The only defence of the town consists of a slight wall, built of sun-dried brick and mud. Capt. Kinneir gives the latitude 39° 42′ N.

"Chapwan Oglu," says Capt. Kinneir, "at the period I visited his capital, was the most powerful chief in Asia Minor, and in every respect independent of the Grand Signior, who, jealous of his authority, had in vain endeavoured to crush him. He was descended from a Turcoman family; and his grandfather, father, and elder brothers, had successively been governors of the territory around Ooscat. Being a person of great talents and enlightened understanding, all his schemes and enterprises were attended with success; and in the course of a few years, he established his independence, and greatly increased his territories, which he improved by encouraging agriculture, and carefully avoiding those oppressive measures which have scattered desolation and ruin throughout the Asiatic provinces of Turkey. He became respected by his enemies, and adored by his followers, who, aware of the comparative security and happiness which they enjoyed under his rule, were always prepared to defend his interests to the last extremity. The dominions of this prince, at the time I mention, extended, on the west, as far as the Halys, and even

beyond that river, as they included the town and rich district of Changery (the ancient Gangra); on the N.E. they embraced the districts of Tasia, Zeli, and the large and wealthy city of Tocat. To the east, they were bounded by the pashalics of Malatia, Cesarea, and the river Sehaun; and to the south, by the Mediterranean, including in this quarter the towns of Akserai, Erekli, Tarsus, and Selefkeh. His revenue, which was almost entirely derived from a tax on the grain produced on his estates, amounted, on an average, to 90,000 purses a-year; 20,000 of which, it is said, were set aside to bribe the ministers of the Sultan. His wealth in jewels was generally believed to be immense; and it is said that he could muster, in the course of a month or six weeks, an army of forty thousand men. He lived in great splendour; his haram was filled with the most beautiful Georgian slaves, and food for three hundred people was daily prepared in his kitchen. I was received by him with politeness and dignity, in a magnificent apartment, surrounded with sofas made of crimson velvet, fringed with gold, and opening into a garden of orange-trees, ornamented with a marble basin and jet d'eau. His countenance was benevolent, and his beard as white as snow. He made me sit close to him, and asked a number of questions respecting Bonaparte, of whom he appeared to be a great admirer. He afterwards demanded where I was going, and what I wanted in that part of the country? I told him, I was travelling to amuse myself; and that I intended to visit Cesarea and Tarsus. He replied that, as the road was in many places infested by brigands, he would give me a guard and letters to the governors of the different districts through which I should pass; and on taking leave of him,

he enjoined his physician to see that all my wants were supplied during my stay at Ooscat.

"In my rambles one morning through the streets, I met the prince's youngest son going a hunting, accompanied by about twenty horsemen. He was a remarkably handsome youth, about sixteen years of age, richly dressed, and mounted on a white courser, magnificently caparisoned with housings of crimson velvet, embossed with gold. His lance was borne by a page; and in the right hand he held a hawk, being followed by several couples of greyhounds. In the evening, Chapwan Oglu himself took a drive in his state coach, a massy machine, similar to the most superb of those I saw at Buckharest, and drawn by six pyebald horses, taken, as he told me, by his eldest son, the Pasha of Aleppo, from the Russians. This prince, in addition to the person with whom I resided, had in his employ a French physician, who prejudiced him in favour of his countrymen, and who, no doubt, had his correspondents in France. The French, indeed, have their emissaries all over Asia Minor, as well as Syria, either in the capacity of consuls, physicians, or merchants, who correspond with their ambassador at the Porte, while the English remain in perfect ignorance of every occurrence."

The death of Chapwan Oglu, in 1814, was eagerly improved by the Porte as an occasion for putting in execution its perfidious and vindictive policy. After extorting from his family 12,000 purses, or six millions of piastres, the Sultan caused most of his partisans and favourites to be put to death, and divided his territories among those who had contributed to the destruction of his children.

Tokat (supposed to be the ancient *Comana Pontica*) is in the pashalic of Siwas, situated in a deep valley

on the banks of the Jekil-ermak, the ancient Iris. It is the centre of a very extensive inland trade to and from all parts of Asia Minor. Here are manufactories of blue morocco, silk stuffs, and copper vessels of all kinds. The population is estimated by Capt. Kinneir at 60,000: other authorities make it 40,000. The majority are Turks, but there is a considerable number of Armenians, who have seven churches, and a few Greeks, who have one church. The streets are well paved. The town is governed by a waiwode. It is eighteen hours N.W. of Siwas, and the same distance S.E. of Amasia: lat. 39° 55′ N., long. 36° 30′ E.*

Amasia, the birth-place of Strabo, and the ancient residence of the Cappadocian monarchs, is situated on both banks of the Iris, in a narrow valley, surrounded by mountains, and can be approached only by two narrow passes. An ancient castle stands on one of the summits, and in the rock are some remarkable excavations, supposed to be the tombs of the kings of Pontus. The population of this romantic city is said to amount to 35,000 souls, chiefly Christians. It is the chief place in a sanjiakat of the same name, governed by a waiwode, and, as well as Tokat, belongs to a sultana. The women are said to be some of the most beautiful in Asia Minor. A great quantity of excellent silk is produced here, and the vicinity yields abundance of fruit. It stands in lat. 40° 20′ N., long. 36° 12′ E.; is eighteen hours (two stages) N.W. of Tokat, and 136 hours from Nicomedia.†

* At this town, the admirable Henry Martyn died on his way to Constantinople, Oct. 6, 1812, in the thirty-second year of his age.

† The route from Amasia to Ismid is thus given by Capt. Kinneir:—To Marsawan, nine hours. To Osmanjik, fourteen hours. To Hajji Hamga, nine hours. To Tosia (Dacia), nine hours. To Coj-Hissar, eight hours. To Karjouran, eight hours. To

CONSTANTINOPLE TO KASTAMOUNI.

THE northern part of the country lying between the Sangarius and the Halys, was the ancient Paphlagonia, having the Euxine on the north, and Galatia as its southern boundary. This province was conquered by Mithridates III., and added to the kingdom of Pontus, but was afterwards annexed by Pompey to Bithynia. It is now comprised within the sanjiakats of Boli and Kastamouni, so named from the chief cities.

Boli is the ancient Hadrianopolis. It lies on the main road from Nicomedia to Amasia, as given above. Capt. Kinneir reached it by way of Terekli, (a corruption of Heraclea,) the great road being impassable through the rains. The modern town of Boli is a poor place, consisting of about 1000 houses, chiefly inhabited by Turks: there are a few Armenians, but no Greeks, although the adjacent villages are filled with them. It is the residence of a pasha of two tails. The plain, at the extremity of which it stands, is rich and fertile; and yet Capt. Kinneir found the greatest difficulty in procuring a small quantity of bad bread. About four miles S.E. of the town, at a village called Valajah, are some mineral baths, to which the Turks resort in great numbers. There is nothing else remarkable in the neighbourhood.

At Humanli, a ruined town on the banks of the Bainder-su (the ancient Parthenius), distant twenty hours, or about sixty miles from Boli, Capt. Kinneir

Humanli, thirteen hours. To Gerideh, ten hours. To Boli, thirteen hours. To Dustche, eleven hours. To Hendik, twelve hours. To Sabanje, twelve hours. To Ismid, eight hours. None of these places are of any consideration, except Boli and Tosia.

quitted the great road, and proceeded in a north-easterly direction to Hajji Abbasse, a village romantically situated among the mountains, about thirty-four miles distant. Both before reaching this town and beyond it, he observed some very curious excavations in the face of a range of hills. The most remarkable of these is an insulated rock, which appears to have fallen from the adjoining mountain, and which has been completely excavated into a circular chamber: it is entered by three square doors of the shape and size of those in the smaller caves at Carly, between Bombay and Poona. At ten miles from this place, he crossed the Ashar-su, a river somewhat less in volume than the Parthenius, but of greater width. Following the course of this river, eastward, Capt. Kinneir reached the post-house of Ashar, distant twelve hours from Hajji Abbasse. Ten hours further is Kastamouni, (called by Capt. Kinneir Costamboul,) the ancient Germanopolis.

This city, the residence of a pasha, contains a population of about 12,000 Turks, 300 Greeks, and a few Armenians. There are thirty mosques with minarets, twenty-five public baths, six khans, and a Greek church. It stands in a hollow, and in the centre of the town rises a lofty perpendicular rock, crowned with a ruined fortress, formerly possessed by the noble house of Comneni. The commerce is but trifling, and they have no manufactures. The neighbourhood resembles that of Pera, bare, dreary, and unfertile, though intersected by numerous water-courses. Capt. Kinneir noticed no antiquities.

THE TROAD.

THERE yet remains to be noticed that part of the western coast, which lies between the Dardanelles and

the Adramyttian Gulf; the country which formed the ancient kingdom of Priam. The natural beauties of the Troas, its accessibility by sea, but, above all, its celebrity as the scene of the Iliad, have attracted a greater number of travellers to it than any other part of Asia Minor; but they have not agreed in fixing the localities of the places celebrated by Homer, and "the Trojan question" still continues to occupy the pens of the learned. Into this controversy, it would be foreign from the design of the "Modern Traveller" to enter. There appears to be little doubt, that erroneous maps, together with the modern changes which have been made in the line of coast by the formation of new land, have been the true cause of the scepticism which has existed on the subject of Homer's topography; but the same circumstances render it next to impossible to arrange the details with any certainty. The supposed changes, which are rendered probable by the new alluvial formations on other parts of the coast, are indeed so considerable as to have affected the whole face of this tract of country. The bay into which the Scamander is thought to have issued, has entirely disappeared; and, instead of two promontories, with a beach between them, there is now only one low point of land, which has been formed between the two ancient capes, by the soil brought down by the river. Near this sandy neck of land, on which stand the Turkish fort and village of Koum-kalé (Sand Castle), is the present mouth of the river; although in the time of Strabo, it was considerably to the east, being only twenty stadia from New Ilium. "During the ages that have elapsed since the Trojan war, the eastern side of the plain has been gradually rising" (in consequence of the deposite of the waters); "the course of the Mendere has been gradually receding,

and the western side has become more and more marshy; until at length, the river of Bunarbashi, instead of uniting with the Mendere about the middle of the plain, as in the time of the Trojan war, is now forced to find its way through the marshes on the western side, and from those marshes into the Mendere, by two exits not far from Koum-kalé, or towards the ancient Sigæum. Its waters in the plain have been still further diminished by a canal, which carries off a large portion of them into another stream, which joins, not the Hellespont, but the Egean, at a part of the coast not less than seven miles from the ancient mouth of the Scamander. Its effect has been, to cut off, in summer, all communication between the Bunarbashi springs and the marshy ground on the western side of the plain; so that it is only in rainy seasons that the old bed of the river, which is still very traceable, is now filled with water."* Moreover, whereas in the time of Strabo and Pliny, New Ilium was only twelve stadia, or 1500 Roman paces, from the nearest shore, the existing vestiges of the town, reaching to the village of Koum-kiui, are now three miles from the shore, or more than double the original distance.

Leaving these conjectures, we proceed to notice very briefly the leading features of this interesting tract, as described by Dr. E. D. Clarke. Immediately after leaving Koum-kalé, that Traveller, crossing the Mender by a wooden bridge, entered on an immense plain of rich soil; and proceeding eastward, round a sort of bay, arrived at "the sepulchre of Ajax," a

* Leake's Journal, p. 292. See Chandler's Travels, vol. i.; Clarke's Travels, part ii. vol. 3, 8vo, ch. 6; and the Travels of Pococke, Choiseul Gouffier, Le Chevalier, Morritt, Hawkins, Gell, &c.

tumulus standing on the Rhœtean promontory, surmounted by "a shrine," which is concealed only by a slight covering of earth, and appears to date from the age of the Romans. Through this plain flows the Ghiumbrek-su, the ancient Thymbrius; and near a village on its banks, called Halil-Elly, are found the supposed remains of a temple dedicated to the Thymbrean Apollo. The ruins, however, seem to be those of ten temples rather than of one, the ground being covered to a great extent with fragments of marble and granite columns, and capitals of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders. Fording the Thymbrius, Dr. Clarke then ascended a ridge of hills, where he found the remains of a very ancient paved way, and came to the village of Tchiblak. Here he noticed considerable ruins. Near this village, on the summit of a hill called Beyan Mezaley, in the midst of a beautiful grove of oaks, going towards the village of Kalifat, he found ruins of a Doric temple of white marble. This he supposes to have been the site of *Pagus Iliensium*, whose inhabitants believed their village to stand on the site of ancient Troy. An inscription found here, records the consecration of a stoa to Claudius Cæsar, and to Minerva of Ilium. In the plain below, is a high conical tumulus of very remarkable size; and by the southern side of its base is a long natural mound, which extends across the middle of the plain towards the village of Kalifat, reaching nearly to a small and almost stagnant river, called Kalifat-osmak, or Kalifat water. Upon the surface of the tomb were found fragments of Grecian terra-cotta vases. These Dr. Clarke supposes to be the tomb of Ilus and "the mound of the plain," and the river the ancient Simois. On the southern banks of this stream were found remains of Doric columns of the finest marble, and some shafts

of granite; denoting, apparently, the site of an ancient temple. Near where the Kalifat-osmak joins the Mender, is the Greek village of Kalifat, where also were found scattered remains; and the peasants brought several copper medals of Ilium, struck in the time of the Roman emperors, which had been found at *Palaio* Kalifat, a short distance in the plain towards the east. This place is supposed to be the site of New Ilium. Remains of an ancient citadel occupy an elevated spot of ground, surrounded on all sides with a level plain, watered by what Dr. Clarke concludes to be the Simois. Enormous blocks of marble and a quantity of broken pottery, are all that remain within the ancient foundations. The grandeur of the surrounding mountain scenery is represented as indescribable.

On the *other* side of the Mender, at a considerable distance to the south-east, are the heights of Bounarbashi, which have been fixed upon by Le Chevalier and others as the site of ancient Troy. It has evidently been an ancient site; and immense *tumuli* are found in this part, which have received, somewhat gratuitously, the names of the tombs of Hector, Priam, and Paris. Near the village of Bounarbashi (Springhead), where an aga resides, are some warm springs, called by the Turks *Kirk Geuse* (*Forty Springs*), which have been supposed to be the source of the Scamander. This, Dr. Clarke has disproved: the source of that river is in Mount Gargarus, now called Kasdaghy, the highest of all the Idæan chain. From the snowy summit of this mountain, which Dr. Clarke attained with the utmost peril, a magnificent prospect was obtained of the whole Troad, all Propontis and the Hellespont, with the opposite shores, almost all Mysia and Bithynia, and parts

of Lydia and Ionia. The Scamander bursts at once, a mighty cataract, from a dark chasm in a perpendicular rock of micaceous schistus, about three hours above the wretched village of Evgillar, amid scenery of the grandest description conceivable. In the ascent, Dr. Clarke passed several ancient Greek chapels, in two of which were found paintings of the Virgin, with other ruins, the traces of the ascetics who, in the fourth century, were led by the dark spirit of superstition to inhabit these untrodden solitudes.

The source of the Scamander is about forty miles up the country from Bounarbashi. At four hours (twelve miles) is the town of Ené, situated upon a river which falls into the Mender. In the approach to this town is a stupendous tumulus, called *Ené Tépe* (Eneas's tomb). Two hours and a half further through the beautiful plain of Beyramitch, conducted the travellers to Turkmanle. From this place, there is a road to the ancient Assos, now called Beyram, on the Adramyttian Gulf, where are extensive ruins. Half an hour from Turkmanle is another Bounarbashi, deriving its name from three remarkable warm springs, which gush with violence from artificial apertures into a marble reservoir constructed of ancient materials: the waters take their course into the plain, and fall into the Meander. An hour further is Beyramitch, the modern capital of the district; "a large place filled with shops," belonging to the Pasha of the Dardanelles. At two hours' distance towards Gargarus, is a conical hill, called *Kushunlu Tepe*, the foot of which is washed by the Mender, and the sides and summit of which are covered with the most remarkable remains. Here, Dr. Clarke imagines, were the temple and altars of Idæan Jove. From the remains of what appear to have been two

Doric temples and a bath, about half-way up the side of the mountain, a spacious winding road, sixteen yards in breadth, conducts to the summit of Kushunlu, where, in a grove of venerable oaks, is found a small oblong area, six yards in length and two in breadth, enclosed by immense stones, ranged like what are called Druidical circles. The view from this singular spot is very grand. Dr. Clarke was told that the Pasha of the Dardanelles had built a mosque, the tomb of a dervish, a bridge of three arches, and all the new works at Beyramitch, with marbles and other materials obtained from this place.

Chemale, distant three hours from Ené, in the way to Alexandria Troas, is represented by Dr. Clarke as "full of antiquities." Upon a hill over the latter city was found, fallen from its pedestal, and concealed among trees, "the largest granite pillar in the world, except the famous column of Alexandria in Egypt, which it much resembles." The shaft, of one entire stone, is thirty-seven feet eight inches long, and the diameter five feet three inches. "We have, therefore," remarks Dr. Clarke, "the instances of two cities, both built by generals of Alexander the Great, in consequence of his orders; each city having a pillar of this kind upon an eminence outside of its walls."

Alexandria Troas was one of eighteen cities which bore the name of the Macedonian conqueror. It was begun by Antigonus, and from him called Antigonia; but Lysimachus changed the appellation in honour of the deceased king. Under Augustus, it was made a Roman colony, and rose in consideration and importance. The Christian religion was early planted here,* but the churches have been so long

* Acts, xx. 5, 6.

demolished, that no certain traces of them remain. The remains of Troas have long served as a quarry to the Turks. The desolation of the place was begun, and probably completed, before the extinction of the Greek empire. Many houses and public structures at Constantinople have since been raised with its materials; and the magazine is not yet exhausted. The first object, in the approach from Chemale, is the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus, formed of enormous masses of hewn stone. The walls of the city, originally several miles in circumference, exhibit the same colossal masonry. Part of a magnificent gate on the eastern side yet remains. But the most conspicuous edifice is what is vulgarly termed by mariners the *Palace of Priam*, owing to an erroneous notion prevalent in the writings of early travellers, that Alexandria Troas was the Troy of Homer. This building may be seen from a considerable distance at sea. It consists of three open massive arches, towering amid a vast heap of huge materials. The piers have capitals and mouldings of white marble; and the whole fabric appears to have been coated over either with marble or plates of metal. Pococke and Chandler suppose it to have been the *gymnasium*: Le Chevalier and Clarke are of opinion, that it was intended for baths. There is a theatre, 252 feet in diameter, commanding a noble view of the sea and of the island of Tenedos: it is, as usual, excavated in the hill. Near it are vestiges of an odeum, a souterrain, the vaulted basement of a large temple, and, in a hollow overgrown with trees, are traces of a stadium; with other obscure ruins, and broken *soroi*, the usual monuments of the Greek and Roman cities.

But there is no end to describing the wonders of

art and the scenic beauties which once rendered this country the richest, the most populous, and the fairest portion of the globe, — the favourite abode alike of its Eastern and Western conquerors, and the chosen residence of their fabled gods. This Eden is now a wilderness — a vast necropolis. The scattered hordes which rove over its most beautiful regions, are, for the most part, tenants of a desert, while the oppressed and degraded population of the towns, may be said to dwell amid the tombs. Except in Egypt, no part of the world exhibits in such striking contrast, the wide extremes of ancient power, grandeur, and genius, in their loftiest achievements, and human nature in the most pitiable state of deterioration and littleness. And perhaps there is no part of the Turkish empire, in which the destructive effects of that hideous and baleful despotism are more unequivocally conspicuous. But the Porte, by its impolitic jealousy, is undermining its own security, and preparing its own downfal. Its commerce, its population, its resources, its political energies, are rapidly diminishing. Let the Greeks but succeed in Europe, and their example will not be lost.

END OF ASIA MINOR.

J. MOYES, GREVILLE STREET, LONDON.

Map
of
ARABIA
Engraved for the
English Miles
Bellad Shemer
PERSIA
OMAUN
SEA OF BAB EL MANDEB
Longitude East from Greenwich

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

ARABIA.

A peninsula forming the south-western extremity of Asia, lying between lat. 12° and 35° N., long. 36° and 61° E.; bounded on the N. by Syria and the Euphrates; on the E. by the Persian Gulf; on the S. by the Arabian Sea, or Indian Ocean; on the W. by the Red Sea.]

ARABIA is one of those countries which belong to sacred geography. It is the land of Ishmael,—the country of the Edomites, the Amalekites, and the Midianites,—the scene of those wonderful transactions which immediately followed the exodus of Israel. Mount Sinai and Mount Nebo rank among its mountains, and the Red Sea, the Jordan, and the Euphrates form its western and northern boundaries. Combined with these sacred associations, others of a romantic kind attach to the name of this almost unknown country. For if, as the native land of the Arabian Impostor, it has no claims on the veneration of the Christian, to his successors in the khalifate, literature and science were greatly indebted; and the link between ancient literature and the revival of letters was supplied by Arabian learning.

The word Arabia is of doubtful etymology. The most probable conjecture is that which derives it from the Hebrew *orebeh*, a wilderness or desert,* in which case Mount Horeb might seem to have given its name to the country; or it may be understood as simply denoting the desert mountain. The Arabians, then, are the inhabitants of the desert, the pastoral hordes of the wilderness. This etymology may be thought to receive some support from the coincident import of the word Saracen, under which name the Arabian tribes from Mecca to the Euphrates were confounded by the Greeks and Romans.† One of the many words in Arabic signifying a desert, is *zahra*,‡ from which the appellative Saracen (ἡ Σαρακηνικα φυλη) has probably been formed.‖ The Turks and the Persians

* Schleusner gives the preference to this etymology. Bochart supposes it to be derived from *areb*, the west, *i. e.* of the Euphrates, and that the country received that name from the Assyrians. But this is unlikely, as Arabia would rather have been described as the south, which is actually the import of the modern appellative *yemen*. Pococke adopts the notion of its being so named from Yarab, the son of the patriarch Joktan, the supposed founder of the kingdom of Yemen.

† See authorities in Gibbon, vol. vii. c. 50.

‡ *Kafr*, *milkfar*, *emlis*, *mahk*, and *habaucer*, are all used to imply a naked desert covered with sand; *tanufah* denotes a steppe or plain covered with herbage; *zahra* is either a naked desert or a savanna.—*See* HUMBOLDT'S *Pers. Narr.* vol. iv. p. 315.

‖ Others have derived it, Gibbon says, "ridiculously, from Sarah, the wife of Abraham; obscurely, from the village of Saraka; more plausibly, from Arabic words signifying a thievish character and an Oriental situation. The last and most popular of these etymologies," (the one adopted by Sale, from *shark*, the east,) "is refuted by Ptolemy, who expressly remarks their western and southern position." Mr. Charles Mills, in his History of Muhammedism, says: "Of the various definitions of the word Saracen, I prefer the Arabic word *Saraini*, which means a pastoral people. The corruption from *Saraini* to *Saracini* can be easily imagined." (p. 28.) Is it not probable, that *Saraini*, or *Zaraini*, is itself formed from *zahra*, ἐρημος—a pastoral wilderness?

call the whole country *Arabistán*, the country of the Arabs; a name recognised by the natives themselves, who are divided into two grand classes, *Al Aarub ahl el hudar*, or *ahl al madar* (clay), *i. e.* the dwellers in towns, and *Al Aarub ahl al Bedow*, or *Bedoweeoon*, or *ahl al wibar*, *i. e.* dwellers in tents. By the oriental geographers, the northern part of Arabia Petræa is included in the *Bar-el-Sham* (the country on the left), or Syria; while the tract of land comprehended by the Greeks under the name of Arabia Felix, is called *Bar-el-Yemen*, the country on the right or south. This has by some writers been denominated Arabia Proper. Roman Arabia, or *Arabia Provincia*, the kingdom of Aretas, which had for its capital Bostra, and included at one time Damascus, comprised that tract of country now called the Ledja and the Haouran, the ancient Batanea and Auranitis: * it is now included in the pashalic of Damascus.

Ptolemy was the first geographer who divided the peninsula into the well-known regions of Arabia Deserta, Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Felix. Desert Arabia extended on the north and east as far as the Euphrates, which separated it from Mesopotamia, or Arabian Irâk: its chief city was Palmyra. Arabia Petræa was so named from Petra its capital: it comprehended the tract of country south of the Dead Sea, between Palestine and Egypt, at the northern extremity of the Red Sea. Arabia Felix designated the remainder. This division, however, is vague and arbitrary, and will be of little use in laying down the modern geography of the country. The first of these Arabias was the country of the ancient Nabatheans and the people of Kedar, answering to

* See Mod. Trav. Syria, vol. ii. p. 85.

the modern Bedoweens; * the second was peopled by the Amalekites, the Cushites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites; the third is supposed to be the *Sheba* of Scripture.† The kings of Arabia are mentioned as having brought gold and silver to King Solomon, and the Arabians paid an annual tribute of 7,700 sheep and as many goats to Jehoshaphat.‡ The latter was evidently the tribute of a pastoral nation, — probably of the Bedoweens inhabiting the country east of the Jordan and bordering on the kingdom of Judah. The precious metals must have been supplied by a commercial people; and accordingly, we find these kings of Arabia mentioned together with the merchantmen (or collectors) and the spice-merchants, as furnishing the gold, which appears to have been obtained partly in the shape of duties on traffic, partly as a contribution from the provincial governors, and tributary chieftains. This Arabia, therefore, doubtless bordered on the Red Sea.

Arabia Proper is distributed by the oriental writers into five provinces, as, in the time of Strabo, it was divided into five kingdoms: these provinces are, Yemen, Hedjaz, Tehâma, Nedjed, and Yamâma, to which some add Bahhrein as a sixth.‖ Niebuhr divides Arabia into, 1. the country of Yemen; 2. the country of Hadramaut; 3. the country of Omân; 4. the independent states on the borders of the Persian Gulf; 5. the country of Lachsa, or Hadjar; 6. the province of Nedjed; 7. the province of Hed-

* It is clear from Isaiah xiii. 20, and Ezek. xxvii. 21, that the Arabians of Scripture were dwellers in tents, and that they extended to the borders of Babylon.

† Ezek. xxvii. 23.

‡ 1 Kings x. 15. 2 Chron. ix. 14; xvii. 11.

‖ Sale's Koran, *prel. disc.* § 1.

jaz; and, 8. the desert of Mount Sinai. In this division, Tehâma, the flat country extending along the coast between Mecca and Aden, which is reckoned by the ancient geographers as a separate province, is included in the *Ard el Yemen*; while Hadramaut and Omân, which they include in Yemen, are made distinct provinces. The fact is, that the Arabian peninsula, being parcelled out into various independent territories, has at no time formed, strictly speaking, one kingdom, and, therefore, has never been divided into distinct provinces. Certain grand natural divisions may be laid down; but these convey no correct notion of the political or territorial arrangement.* The following may be considered as an approximation to a correct geographical division of the country:—

I. MARITIME DISTRICTS.

On the coast of the Red Sea.

1. Hedjaz: the holy land of the Moslems, nominally subject to the Porte, under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Djidda.
2. Tehâma: subject for the most part to the Imaum of Sanaa; chief places, Mocha and Aden.†

* Malte Brun professedly follows Niebuhr in dividing Arabia into Nedjed, Hedjaz, Yemen, Hadramaut, Oman, and Lachsa; but, according to the learned Traveller, a considerable tract of country is not included in those provinces.

† The Tehama of Yemen (the Yemen of our maps) is described as extending along the western coast almost from Mecca to Aden. (*Sale*, vol. i. p. 6.) It is also called *Gaur* from its low situation. Niebuhr includes it in the *Ard el Yemen*, we think improperly: he might as well have included Hadramaut, which, together with Yemen and Tehama, composed the ancient Arabia Felix. Of the fourteen subdivisions of Yemen which he enumerates, we have omitted three as comprised in Tehama; viz. the sheikhdom of Aden, the territory of Abu Arisch, and the district between Abu Arisch and Hedjaz, inhabited by Bedoween robbers.

On the coast of the Arabian Sea.

3. Hadramaut: governed by independent sheikhs.*
4. Omaun: divided among several petty sovereigns, of whom the chief is the Imaum of Mascat.

On the coast of the Persian Gulf.

5. Lachsa (El Ah'sa,) or Hadjar, including Bahhrein:† formerly subject to the Porte; now governed by the reigning sheikh of the *Beni Khâled*, whose capital is Lachsa.

II. INLAND DISTRICTS.

6. El Arud, or Nedjed-el-arud, comprising Aijana, the birth-place of Abd-el-Wahheb.
7. El Kherdje, or Yemaumah (Yemama, Imama).‡
8. El Nedjed, comprehending the greater part of Arabia Deserta.
9. Yemen Proper, including,
   (1.) The dominions of the Imaum of Sanaa.
   (2.) The canton of Sahaun, governed by independent sheikhs; the chief is the Imaum of Saade.‖

* In this province are included the mountainous country called Seger (Sheh'r?) celebrated for its producing frankincense; Mahrah, a large hilly district; and part of Jafa.

† The name Bahhrein (two seas) has been erroneously transferre to the Isle of Aual and the other smaller islands in the Persian Gulf off the coast of Hadjar. The Arabian writers evidently employ the term to denote a district of the continent bordering on yemaumah. Niebuhr says, it denotes the part bordering on the Gulf.—See Niebuhr, p. 293; Price's Essay towards the Hist. of Arabia, p. 110; Sale's Koran, p. 2.

‡ The province of Yemama is stated by Golius (*apud* Sale) to be called also Arud, from its oblique situation in respect of Yemen; but this must be an error, as the city of Yemama is in El Kherdje, which Niebuhr erroneously places in the S.W. part of the Nedjed. Yemama is celebrated as the residence of the prophet Moseilama, the rival of Mahommed. It forms, with the cities of Lachsa and Djebrin, an equilateral triangle, of which each side is a three days' journey.

‖ Three days E.N.E. of Saade is the city and sheikhdom of Nedjeran, and, three days further north, on the road to Mekka, the sheikhdom of Kachtan; both of them enumerated by Niebuhr as

(3.) The country of Djof, including the ancient Mareb, or Mariaba, the capital of the Sabeans: it is divided among the Bedoweens, the Shereefs, and various petty Arab sultans.*
(4.) The principality of the Sultan (or Seid) of Kaukeban.
(5.) Bellad el Koball, or the country of Haschid u Bekil, governed by various independent sheikhs.
(6.) The small territory of Nehhm.
(7.) The small territory of Khaulan (Havilah).
(8.) Ard el Jafa, or Yafa: formerly subject to the Imaum of Sanaa; now shared by three petty princes.†

The whole peninsula, Niebuhr says, may be considered as an immense pile of mountains, encircled with a belt of flat, arid, sandy ground. This belt, to the

separate districts of the Ard el Yemen; but they seem properly to belong to Sahaun. Nedjeran was formerly subject to the Imaum of Saade.

* The country of Djof (or Djof-er-Szyrrhan) is divided into *Belläd el Bedoui*, *Belläd es Saladin*, and *Belläd es Scheraf*. The second of these denominations designates the territory of the petty Arab sultans, or independent chieftains of the mountains. The *Belläd es Scheraf* denotes the towns and villages governed by the descendants of Mahommed.

† Niebuhr makes fourteen territorial subdivisions, viz. the eight above enumerated, three comprised in the Tehama, two which we have included in Sahaun, and a small district called Khaulan, between Sanaa and Mekka, which does not appear to have any claim to be considered as a distinct subdivision. In fact, there is no end to subdivisions, if the territories of every village sheikh who stands up for independence, are to be reckoned as a separate province. Southey has happily seized the leading features of the country in the following lines:

"Now go thy way, Abdaldar!
Servant of Ebils,
Over Arabia
Seek the Destroyer!
Over the sands of the scorching Tehama,
Over the waterless mountains of Nayd;
In Arud pursue him, and Yemen the happy,
And Hejaz, the country beloved by believers.
Thalaba, book ii. stanza 27

whole of which he gives the name of the *Tehâma*, begins at Suez, and extends round the whole peninsula to the mouth of the Euphrates, being formed, towards the north, by the Syrian desert and Arabia Petræa. Its breadth varies: that of the plain adjacent to the Red Sea, is generally about two days' journey from the sea-shore to the rise of the hills. It bears every mark of having been anciently a part of the bed of the sea. The bottom is a greyish clay with a large proportion of sand, interspersed with marine exuviæ to a great distance from the sea-shore. It contains large strata of salt, which in some places even rise up into hills. Its regular inclination towards the sea indicates that it has emerged gradually. The small eminences upon the confines of this plain, are composed of calcareous stone of a blackish appearance, as if burnt by the sun. The adjoining hills contain schistus and basalt. The sea on this coast continues to recede, and the Tehâma is on that side gradually extending its limits. The banks of coral are also increasing and coming nearer the shore, so as to render the navigation of the gulf more and more dangerous.* The sand gradually fills up the intermediate space, and joins these beds of coral to the continent; but these newly formed lands are ungrateful and barren, and, unlike the new ground formed by rivers, promise no advantage, being unsusceptible of cultivation.

The principal chain of mountains runs nearly

* These immense banks of coral, which almost fill up the Arabian Gulf, rise in some places ten fathoms above the sea. They are soft under the waters, and, being easily wrought, are preferred to all other stones for building materials. Great part of the houses in the Tehama, Niebuhr says, are built of coral rock.

parallel with the Red Sea, at a distance of from thirty to eighty miles. It increases in elevation as it extends southward, and sends out a branch in a line parallel to the shore of the Arabian Sea as far as Omaun, terminating in the point called *Ras al Had*. From this point to the *Ras Mussendom*, the coast of Omaun is mountainous, and the Tehâma disappears, except for about a day's journey between the village of Sib and the town of Sohar. The Persian Gulf is described as a prolongation of the banks of the Euphrates. In several parts, particularly near the islands of Bahhrein, fresh water springs rise in the middle of the salt water.* At the mouths of the Euphrates, the alluvial depositions were very perceptible so far back as the time of Pliny: the direction of its basin, forming the great plain of Chaldea and Mesopotamia, is the same as that of the gulf in which it terminates.

The interior of Arabia is believed to be an elevated table-land, declining towards the Persian Gulf. A large proportion of it is occupied by a series of deserts; but these deserts are separated by small mountainous oäses, which seem to form a continued line from the S.E. of Palestine to Omaun. That part of the interior plateau which is particularly known by the name of Nedjed,† is a mountainous district, covered, Niebuhr states, with towns and villages; and almost every town has its independent sheikh. It abounds in all sorts of fruits, particularly dates; but there are few rivers: that of Astan, laid down in

* The same phenomenon is seen in the Bay of Xagua and at the mouth of the *Rio de los Lagartos* off Yucatan. — See MOD. TRAV. *Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 150.

† Nedjed, or Najd, signifies, according to Sale, "a rising country," *i. e.* highlands.

D'Anville's map, is only a *wadi*, or mountain-torrent, which is the character of all the Arabian rivers, few of which reach the sea.* A Turkish geographer, however, states, that the Nedjed contains some lakes, and Strabo mentions lakes that are formed by rivers.† This is the country of the Wahhabites. Nedjed el Arud appears to be a ridge of lime-stone rocks, extending from north to south, of abrupt form on the west, but gently declining towards the east. It is the *Montes Marithi* of Ptolemy. To the south and south-east, Nedjed is said to be separated from Yemen and Omaun by the desert of Alikaf, "which, according to tradition, was once a terrestrial paradise, inhabited by an impious race of giants, called Aadites, who were destroyed by a deluge of sand." ‡

The position of these mountains in the middle of a peninsula, occasions a phenomenon similar to what is observable in the Indian peninsula, which is in the same manner intersected by mountains. The rainy seasons are here singularly diversified. Westward, in Yemen, from the month of June to the middle or end of September, the mountains are watered by regular showers; but even then, the sky is seldom overcast for twenty-four hours together. As, during these months, the heat is the greatest, these rains are invaluable. During the remainder of the year, scarcely a cloud is to be seen. In the eastern part of the mountains, towards Mascat, the rains fall between the middle of November and the middle of February; while in Hadramaut and Omaun,

* The Red Sea receives no river: some small ones find their way to the Persian Gulf.

† Malte Brun, vol. ii. p. 193.

‡ Ibid. p. 206.

the rainy season commences in the middle of February, and lasts till the middle of April. Thus it should seem, that the rains make the tour of the peninsula every season, as impelled by the prevalent winds. In the Tehâma, a whole year sometimes passes without rain, and the drought is so extreme, that the mountain torrents are lost in the sands before they can reach the sea. These streams, however, when swelled by the rains which fall in the mountains, afford the means of fertilising the lands by irrigation, which otherwise would be wholly barren. It is obvious, that, by being thus drained off from their channels, and diffused over a wide surface in a tropical climate, rivers, which might otherwise be considerable, would lose themselves by evaporation. Niebuhr was informed, however, that there is a spring rain which falls for a short season in the Tehâma, the period of which is uncertain, but on which the success of the harvest greatly depends. These regular rains render the valleys lying among the mountains both fertile and delightful.*

In the Tehâma, the heat, during the summer season, is intense: at Mocha, the thermometer rises, in July and August, to 98° of Fahrenheit, while at Sanaa, in the mountains, it only reaches 85°. In the latter district, it sometimes freezes, though rarely; and falls of snow take place in the interior, but the snow never lies long on the ground. The nature of

* The rainy season in Yemen, which lasts during the months Tamuz, Ab, and Ailul (June—Sep.), is called *Mattar el Khorif*. The spring rain, which falls in the month Nisan (March—April), is called the *Mattar es Seif*, and answers to the *Malkosh* (the spring or latter rain) of the Hebrews, for which it was customary to pray in the month Nisan, as preparing the grain for the harvest.—See *Deut.* xi. 14. *Zech.* x. 1.

the winds differs according to the tract which they have passed over, so that the same wind, in different places, is dry and moist. On the shores of the Persian Gulf, the south-east wind, which comes charged with moisture, is said to occasion violent perspiration, and on that account is deemed more disagreeable than the north-west, which is more torrid, and heats metals in the shade. Water placed in jars exposed to the current of this hot wind, is rendered very cool by the effect of the sudden evaporation; but both men and animals are often suffocated by the blasts. The much dreaded *Semoum* or *Samiel*, however, seldom blows within Arabia, though frequently on its frontiers. It is in the desert bounded by Bassora, Bagdadt, Aleppo, and Mekka, that it is most dreaded. It blows only during the intense summer heats. The Arabs of the desert, being accustomed to an atmosphere of great purity, are said to perceive its approach by its sulphurous odour, and by an unusual redness in the quarter of the atmosphere whence it proceeds. The only means of escaping from one of these poisonous blasts, is to lie flat on the ground, till it has passed over, as they always move at a certain height in the atmosphere: instinct teaches even animals to bow down their heads to the ground. The effects of the semoom on any who are rash enough to face it, are, instant suffocation, and the immediate putrefaction of the corpse, which is observed to be greatly swollen.

"The Arabs of the desert," says Volney, "call these winds *Semoum*, or poison, and the Turks *Shamyela*, or wind of Syria, from which is formed the *Samiel*. Their heat is sometimes so excessive, that it is difficult to form any idea of its violence without having experienced it; but it may be compared to

the heat of a large oven at the moment of drawing out the bread. When these winds begin to blow, the atmosphere assumes an alarming aspect. The sky, at other times so clear in this climate, becomes dark and heavy; the sun loses his splendour, and appears of a violet colour. The air is not cloudy, but grey and thick, and is in fact filled with an extremely subtile dust, which penetrates every where. This wind, always light and rapid, is not at first remarkably hot, but it increases in heat in proportion as it continues. All animated bodies soon discover it, by the change it produces in them. The lungs, which a too rarefied air no longer expands, are contracted, and become painful. Respiration is short and difficult, the skin parched and dry, and the body consumed by an internal heat. In vain is recourse had to large draughts of water; nothing can restore perspiration. In vain is coolness sought for; all bodies in which it is usual to find it, deceive the hand that touches them. Marble, iron, water, notwithstanding the sun no longer appears, are hot. The streets are deserted, and the dead silence of night reigns every where. The inhabitants of houses and villages shut themselves up in their houses, and those of the desert in their tents, or in pits they dig in the earth, where they wait the termination of this destructive heat. It usually lasts three days; but, if it exceeds that time, it becomes insupportable. Woe to the traveller whom this wind surprises remote from shelter! he must suffer all its dreadful consequences, which sometimes are mortal. The danger is most imminent when it blows in squalls, for then the rapidity of the wind increases the heat to such a degree as to cause sudden death. This death is a real suffocation; the lungs, being empty, are convulsed, the circulation

disordered, and the whole mass of blood driven by the heart towards the head and breast; whence that hæmorrhage at the nose and mouth which happens after death. This wind is especially fatal to persons of a plethoric habit, and those in whom fatigue has destroyed the tone of the muscles and the vessels. The corpse remains a long time warm, swells, turns blue, and is easily separated; all which are signs of that putrid fermentation which takes place in animal bodies when the humours become stagnant. These accidents are to be avoided by stopping the nose and mouth with handkerchiefs. An efficacious method likewise is that practised by the camels, who bury their noses in the sand, and keep them there till the squall is over.

"Another quality of this wind is its extreme aridity; which is such, that water sprinkled on the floor evaporates in a few minutes. By this extreme dryness, it withers and strips all the plants; and by exhaling too suddenly the emanations from animal bodies, crisps the skin, closes the pores, and causes that feverish heat which is the invariable effect of suppressed perspiration."

In the most arid tracts near the sea, the dews are singularly copious, notwithstanding which, the natives sleep in the open air; and Niebuhr says, he never slept more soundly than where he found his bed all wet with dew in the morning. In some places, however, this practice is dangerous.

NATURAL HISTORY.

"THERE are some groves or thickets on the mountains of Arabia," says M. Malte Brun, "but no forests, properly so called, are to be found." It

may be doubted whether our knowledge of the country is sufficiently complete to justify this statement. Niebuhr speaks of forests in the south of Arabia, which abound with thousands of monkeys without tails. The country is rich, he says, in indigenous trees; and forests are to be seen in the high lands, though they are rare. Among other trees, the following are either indigenous, or have been introduced, Niebuhr supposes, from India: the Indian fig-tree (*ficus varta*), the date-tree, the cocoa-palm, and the fan-leaved palm, with other native varieties of both the palm and the fig-tree; the corneil-tree; the plantain or banana (*musa*); the almond-tree; the apricot-tree; the pear-tree; the apple-tree; the quince-tree; the orange-tree; the *acacia vera*, from which the gum arabic is obtained; the mangoustan (*mangifera*); the papaya (*p. carica*); the sensitive plant, and other mimosas; the balsam-tree (*amyris opobalsamum*); and the tamarind.* The cedar is not found in Arabia, and there is little timber fit for building, the trees being mostly of a light, porous texture. Among the shrubs may also be enumerated, the coffee-plant, the indigo-shrub, the castor-oil plant (*ricinus communis*), the senna, the aloe, the styrax, the sesamum (which supplies the place of the olive), the cotton-tree, the sugar-cane, the betel, the nutmeg, all sorts of melons and pompions, the *ouars*, which yields a yellow dye, the *foua*, which supplies a red dye, and a great variety of leguminous plants, pot-herbs, and officinal herbs. Among the odoriferous

* Niebuhr gives the following names of undescribed trees: the *elcaya*, the *keura*, (both famous for their perfume,) the *chadara*, the *antura*, the *culhamia*, the *catha* (the buds of which are chewed), the *oliban* (frankincense tree), the *tomex*, the *noemam*, the *gharib el baik*, the *segleg*, the *bœka*, and the *anas*.

plants are lavender, marjoram, the white lily, the globe amaranth (*gomphræna globosa*), the sea-daffodil (*pancratium maritimum*), various species of the pink, the *ocymum*, a beautiful species of basilic, the *imula*, a very odoriferous species of elicampane, the *cacalia*, the *dianthera*, the *moscharia* (so named by Forskal on account of its musky smell—it is found in the desert), the *ipomæa* (a plant of Indian origin resembling the rope-weed), and a beautiful species of hibiscus. Wheat, Turkey corn, and dhourra, cover the plains of Yemen and some other fertile places; the horses are fed on barley, and the asses on beans.

Arabia is the original country of the horse,* the camel,† and the wild ass.‡ There is a race of oxen

* Of the Arabian horse, there are two distinct breeds, the *kadishi* and the *koshlani*. The former are in no higher estimation than European horses, and are employed as beasts of burden. The latter are reserved for riding only. They are considered as sprung from the breed of Solomon, and a written genealogy of the breed has been preserved for 2,000 years. The greatest care is taken to secure the purity of the race. The best are bred by the Bedoweens in the northern desert. The *koshlani* are neither large nor handsome, but amazingly swift, and capable of sustaining great fatigue; they can pass entire days without food, and make an impetuous charge on an enemy. The Turks hold this noble breed in little estimation, preferring larger and more showy horses.

† There are several species. Those of Yemen are small, and of a light brown colour: those from Nedjed are dark brown, large, and lubberly. The Arabian camel (*djammel*) is distinguished from the Bactrian species (*bôcht*) by having only one hump. The dromedary (*hadjin*, called *droma*, the runner, by the Greeks) varies from the camel, not in species, but in breed: it is of a light and slender frame, and swifter than the horse. A dromedary bears the same relation to a camel that a hunter does to a race-horse. *Djammel* is used as a generic term: *hadjin* always denotes a particular species.

‡ There are two sorts of ass also in Arabia. The larger and more spirited breed are highly valued. In Yemen, the soldiers perform their patroles on asses, and every military service in which parade is not an object. Niebuhr thought them fitter for a journey

with a hump on the back like those of Syria. The rock-goat inhabits the lofty hills of Arabia Petræa, and the plains are stocked with gazelles. There is a breed of sheep with broad, thick tails, but their wool is said to be coarse, and their flesh far from delicate. The fierce and solitary hyæna inhabits the caverns of the desert mountains, and is common on the shores of the Persian Gulf, where, marching out at night, it has been known to carry off children from beside their parents, while sleeping in the open air. Among the other carnivorous animals, are the *nemer* or panther (*felis pardus*), the *fath* or ounce, the jackal (properly *tschakal*, called by the Arabians *el vâvi*), wolves, foxes, and wild boars. The hare is seen in some mountainous parts; the sandy tracks abound with the jerboa (*mus jaculus*); and troops of monkeys inhabit the hills of Aden, and the forests in the south of the peninsula.

Eagles, falcons, and sparrow-hawks are among the birds of prey; but the most serviceable is the carrion vulture (*vultur petenopterus*), which, besides clearing the earth of all carcases, and sharing with the dog, in most eastern cities, the indispensable office of scavenger, here befriends the peasant by destroying the field-mice, which would otherwise, in some provinces, render the labours of the husbandman wholly abortive. The performance of these important services induced the ancient Egyptians to place this bird in their pantheon; and it is still held unlawful to kill them. A degree of respect bordering on adoration is paid to

than horses. He reckons the progress which they make in half an hour at 1,750 paces, double the pace of a man. The larger camels make 775 paces, and the smaller ones 500.

the *samarmar* or *samarmog*,* a species of thrush (*turdus Seleucus*) which annually visits Arabia from eastern Persia in pursuit of the locust, and destroys immense numbers of those formidable enemies to vegetation. The *ashjal* is valued for two beautiful feathers in its tail, to preserve which uninjured, the bird is said to leave a hole in its nest.† The *thaer el hind* is a rare bird, which fetches a high price on account of its golden plumage: it is a bird of passage, supposed to come from India. The *thaer es-djammel*, or camel bird, is the name given to the ostrich, which is found in the deserts. The *hudhud*, a beautiful species of lapwing, is common on the shores of the Persian Gulf; and there is a tradition current among some of the natives, that its language may be understood. Tame fowls are very plentiful in the fertile districts. The woods of Yemen abound with the pheasant, the *pintando* or guinea-fowl, and the wood-pigeon. In the plains are to be seen the grey partridge, the common lark, and a white crane, with the under part of its belly of a beautiful red. A beautiful variety of the plover, and sometimes the stork, are seen in places which have water; and peli-

* This is its name at Mosul and Aleppo. It is elsewhere called the *abmelec*.

† Such was the statement given to M. Forskal, Niebuhr's companion, but he did not see the bird. A similar account is given of the *quetzal* by Juarros, in his History of Guatemala. The plumage of this bird is of an exquisite emerald colour. The tail feathers, which are very long, are favourite ornaments with the Indians, as those of the *ashjal* are with the Arabians; and "the birds themselves, as if they knew the high estimation their feathers are held in, build their nests with two openings, that, by entering at one, and quitting them by the other, their plumes may not be deranged."—See MOD. TRAV., *Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 289. Both of these birds are probably species of the genus *pica paradisea*, or bird of paradise.

cans and other sea-fowls are numerous on the coasts of the Red Sea. Niebuhr says, he heard much talk of two species of birds which are highly valued by the Arabians, called the *salva* and the *sumana*. The former, he understood to be a bird of passage of the rail species: as to quails, he could obtain no evidence of their being birds of passage. The fact is, that the *salva* (in Hebrew *selav*) is the quail; and the *sumana* is either the same bird, or of the same genus. That the quail is a bird of passage, is indubitable.

All the coasts abound with fish. Niebuhr states, that he never met with the turtle, but the land-tortoise is so common, that the peasants bring cart-loads of it to the markets of several towns: it forms the chief food of the Christians during Lent and other fasts. On the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, all the domestic animals are fed chiefly on fish, and the hyæna is sometimes obliged to content himself with the same food. The flying fish is found in the Red Sea, together with a great variety of undescribed species, including a peculiar genus of torpedo. All Arabians eat locusts: the Turks, on the contrary, have an aversion to this food. The *muken*, or red locust, is preferred as the fattest and most delicate species. The *dubbe*, another species, is not deemed esculent, because it tends to produce diarrhœa. The flesh of the locust is said to resemble the small *sardine* of the Baltic.*

* "We saw locusts," says Niebuhr, "put into bags or on strings, to be dried, in several parts of Arabia. In Barbary, they are boiled, and then dried upon the roofs of the houses. The Bedouins of Egypt roast them alive, and devour them with the utmost voracity. The Jews in Arabia are convinced that the fowls of which the Israelites ate so largely in the desert, were only clouds of locusts, and laugh at our translators, who have supposed that they found quails where quails never were." This notion,

There are several sorts of serpents in Arabia; but the only one that is much dreaded, is a small slender species called the *baetan*, spotted black and white, the bite of which is said to be instantly fatal. There is a species of flying or leaping serpent which, by means of its elastic tail, springs from branch to branch of a tree till it reaches the top. Of the various sorts of lizard, the *guaril* is said to equal the crocodile in strength; and the species called *jekko* by the Egyptians, is dangerous from the venomous properties of its saliva. The *arda*, a species of ant (*termes fatale*), the *scolopendra*, and the *tenebrio*, are among the insect tormentors.

According to Niebuhr, Arabia contains at present no mines of either gold or silver; but M. Malte Brun remarks, that the positive and unanimous testimony of the ancients will not permit us to doubt of the former wealth of the Arabian mines. All the gold now in circulation is drawn from Abyssinia or Europe; and it is remarkable, that the Arabians are much infected with the mania of alchemy. In Omaun, there are very rich lead mines, and a large quantity

however, which has been adopted by Ludolphus, and favoured by Bishop Patrick and Saurin, has been ably refuted by Harmer and others. The Septuagint, Josephus, and all commentators, ancient and modern, have understood the Hebrew *selav*, or *shalav*, as signifying quails. Mohammed, speaking of the miracle in the Koran, uses the Arabic *salva*, which is explained by one of his commentators as the same as the *samani* (in Persian *semavah*), the quail. In Psal. lxxviii. 27, the *selavim* are termed *ouph canaph*, fowls of the wing. Maundrell asked the Samaritan high-priest of Nablous, what sort of animal he took the *selavim* to be, and he described it as a fowl answering to the quail. Josephus remarks, that the Arabian Gulf is peculiarly favourable to the breeding of these birds; Pliny and others mention their astonishing numbers; and Diodorus describes the manner in which they are caught near Rhinocolura, in terms similar to those of the sacred historian.

is exported from Mascat. There are iron mines in the district of Saadé, but the iron which they yield is brittle. The onyx is common in Yemen; the agate called the Mocha-stone, comes from Surat; and the finest cornelians are brought from the Gulf of Cambay. Our knowledge of the natural productions of this country cannot be regarded, however, as by any means complete. The pearl-fishery carried on in the Persian Gulf, off the coast of Bahhrein, was estimated to produce, in the sixteenth century, the annual sum of 500,000 ducats. It is still valuable.

This rapid sketch of the physical geography and productions of Arabia, will receive further illustration as we proceed with our topographical description of those parts which have been visited by modern travellers. But we must first cast a retrospective glance at the history of this interesting country, stretching back into the twilight of time.

HISTORY OF ARABIA

ACCORDING to the traditions of the country, Arabia was originally peopled by several famous tribes, which are now extinct. The tribe of Aad, the son of Uz, the son of Aaram, the son of Saum, or Shem, settled in Al Ahkaf, in the province of Hadramaut. Here Aad founded a magnificent city, which was finished by his son Shedâd, who built a fine palace with delicious gardens, called the garden of Irem. This city is believed to be still standing in the desert of Aden, but to be miraculously hidden from view. The descendants of Aad, who were giants, fell into idolatry, and the prophet Houd was sent to reclaim them: on their refusing to hear him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew

for a week, and destroyed them all, except a few believers who retired with the prophet. A small town near Hasek, called Kabr Houd (the sepulchre of Houd), is said to be his burial-place. The tribe of Thamoud were also descended from Aaram by his son Gether: they first dwelt in Yemen, but, being expelled by Hamyar the son of Saba, they settled in the territory of Hajar (Petra), "where their habitations cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Koran, are still to be seen." They, too, fell into idolatry, and, on refusing to listen to the prophet Salah, were destroyed by an earthquake. The tragical destruction of these two powerful tribes, is often insisted on in the Koran as instances of the Divine judgements on unbelievers.* The tribe of Amalek, the son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau (though some oriental writers deduce his pedigree from Ham, † and others from Azd, the son of Shem), became very powerful, and, extending themselves westward, conquered the lower Egypt under their King Walid, before the time of Joseph; ‡ but, after they had reigned there for some generations, they were expelled by the natives, and at length extirpated by the Israelites.

* A portion of the posterity of Aud (or Aad) and Thamoud, however, extended themselves eastward, and, according to the Arabian historians, were denominated Armanians, or *Armenians*, because Aud was the son of Aaram. Certain chiefs of this double stock of Aud and Thamoud rose to power in Irak, on the ruins of the Ashkanian monarchy.

† Cham, Aram, Uz, Aad, Amalek.—See RELAND, lib. i. c. 14.

‡ This tradition refers evidently to the Phœnician shepherds of the Egyptian histories. The invasion of Egypt by the shepherd-kings is fixed by Archbishop Usher, A.M. 1920, eighty-eight years before the birth of Abraham. Bishop Cumberland supposes it to have taken place A.M. 1937.—See BRYANT'S *Mythol.* vol. vi. p. 153.

The present Arabians, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks, Kâhtan, or Joktan, the son of Eber, and Adnân, the lineal descendant of Ishmael. The posterity of the former they call *al Arab al Ariba*, *i. e.* pure Arabs; that of the latter, *al Arab al Mostareba*, *i. e.* mixed Arabians.* Yarab, one of the sons of Kâhtan, is stated to have founded the kingdom of Yemen,† and Jor-

* This distinction seems alluded to by the prophet Jeremiah: "And all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert."—*Jer.* xxiv. 24.

† In Gen. x. we read that Joktan, the brother of Peleg, begat Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimuel, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab; and "their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East." Many of these names are clearly referrible to Arabia. Hazarmaveth has been conjectured to be Hadramaut, which is not improbable; Uzal is the ancient name of Sanaa, the capital of Yemen; Sheba is the ancient Saba; and Havilah is Khaulan. Mesha has been somewhat fancifully identified with Mekka. To Yarab is ascribed the invention of the Arabic language,—an idle legend. He left a son named Yashjeb, or Yash-hab, who was the father of Seba, surnamed Abdus-shemss, *i. e.* worshipper of the sun; the parent, as it should seem, of the Sabean idolatry. He is said to have been entitled Sebâ (from *Shabah*, in Heb. captivity), because he introduced the practice of making slaves of captives. It is, however, improbable that Seba was a surname, and its etymology is doubtful. Sheba and Seba were evidently distinct names (see Gen. x. 7; and Psal. lxxii. 10); and yet, they are often confounded or put for one another. The name of Abdus-shemss was probably Sheba, since a son of Joktan of that name is mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Seba was a son, and another Sheba a grandson of Cush, the son of Ham. The Sabeans were evidently Cushites: compare Isa. xliii. 3; xlv. 14. They are believed to have spread from Chuzestân, the Asiatic Ethiopia, along the banks of the Euphrates and the shores of the Persian Gulf. Abdus-shemss left three sons, Kahlaun (Khaulan—Havilah?), Mezzah, and Hameir or Hamyar. Kahlaun was the progenitor of the Beni Lakhem and Beni Ghassan. He was succeeded by his brother Hamyar, the founder of the Hamyarite dynasty, who is supposed to have been contemporary with the patriarch Abraham.

ham, another son, that of Hedjaz. The posterity of Jorham reigned in Hedjaz till the time of Ishmael, who married into this tribe, and his second son Kedar (Keidaur) is said to have succeeded to the throne. The descents from Ishmael to Adnan are variously given, and are confessedly uncertain; but a regular genealogy brings down the descents from Adnan to Koreish, the ancestor of Mohammed. In the mean time, the greater part of Arabia Felix, comprising Yemen, Saba, and Hadramaut, were governed by princes of the tribe of Hamyar (Himyar, or Homeir,) who bore the general title or surname of *Tobbaa*. The kingdom of the Hamyarites, or Homerites, is said to have lasted upwards of 2,000 years. During this period, there were several petty sovereigns in different parts of Yemen, but they were for the most part subject to the Hamyarite sovereign, who was distinguished as the great king.* The annals of the Hamyarite dynasty are doubtless blended with fable, but there seems to be good reason to believe that some of these Arabian monarchs were both enterprising and powerful. Abû Kurrûb Tobbaa (*i. e.* the father of affliction, a surname acquired by his victories and his cruelties) is said to have pro-

* Hâreth ul Rayesh, the twenty-first in descent from Hamyar, first assumed the title of *Tobbâ*, as lord of all Yemen. His authority is said to have extended to the shores of India, and he pushed his conquests into Irâk and even Azerbaijaun. Yet, he acknowledged the paramount authority of the Persian monarch Manûtcheher (Mandauces, said to have been contemporary with Moses), whose power extended to the remotest limits of the west; the Pharaohs of the race of Amlâk (Amalek) alone disputed the supremacy of the Persian monarchs. Hâreth ul Ruyesh was succeeded by his son Abramah, or Abrahah, surnamed Zûlmenaur, whose son Obed Zalazzaur was succeeded by Modaud, the son of Sherauhil. This Modaud was succeeded by Balkeiss, his daughter or sister, the celebrated queen of Saba (Sheba), or Maureb.

ceeded by the route of Mossoul into Azerbaijaun, where he combated and defeated the Tartars. On his return, he received an embassy from the sovereign of Hindustân, proffering terms of amity. The rare articles presented by the ambassador led to inquiries respecting the country which produced them, and for the first time the Arabian prince heard of the existence of China. On the departure of the Indian embassy, the Tobbaa determined on an expedition to that distant country. Having by some means led his army through the territory of Balkh to the frontiers of Hindustân, he proceeded through Turkestân, skirting the territory of Tibet, where he left a division of 12,000 Arabs as a body of reserve, to retire upon in case of discomfiture. He finally succeeded in penetrating the boundaries of the Chinese monarchy, and, after plundering the cities in all directions, returned with an immense booty, through western Tartary, into India, whence he conducted his army safely back to Yemen, having consumed seven years in this remote and perilous expedition. The 12,000 Arabs were never, however, withdrawn from Tibet, and vestiges of the race are still to be discovered in different parts of Turkestân. The city of Shamerkand (from *kenden*, to destroy, converted by the Arabs into Samarkand), is said to have been founded by this conqueror on the site of the capital of Soghd, which he overthrew. Such is the account given by the native historians; and, "without admitting to its full extent," says the Writer to whom we are indebted for these details, "the reality of this expedition, we shall only remark, that, on its early conquest by the Mahommedan armies, an inscription was found engraven on the gates of Bokhâra, expressly recording the presence of Tobbaa the Hamyarite, at least in that neighbour-

hood: otherwise we should have been disposed to consider the whole as an extravagant fabrication." * Abû Kurrûb (named also Shaumer-beraush) is supposed to have been contemporary with Bahman, King of Persia, about A. C. 465.†

Alexander the Great is said to have contemplated the invasion of Arabia; and the fleet of Nearchus was preparing to make the circuit of the peninsula, when the death of the conqueror terminated all his magnificent designs. The territories of the Persian monarchy included between the Tigris and the Oxus, remained in the possession of the *Mûlouk-ul-Towâeif*, or chiefs of various tribes, among whom they had been partitioned, for a period of 523 years, which brings down the history to the first year of the third century of the Christian era. Several princes, indeed, in the course of these five centuries, obtained possession of Irak Arab, Medâeine, and even Rey and Isfahaun, and were acknowledged as lords paramount by these independent chieftains. The most famous of these monarchs was Ashak, the founder of the Arsacedian or Parthian dynasty, about A. C. 250. It was during the reign of Shahpoor (Sapor), the son of Ashak (Arsaces) II., according to one Arabian historian, that the Messiah was born, and John the Bap-

* Price's Essay towards the History of Arabia, p. 98.

† Major Price is disposed to place him earlier, as contemporary with Lohorasp, the successor of Kia Khosrou, who died A. C. 529; but this is hardly reconcileable with the subsequent chronology. Abû Kurrûb Berraush was succeeded by his son Abû Malek ben Berraush, whose son Akren succeeded to the throne, under the title of Tobbaa Sauny. Zû Jeshaun, the son of Akren, and, consequently, great-grandson of Shaumer Berraush, is said to have been contemporary with Darab II. (Darius Codomanus), and Iscandeer (Alexander of Macedon), and to have reigned for seventy years.

tist released; but, according to others, the destruction of Jerusalem, (which is asserted to have been accomplished by the direction of the Persian monarch, to avenge the death of John, the son of Zechariah,) took place in the reign of Baharam Gondurz, the son of Bellaush, the fifteenth monarch of that dynasty. The fact is, that there is a chasm of two centuries in the Persian annals, between the last-mentioned sovereign and Shahpoor, the son of Ashak II., during which period, Phrahates, Orontes, and Mithridates the Great, an intrusive dynasty, occupied the throne. Ardavan (Artabanus V.), the last of the Arsacedian race, was slain by the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardasheir Baubegan (Artaxerxes I.), early in the third century. Amrû ben Tobbaa, King of Yemen, is stated to have been the contemporary of Shahpoor (Sapor I.), the son of Ardasheir; and the successor of this Amrû, Abed Kûllaul ben Massoub, is said to have embraced Christianity, though he was deterred by political motives from openly avowing his belief.

Soon after the time of Alexander the Great, according to the authorities cited by Sale, a catastrophe took place in the kingdom of Yemen, which led to the emigration of eight tribes, and the foundation of the kingdoms of Ghassan and Heirah. "Abdshems (or Abdus-shemss) having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Mareb, made a vast mound or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants, and watering their land, but also to keep the country they had subjected in greater awe, by being masters of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by them esteemed so strong, that they were in no apprehension

of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of the inhabitants had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length, God being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and people. * "This probably," it is added, "was the time of the migration of those tribes, or colonies, which were led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Bekr, Modar, and Rabîa, from whom the three provinces of that country are still named Diyar Bekr (Diarbekir), Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabîa." One of the tribes who left the country, as it is alleged, on account of this inundation, was the tribe of Azd, "who settling in Syria Damascena, near a water called Ghassân, thence took their name, and drove out the Dajaamian Arabs of the tribe of Salîh, † who before possessed the country. Here they maintained their kingdom, some say 400, others (as Abulfeda) above 500 years. Five of these princes were named Hâreth, which the Greeks write Aretas; and one of them it was whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul. This tribe became Christians. Their last king, Jabalah, the son of Al Ayham, on the success of the Arabs in Syria, professed Mohammedism under the Khalif Omar; but, receiving a disgust from him,

* If this reservoir was constructed by Abdus-shemss, it must have lasted, at this time, about 1,700 years.

† A mountain near Damascus still bears the name of Salehiyeh. See MOD. TRAV. *Syria*, vol. ii. pp. 36, 64.

returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople. The princes of this race were called the Beni Haneifah, from their founder. The other tribe referred to, who founded the kingdom of Heirah, in Chaldea, or Irâk, were descendants of Kahlaun; * but, after a few descents, the sovereignty fell, by intermarriage, to the Beni Lakhem, whose princes bore the title of Mondar (or Munzer). † Notwithstanding some small interruption from the Persians, they preserved their dominion up to the khalifate of Abubeker, a period of 622 years, when Al Mondar al Maghrûr, (Munzer V.) the last of this race, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walîd. These princes were, for the most part, under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irâk, as the kings of Ghassân were lieutenants of the Roman emperors over the Syrian Arabs.

* These Arabs of Bahhrein and Yemaumah are stated to have emigrated from Mekka and other parts of Hedjaz, being compelled by the scarcity of food to disperse and seek a new settlement. They were chiefly of the tribe of Azd, and were all, without exception, idolaters. The most distinguished of these chieftains was Malek ben Nemeir, otherwise ben Fohem, who fixed the seat of his government at Heirah. Among the Arabs who settled in Yemaumah were the united tribes of Tasm (or Tassem), the reputed posterity of Loud, the son of Shem, and Jadish (or Jadeiss), the descendants of Jether, who became completely extirpated in a civil contest, which led to the invasion and desolation of their country by Hassaun-ben-Tobba, the monarch of Yemen, a short time before the fall of the last of the Arsacidæ.

† It should rather have been said, that several of the princes of Heirah bore this name. There appear to have been five of the name of Munzer or Mondar; three reigned under the name of Amrul Kaiss; there were three Niaumans (Naaman), and other names occur at intervals in the succession. The seat of their government was at first fixed at Anbaur, but transferred to Heirah by Amru the son of Auddy, the first of the Benni Lakhem who

Other native historians cited by Major Price, give a different account of the origin of the Arabian colonies of Irak. Many Arabs of the tribes of Azd and Lakhem are said to have followed Abû Kurrûb in his victorious expeditions, and to have remained by the way in Irak and other parts of the country through which he marched. But Heirah and Anbaur in particular are stated, by another authority, to have been peopled by the race of Moaud, the son of Adnan, who were carried away captive from Arabia by Bakhtunusser or Nabukhtunusser (Nebuchadnezzar) in his expedition against that country in the reign of Lohorasp, King of Persia.* This same Bakhtunusser is related, by the Arabian historian, to have conducted an expedition into Syria and Palestine, where he destroyed the *Beit-ul-mûkoddess*, the house of the most holy, at Jerusalem, and returned to Irak with numerous captives. After this, on learning that the king of Egypt had given shelter to a number of Jewish refugees, whom he refused to give up, Bakhtunusser invaded Egypt with a powerful army, killed the king in battle, and returned with an immense booty. A

attained the sovereignty. The establishment of this petty dynasty is calculated to have occurred about A.D. 12, the invasion of Bahhrein by Khaled having taken place A.D. 633.

* This Bakhtunusser is described as the governor of Babylon and Irak. He was succeeded in his government, which is represented, however, as a mere lieutenancy of the Persian empire, by his son Lemrouje, who was succeeded by his son Balt-un-nusser. The latter is said to have been slain and superseded, in pursuance of the order of the Persian monarch Ardesheir Derrauzdust (Artaxerxes Longimanus), by Dareious the Sage, on whose death, the lieutenancy of Babel and Irak was given to Ahatoutous (Ahasuerus), who is said to have espoused a Jewess named Aysser (Esther), by whom he had a son named Keyresh (Cyrus), who succeeded him. Though the chronology of the Arabian historian is involved in some confusion, the coincidence of the general outline with the Scripture history stamps it with authenticity.

number of the Jews who fled from Syria, and latterly from Egypt, found their way into Hedjaz, and established themselves in the vicinity of Yathreb, (as Medinah was then called,) where they founded several towns; among others, Khaibar, Foreizah (or Koreizah), Wady-ul-Kora, Fedâk, and Wady-us-Sebbôua.

On the extinction of the Ashkanian or Arsacedian dynasty by Ardesheir Baubegan, the territory of the lower Tigris and Euphrates is said to have been taken possession of by certain Arabian tribes from Bahhrein, who pushed forward as far as the passes of Hulwaun: the country eastward of that mountain boundary was at this time still in possession of the independent princes called the *Mulouk-e-Towâeif.** "The Arabians succeeded in making themselves masters, for a time, of all that lies between the straits of Hulwaun and the Tigris, and westward to Anbaur and Heirah, comprehending the whole of the territory called from them Irâk Arab. Syria and Anatolia, or Roum, were still under the dominion of the Romans; and the greater part of the habitable world was thus disposed of, until the period at which Ardesheir Baubegan added to his other triumphs by subverting the power of the *Mulouk-e-Towâeif*, to whose possessions (in Khorassaun and Irak Adjem) he then succeeded. This celebrated monarch, moreover, extended his conquests to the whole of the countries westward of the straits of Hulwaun to the Tigris, and to the whole of Irâk Arab and Babel; expelling the Arabs from every part of the country into which they had obtruded themselves, — from the rich levels of

* These tribes were *Adjem* or genuine Persians: the territories of which they retained possession, were the districts of Hamadaun, Isfahaun, Jubbaul, Rey, Kohestaun, Koummiss, and the whole of Khorassaun.

Mesopotamia, from Heirah and Kufah, and finally chasing them back again into the heart of their native wilds, — into Bahhrein and all the way into Hedjaz, where they were compelled to acknowledge themselves tributary to the Persian conqueror."

Great numbers, however, of the *Mulouk-el-Nazzer* (the name by which these intrusive Arabs were distinguished) survived the invasion of Ardesheir, and were permitted by the conqueror to occupy the countries of Bahhrein, Yemen, and Hedjaz, under the princes of Heirah. The Persian monarch permitted the Arab sovereign of Bahhrein to retain the town of Heirah, his capital, and its dependencies, but rigorously reclaimed from him the whole of Irâk Arab. Shapoor, the son of Ardesheïr, appears, however, to have restored the government of Irak to Amru 'l Keyss, the son of Amru-ben-Auddy, of the race of Nazzer, together with that of all Arabia; and this species of viceroyalty continued to be enjoyed by the princes of this house for a period of 114 years, including ten successions of the Persian monarchy. This Amru 'l (or Abdul) Keyss is represented to have been a Christian converted from idolatry.

In the reign of Hormuz II., the son of Narzi (Narses), the seventh monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, a tribute being demanded by the Persian monarch of the Syrian Arabs of Ghassan, that tribe, trusting to the protection of their Roman allies, refused to comply with the exaction. Before any foreign aid could reach them, they were defeated, and expelled the territory by the Persian troops; but a body of Arabs waylaid Hormuz in the desert, and put him and his attendants to the sword. He was succeeded by his posthumous child, Shapoor II. Availing themselves of his minority, the Arabs of Bahhrein, collect-

ing an invading army from almost every tribe, crossed the Persian Gulf, and entered the province of Fars, plundering the country in all directions. Dreadful was the retaliation which these marauders drew down upon their country. No sooner had Shapoor attained the age of sixteen, than he put in execution the long cherished purpose of revenge. His first enterprise was to clear the province of Fars of these invaders, consisting of the tribes of Benni Temeim, Benni Bukker, Benni Wâeil, and Benni Abdul Keyss, not one being allowed to escape, and their blood is described as flowing in rivulets to the sea. Soon after, young Shapoor crossed the Gulf into the territory of the Benni Abdul Keyss, where, renewing his career of slaughter, he put to the sword all of Arab race that fell into his hands. His troops were strictly prohibited from touching any plunder. He next, with astonishing rapidity, marched through the desert to Yathreb, massacring every Arab he met with, and filling up all the wells in his march. From Hedjaz, he continued his march into Palestine and Syria, even to the coasts of the Mediterranean; then, turning northward, appeared before Aleppo, extending in every direction the dire effects of his vengeance. From Syria, he returned to Irak Arab, where he ultimately fixed his residence at *Al Medâein* (the cities, *i. e.* Ctesiphon and Seleucia, on opposite sides of the Tigris.) But, in pursuing his plans of vengeance, Shapoor had touched too closely on the confines of the Roman empire, and the Arabs who fled from his fury, carried their wrongs to the court of Julian. These circumstances are represented to have led to that emperor's fatal invasion of Persia, the details of which belong to Roman history. On the conclusion of the inglorious treaty of peace by which the Romans were

suffered to withdraw from the Persian territory, Shapoor turned the whole force of his vengeance on the now unprotected Arabs. He pursued them with unsparing fury into all their retreats, putting them to death by various methods, sometimes with the aggravation of torture, till he had fairly satiated his revenge. At length, the Arabs were brought to sue for mercy; and on their humble submission, Shapoor sent a considerable number of them to settle in the province of Kermaun, whose descendants, the Benni Thauleb, Benni Bukker, and Benni Abdul Keyss, existed there 700 years after. The sovereignty of Arabia is stated to have been restored by Shapoor to a prince of the name of Amru, of the Benni Nazzer, and to have been continued in his family by the succeeding monarchs down to Yezdejird II., which brings down the succession to the beginning of the seventh century. It is probable, that these princes took no part in the hostile invasion of Irak.

We must now return to the affairs of Yemen;—for it does not appear that the south-western provinces of Arabia were included in the viceroyalty of Heirah, or that the princes of Yemen were ever tributary to the Persian monarch. At the time that the Arabs of Bahhrein took possession of Irak, Abu Kurrub Assâeid, the monarch of Yemen, is also stated to have found his way into that country with a numerous force, and every town was thronged with the influx of Arabs from all parts of the Peninsula. But, being compelled to retreat before the Persian forces, he again withdrew to his native mountains. The government of the *Mûlouk-ul-Nazzer*, or princes of Heirah, included the territories of Irâk Arab and Jezzeirah, together with the adjoining deserts, and nominally the whole of Hedjaz. Some remoter dis-

tricts of Hedjaz, however, as well as the princedom of Yemen, it is admitted, were entirely independent of their authority. Ardesheir Baubegan is said, indeed, to have extended his subjugation of Arabia to Yemen, but no details are given. The same writer represents the countries of Bahhrein, Yemen, and Hedjaz to have been united under the government of the *Mulouk-ul-Nazzer*, whereas their sovereignty never extended over Yemen properly so called; nor does it appear that either Ardesheir or Shapoor ever crossed the southern desert. The former is stated simply to have chased the Arabs all the way to Hedjaz, and the latter proceeded from Hedjaz to Palestine and the north of Syria. In the reign of Caligula, Ælius Gallus, prefect of Egypt, is recorded to have conducted a successful expedition into Arabia Felix or Yemen, where he reduced several cities. He landed at Medina, and marched nearly a thousand miles into the region between Mareb, the capital of the Sabæan Arabs, and the sea; but "the legions of Augustus," to use the words of Gibbon, "melted away in disease and lassitude; and it is only by a naval power that the reduction of Yemen has been successfully attempted." * This prefect is acknowledged by Pliny to have been the only one who ever led a Roman force into this country; † and in this

* Gibbon remarks that the expressions found in Horace (Ode 29, lib. i.; and Ode 24, lib. iii.), *non ante devictis Sabææ regibus*, and, *intactis thesauris Arabum*, attest the unconquered state of the country. We look for these expressions in vain in Francis's translation. Again we find the Roman bard alluding (Ode 12, lib. ii.) to the *plenas Arabum domos*; and Propertius thus compliments the Roman emperor (lib. ii. eleg. 10):

India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho,
Et domus intactæ te tremit Arabiæ!

† Lib. vi. c. 28.

instance, it is observable that the invaders came from the west, and by sea. He describes the Sabæans as most wealthy, from the fertility of their odoriferous woods, their gold, their well-watered fields, and the abundance of their wax and honey—*Gallus. ...retudit Sabæos ditissimos silvarum fertilitate odoriferâ, auri metallis, agrorum riguis, mellis ceræque proventu.* Meriaba, or Merab, their capital, is stated to have been six miles in circumference. It was destroyed by the Roman invaders, and, according to Abulfeda, had not recovered from its overthrow in the fourteenth century. If there be any truth, however, in the story of the bursting of the reservoir, this will serve to account for the complete ruin of the city. It is very possible, that the mighty flood to which the Arabian historians ascribe that catastrophe, was, in fact, the Roman army, concerning the presence of which the impulse of national vanity led them to observe a total silence. At all events, the emigration which is said to have followed on this event, is more satisfactorily explained by referring it to the desolation spread by the invaders; and it agrees pretty nearly in time with the expedition of the Egyptian prefect.

It was reserved, however, for an Abyssinian conqueror to overthrow the Hamyarite monarchy; and here we must again have recourse to the Arabian historian. Sometime subsequent to the age of Baharam the Gour, we are told, and therefore towards the close of the fifth century, there reigned in Yemen a prince of the name of Assâeid, with the title of Tobba-ul-aukhir. Possessing a body of warriors both numerous and formidable, he conceived the design of quitting Yemen at their head, in order to make himself master of Hedjaz. Assâeid and his subjects, together

with the people of Mekka and Medinah, and indeed, it is added, of Arabia in general at this period, were gross idolaters, with the exception of a particular territory surrounding Medinah, which was in the occupation of a colony of Jews, the descendants of those who fled from Palestine and Syria before the armies of Bakhtunusser. Christianity, it would seem, had not yet extended itself beyond the confines of Syria in this direction; and no part of the Arabian territory, it is asserted by the historian, was at this period subject to the authority of either Roum or Persia. At the head of a numerous army, Assâid-ul-Tobbâ entered Hedjaz, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Mekka; but, finding that city a place environed by barren hills, without either water, trees, or herbage, he made no attempt to reduce it, but was prosecuting his march to Syria, when he was recalled to Medinah by the intelligence that the inhabitants of that town had slain his son, whom he appears to have left there. Here the narrative runs into the wildness of an apocryphal legend. Tobbâ Assâid is represented to have been foiled in every attempt to make an impression on the place, and finding at length that the city was evidently under the peculiar protection of the God of heaven, he became converted to the Jewish faith, and drawing off his forces, proceeded to Mekka, not as an invader, but to offer up his devotions in the temple of the Kaaba. At his death he left three sons, Hussaun, Amru, and Zerraah, infants, during whose minority the sovereign power was exercised by an Arab Jew of the Benni Lakhem, called Rebbeiah (Rabbi?) Ben-ul-Nazzer ul Lakhemy; he was related to the royal house of Heirah. As soon as Hussaun had attained the age of discretion, Rebbeiah, who was probably his tutor or guardian, retired with

his children to Heirah, and the last of the Tobbâides ascended the throne of his fathers. His reign was brief: at the end of five years, he quitted Yemen at the head of his army on an expedition into Syria, undertaken in despite of the dissuasion of his officers. The result was, that his troops revolted, and his own brother Amru headed the conspiracy, being chosen monarch in his stead. Hussaun was assassinated, but the fratricide is said never to have slept afterwards, and lived only long enough to avenge the murder on the chiefs who had instigated it. The third brother was too young to sustain the cares of government, and, in the disorder which ensued, the throne was seized by a usurper named Honeifah. He was slain, and succeeded by Zû (or Dhu) Nowauss, who appears to have been the son of Amru, though one account identifies him with Zerraah, the third brother of Tobbâ-ul-assgher. Whatever was his origin, he is described as an execrable tyrant, and a fierce persecutor of the Christians. The Benni Thâleb who resided in the town of Nedjeraun, had embraced the religion of the Messiah, at the preaching of a Syrian Christian named Akeimoun. In consequence, it is alleged, of their having subsequently slain some Jews, because they would not turn Christians, Zu Nowauss, himself a Jew, invaded their territory with a powerful army, and, having taken their city, massacred 6,000 of the Christians of Nedjeraun, by throwing them into a trench filled with burning faggots and other combustibles. For this act of atrocious cruelty, he and his associates are anathematised in the Koran.* A report of these cruelties being conveyed

* "Accursed were the contrivers of the pit" (or lords of the pit) "of fire supplied with fuel, when they sat round the same,

to the Christian Emperor of the East, the Cæsar (Anastasius I.) instigated the Nejaush (sultan) of Abyssinia to undertake the invasion of Yemen. Accordingly, he sent a powerful army under two of his generals, and Zu Nowauss, fleeing before the invaders, is said to have spurred his horse into the sea, and perished. The government of Yemen was now assumed by Abrahah, or Abramah, one of the Abyssinian generals, who is said to have been originally a slave. He reigned for three and twenty years, according to the Arabian annals, and was succeeded by his son Beksoum. Abrahah is stated to have led an army to the gates of Mekka, attended by a famous elephant, with the avowed design of demolishing the Kaaba; but his army was cut off, as is supposed, by the small-pox, or some other cutaneous complaint, and his design was thus miraculously frustrated. Mohammed was born in the same year, called the year of the elephant, A.D. 569.

At the time of the Abyssinian invasion, a prince of the ancient race of Hamyar yet survived; and when Abrahah usurped the throne, this person, whose name was Zi-Yazzen, made his escape, and carried his claims to the court of Anastasius. Failing in his application in that quarter, he repaired to the Persian monarch; but the distracted state of the empire rendered it inconvenient at that time to attend to his

and were witnesses of what they did against the true believers; and they afflicted them for no other reason, but because they believed in the mighty, the glorious God, unto whom belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth."—*Koran*, by SALE, chap. lxxxv. The inhabitants of Nedjeraun are stated to have been still Christians in the time of the Khalif Omar, who contented himself with levying on them a contribution double what was required from believers in the Koran.

suit. Zi-Yazzen died, bequeathing his claims to his son Seyff, who urged them with more success on the chivalrous Noushirvân. That monarch, the nineteenth of the Sassanian dynasty, had acceded to the throne of his father Kobaud, in the fifth year of the reign of Justinian, A.D. 531. It could not, however, be before the year 571, that he undertook the conquest of Yemen on behalf of his feudatory, Seyff Ben Zi-Yazzen.* The expedition landed at a port in the neighbourhood of Aadden (Aden), where, in a short time, numbers of the Hamyarites joined the standard of their prince. Messrouk, the successor of Beksoum, was slain; and the son of Zi-Yazzen, hastening to Sanaa, seated himself without opposition on the throne of his ancestors. His reign was, however, of short duration. While hunting in the neighbouring desert, he was waylaid and murdered by a party of Abyssinians, and with him terminated the race of Hamyar and the monarchy of Yemen. From the death of Seyff to the time of Mohammed, the government of Yemen devolved on the lieutenants of the Persian monarch, who bore the title of Ameers or Emirs.†

* The Arabian accounts make the reign of Beksoum, the son of Abrahah, extend to seventeen years, and that of Messrouk, his successor, to twelve years, which would bring us to A.D. 598; but Noushirvan died in A.D. 579. The chronology is evidently erroneous.

† Gibbon has given a different version of this history, after his own manner. Dhu Nowauss will hardly be recognised in his pages under the name of Dunaan; Nedjeraun is turned into Negra, or Nagran; and the Abyssinian Nejaush is made into Negus. His account of the affair is, that the Jews had seduced the mind of Dunaan, and urged him to retaliate the persecution inflicted by the imperial laws on their unfortunate brethren; that some Roman merchants were injuriously treated, and "*several Christians of Negra were honoured with the crown of martyrdom;*" on which, "the churches of Arabia implored the protection of the Abyssinian

Noushirvân was now the sovereign paramount of Persia and Mesopotamia, part of India, Syria, and the whole of Arabia;—an extent of dominion never enjoyed by the most illustrious of his predecessors. For the first time, the whole of the peninsula was subordinated to one sovereign. Munzer III. the son of Ma-us-semma, ruled at Heirah, as viceroy of Irâk, Bahhrein, and Yemaumah; to which were added Mosul and Omaun; and the Bedoweens of the Desert, the genuine posterity of Ishmael, alone retained their wild and lawless independence. Gibbon remarks, that "the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia." And even now that its princes were nominally the vassals of the Persian, it is doubtful whether they yielded any tribute to the foreigner. When the coasts of the Arabian Gulf were subsequently taken possession of by the Turks in the sixteenth century, though the Pasha of Sanaa had twenty-one beys under his command, no revenue was ever remitted to the Porte. "The Turkish sovereign may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction," remarks the Historian of the Roman Empire, "but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs. The slaves

monarch." Having mentioned the result of the invasion, he thus concludes the chapter: "After a long series of prosperity, the power of Abrahah was overthrown before the gates of Mecca; his children were despoiled by the Persian conqueror; and the Ethiopians were finally expelled from the continent of Asia. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle; and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world."—*Decline and Fall*, chap. xlii.

of domestic tyranny may vainly exult in their national independence; but the Arab is personally free, and he enjoys in some degree the benefits of society, without forfeiting the prerogatives of nature. Their spirit is free, their steps are unconfined, the desert is open, and the tribes and families are held together by a mutual and voluntary compact."

It must not, however, be forgotten, that, under the common name of Arabs, tribes differing very materially in their filiation, their manner of life, their dialect, and their advance in civilisation, have inconsiderately been confounded. We have already adverted to the broad distinction, which is the foundation of almost a natural antipathy, between the dwellers in towns and the dwellers in tents. So much, says Niebuhr, do the Bedoweens value themselves on the purity of their descent, that they look with great contempt on the Arabs who live in cities, as a race debased by their intermixture with other nations; and no sheikh will marry the daughter of a citizen, unless impelled by poverty to contract so unequal an alliance. Sale remarks, that the posterity of Ishmael have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs, inasmuch as their ancestor was a Hebrew, and only intermarried with the Benni Jorham. The fact is, that they are probably the only pure Arabs, and the Bedoweens of the present day glory in their descent from Ishmael. But, independently of this difference of blood, so marked is the contrast between scattered pastoral tribes and an agricultural and commercial people—between a roving population, having no common head, no priesthood, no literature, in the earliest stage of civilisation, and a nation like the

Arabian, which, assuming, under the khalifate, the form of a compact empire, produced so many learned and illustrious men, and has left monuments of its grandeur in the three quarters of the Old World,—that we have learned to attach different associations to the words Arab and Arabian, as if they designated the natives of different countries: the former we apply to the semicivilised Bedoween, while the latter appellative recalls the names of Mohammed and Haroun al Raschid, of Saladin and Akbar, of Avicenna and Abulfeda, and the courts of Bagdadt, and Kahira, and Granada, and Ghizni.

"Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs," says Gibbon, "their language is derived from the same original stock as the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldee." We introduce this remark for the purpose of connecting with it the fact, that, at the time of Mohammed's appearance, there prevailed two leading and distinct dialects,—the Hamyaritic and the Koreish. The former is believed to have borne a strong affinity to the Ethiopic, which, in many respects, approaches to the Hebrew and the Syriac more nearly than to the Arabic of the Koran. The Arabian grammarians tell a story of an Arab of Hedjaz, who, on being directed by the king of the Hamyarites to sit down, threw himself over a precipice, because the word *theb*, instead of sit down, signifies, in the Koreish dialect, leap down. The latter dialect is that which Mohammed himself spoke, and in which the Koran is written; it has, therefore, become the classical, or, rather, the sacred language of the Mohammedans; but, so greatly does it differ from the modern dialects, according to Niebuhr, that the Arabic of the Koran may be regarded as a dead language, and it is now taught and studied at Mekka,

as the Latin is at Rome. The written language of the higher classes has undergone little alteration, however, since the days of the khalifs. It is the spoken idiom that has departed so widely from the Arabic of the Koran, in consequence of having received so large a mixture of provincialisms and exotic words, while it has rejected the verbal inflexions which form the most striking distinction between the written Arabic and the other Semitic dialects. No language, again, Niebuhr says, is diversified by so many provincial dialects as the Arabic; but this arises chiefly from a difference of pronunciation.* The original alphabet in use among the natives of the Peninsula, is believed to have been the Persepolitan or arrow-head character; and when the Koran first appeared, written in the Kufic character, the inhabitants of Yemen were unable to read it. The Kufic has, in its turn, been superseded by the modern characters, said to have been the invention of a vizier named Ibn Moklah, who lived about 300 years after Mohammed. The modes of writing in modern use differ, however, scarcely less widely than the several dialects.

The tribe of Koreish were much addicted to com-

* The chief varieties of the modern idiom are, the Syriac, the Egyptian, the Tripolitine, the Algerine, the dialect of Yemen, and that of Omaun. The Egyptian is reckoned purer and more strictly grammatical than the Syrian: the idiom of the Arabs in the north-western part of Africa is the most corrupt. Niebuhr thought the pronunciation of the southern Arabs softer and better adapted to European organs, than that of Syria and Kahira. Among other variations in the pronunciation of different letters, the *kaf* of the northern and western tribes is changed, in Omaun, into *tsh*, as *Bukhra, Kiab*,—pronounced at Mascat, *Bâtsher, Tshidb*. (Niebuhr.) The *the* is pronounced as *t* and *s* in Egypt, Barbary, and Syria. The *jim* is in Egypt hardened into *g*.

merce, and Mohammed was brought up to the same pursuits. "The ungrateful soil of their territory refused the labours of agriculture, and their position was favourable to the enterprises of trade. By the sea-port of Jidda, at the distance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mohammed. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey, between Yemen and Syria. In the markets of Sanaa and Merab, in the harbours of Omân and Aden, the camels of the Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; the lucrative exchange diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the profession of merchandise. The cities of Mecca and Medina present, in the heart of Asia, the form, or rather the substance, of a commonwealth. The grandfather of Mohammed and his lineal ancestors appear, in foreign and domestic transactions, as the princes of their country; but they reigned, like Pericles at Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by the opinion of their wisdom and integrity: their influence was divided with their patrimony, and the sceptre was transferred from the uncles of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreish." *

Such was the political state of Arabia at the time of Mohammed's appearance. Of the state of religion in the various principalities during what the Moslems call *the times of ignorance*, it is difficult to obtain a satisfactory account. The greater part of the people

* Gibbon, chap. l.

are represented as being still involved in the Sabean idolatry, concerning which little is certainly known; but it is generally believed to have consisted in the adoration of "the host of heaven," and the worship of images. "The ancient Arabians and Indians," says Sale, "between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets; one of which, in particular, called *Beit Ghomdân*, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of *Al Zoharah*, or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khalif Othman. The temple of Mecca is said to have been consecrated to *Zohal*, or Saturn. Though these deities were generally reverenced by the whole nation, yet, each tribe chose some one as the more peculiar object of their worship. Thus, as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Hamyar chiefly worshipped the sun; Misam, *Al Debarân*, the Bull's eye; Lakhm and Jodâm, *Al Moshtari*, or Jupiter; Tay, *Sohail*, or Canopus; Kais, Sirius; and Asad, *Otared*, or Mercury. Of the angels, or intelligences, which they worshipped, the Koran makes mention of only three which were worshipped under female names, *Allat*, *Al Uzza*, and *Manah*. These were by them called goddesses and daughters of God; an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but also to their images, which they either believed to be inspired with life by God, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they gave them divine worship, because they imagined they interceded for them with God." *Allat*, *i. e.* the goddess, is said to have been the idol of the tribe of Thakif, who dwelt at Tayef, and to have had a temple at Nakhlah. *Al Uzza*, *i. e.* the most mighty, is said to have been worshipped by the

tribes of Koreish, Kenânah, and Salim: the acacia, or Egyptian thorn, appears to have been dedicated to her. *Manah*, the goddess of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozâah, who dwelt between Mekka and Medinah, is said to have derived her name from *mana*, to flow, alluding to the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to her. This goddess is said to have been no other than a large rude stone. Besides these, the Koran mentions five other popular idols; *Wadd*, worshipped under a human form; *Sawâ*, adored under the shape of a woman; *Yaghûth*, an idol in the shape of a lion; *Yâûk*, or *Yahuk*, worshipped under the form of a horse; and *Nasr*, worshipped by the Hamyarites in the shape of an eagle. These idols are said to have been all representatives of men of great merit and piety. Besides these, every housekeeper had his household gods. The tribe of Hanifah are said to have worshipped a lump of dough. The images of Asâf and Nayelah, the former a male, the latter a female idol, the one placed on Mount Safâh, the other on Mount Merwa, were also objects of adoration among the Koreish. These two idols are said to have been brought from Hobal in Syria; but a local tradition identifies them with two persons of the tribe of Jorham, who were converted into stone for defiling the Kaaba. The Kaaba itself (as the temple of Mekka is still called) is said to have contained 360 idols, equalling in number the days of their year. The genuine antiquity of this famous edifice ascends beyond the Christian era. It is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus as revered for its superior sanctity by all the Arabians. The linen or silken veil, which is annually renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first offered by a king of the Hamyarites, 700 years before the

time of Mohammed.* "The same rites which are now accomplished by the faithful Mussulman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments; seven times, with hasty steps, they encircled the Caaba, and kissed the black stone; seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina; and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Caaba their domestic worship. The temple was adorned, or defiled, with 360 idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes; and most conspicuous was the statue of Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, the instruments and symbols of profane divination.† But this statue was a monument of Syrian arts: the devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet; and the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone of Mecca.‡

* The Mohammedans contend, that it is the most ancient edifice on the globe, which it must be, if built, as their traditions say, by Abraham and his son Ishmael, on the site of an antediluvian tabernacle reared by Adam himself! The *Tarikh Tebry* makes Tobba-ul-Assaeid the first who covered the sacred edifice with a superb canopy, furnishing a precedent for the practice which has ever since been continued; but if so, the custom is not older than the fifth century. We have here followed Gibbon, who refers to Pococke.

† This statue of Hebal or Hobal is said to have been brought from Belka (qu. Baalbec or Baalgad?) in Syria, by Amru Ebn Lohai.

‡ This *lithotatry* has been remarkably prevalent. Gibbon says, "these stones were no other than the βαιτυλα of Syria and Greece,

From Japan to Peru, the use of sacrifice has universally prevailed; and the votary has expressed his gratitude or fear, by destroying or consuming, in honour of the gods, the dearest and most precious of their gifts. The life of a man is the most precious oblation to deprecate a public calamity: the altars of Phœnicia and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been polluted with human gore. The cruel practice was long preserved among the Arabs; in the third century, a boy was annually sacrificed by the tribe of the Dumatians;* and a royal captive was piously slaughtered by the prince of the Saracens, the ally and soldier of the emperor Justinian."†

Arabia afforded an asylum to the persecuted disciples of Zoroaster, numbers of whom are stated to have settled in the province of Bahhrein. At an early period, it has already been mentioned, that Arabia received colonies of fugitive Jews; and during the wars of Titus and Hadrian, multitudes are said to have joined their countrymen. The tribes of Kenânah, Al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah, with some others, embraced the Jewish faith; and long before the reign of Dhu Nowauss, 700 years before the time of Mohammed, Abu Kurrub Assaeid, king of Yemen, introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyarites. At what time Christianity was first preached in the Arabian peninsula, does not appear; but, as there were Arabian Jews at the feast of Pentecost,‡ the knowledge of the Gospel must have

so renowned in sacred and profane antiquity,"—a word obviously derived from Bethel. Calmet says, the Mahommedans believe their temple at Mecca to be founded on the very stone which the patriarch Jacob anointed.

* Dumætha, or Daumat al Jendal, is described by Ptolemy as in the mid-desert between Khaibar and Tadmor.

† Gibbon, chap. l. ‡ Acts ii. 11.

been, at all events, introduced there from its first promulgation. St. Paul long resided in the Syrian kingdom of Aretas;* and it is in the highest degree improbable, that the Koreishite traders, who frequented the fairs of Bostra and Damascus, should not have heard, and some of them have been discipled by, the preaching of the apostle. Among those who fled from Palestine to Arabia before the armies of Vespasian and Titus, there were doubtless many Christians.† Still, it is remarkable, that no part of the Holy Scriptures is known to have been translated into any of the dialects of Arabia. It is inferred only by Gibbon, that an Arabic version must have existed, "1. from the perpetual practice of the synagogue, of expounding the Hebrew lesson by a paraphrase in the vulgar tongue of the country; and, 2. from the analogy of the Armenian, Persian, and Ethiopic versions, expressly quoted by the fathers of the fifth century, who assert that the Scriptures were translated into all the Barbaric languages." But it is probable that the Syriac was the vernacular idiom of the Arabian Jews. And if the only alphabet used in Yemen, prior to the Kufic, was the arrow-head character, and the Kufic itself had been but lately introduced at Mekka from the banks of the Euphrates, it does not seem very probable, that the mountaineers of Yemen ever possessed a version of the *Anjeil* (Gospel). The first monarch of Yemen who is recorded to have been a Christian, appears to have reigned at the beginning of the fourth century, by which time Christianity had widely departed from the religion of the New Testament. Frequent mention, indeed, is made, in the early monu-

* Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. ii. p. 85.

† Procopius asserts, that "the disciples of Christ had filled the provinces of Arabia with the churches of God."

ments, of the bishops of Arabia; and a bishop of Busorah (Bozra ?) was present at the council of Antioch, A.D. 269;* but those bishops, we apprehend, were Syrians, not Arabians, and their sees were either in Mesopotamia, or within that part of Arabia Petræa distinguished in ecclesiastical history as the Third Palestine. The first Christian king of Heirah is said to have been the Amrul Keyss who was contemporary with Behraum I., the great-grandson of Ardesheir Baubegan, and who must therefore have reigned some time in the fourth century.†

Of the history of primitive Christianity in Arabia, then, we know nothing. Probably, the early Christian societies were few and scattered, and the disordered state of the country, in consequence of the Persian and Roman invasions, would lead them to take refuge in other countries,—in Abyssinia, Hindostan, and Armenia. When we descend to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, we are no longer at a loss. "The persecutions and disorders which happened in the eastern church, soon after the beginning of the third century," says Sale, "obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country of liberty, who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs. The principal tribes that embraced Christi-

* See Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 280. Bassora, or Bussora, in Irak, was built by Omar in the 15th year of the Hegira. It is probable that Boszra or Bostra, the capital of Arabia Provincia, is the see in question.

† The Abu Kabûs, King of Heirah, referred to by Sale, as having embraced Christianity, was slain only a few months before Mohammed's birth, after a reign of four years. His father, the famous Al Mondar (Munzer III.), who is stated to have professed the same faith, and to have built large churches in his capital, was the lieutenant of Noushirvan.

anity, were, Hamyar, Ghassân, Rabia, Taghlab, Pahrah, Tonouch, part of the tribes of Tay and Kodâah, the inhabitants of Najrân (Nedjeraun), and the Arabs of Heirah.....The Jacobites had two bishops subject to their *mafriân*, or metropolitan of the East: one was called the bishop of the Arabs absolutely, whose seat was for the most part at Akula;* the other had the title of the Bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaaleb, in Hira, whose seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided over both these dioceses of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch." Whatever place be meant by Akula, the see was evidently in Arabian Irak; and that of Heirah could only include the western shore of the Persian Gulf. Thus, in fact, the larger part of the peninsula does not appear to have been under the ecclesiastical rule of either Jacobite or Nestorian bishop.† How is it that we do not read of a bishop of Saba or of Saana, of Mascat or of Mekka? A bishop of *Tephra*, which Sale supposes to be Dhafâr, is mentioned as disputing with the Jews of Hamyar; and Nedjeraun is also said to have been an episcopal see. These bishops we presume to have been of the orthodox communion, if they existed; but Gregentius, bishop of Tephra, might be a foreigner, possibly an Abyssinian prelate.

At all events, it is admitted that the state of the eastern churches, more especially of the Arabian, were

* Abulfaragius makes Akula to be Kûfah; others make it a different town near Bagdad.—See SALE.

† Gibbon says, "The sects whom they (the Catholics) oppressed, successively retired beyond the limits of the Roman empire. The Marcionites and Manicheans dispersed their fantastic opinions and apocryphal gospels; the churches of Yemen, and the princes of Hira and Ghassan were instructed in the purer creed of the Jacobite and Nestorian bishops."

in a deplorable state of declension and ignorance when the Koreishite impostor first conceived the bold project of uniting the jarring creeds of Jew, Christian, and Magian, in a new religion adapted to the clime and to the people. "If," says Sale, "we look into the ecclesiastical historians even from the third century, we shall find the Christian world to have then had a very different aspect from what some authors have represented; and so far from being endued with active grace, zeal, and devotion, and established within itself with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profession of the faith,—that, on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abstrusest niceties into controversy, and dividing and subdividing about them into endless schisms and contentions, they had so destroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them, which the Gospel was given to promote, and, instead thereof, continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work, that they had lost the whole substance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it; and in a manner quite drove Christianity out of the world, by those very controversies in which they disputed with each other about it. In these dark ages it was, that most of those superstitions and corruptions we now justly abhor in the church of Rome, were not only broached, but established, which gave great advantages to the propagation of Mohammedism. The worship of saints and images, in particular, was then arrived at such a scandalous pitch, that it even surpassed whatever is now practised among the Romanists.

"After the Nicene council, the eastern church was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Nes-

torians, and Eutychians; the heresies of the two last of which have been shewn to have consisted more in the words and form of expression than in the doctrines themselves, and were rather the pretences than real motives of those frequent councils, to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding post, that they might bring every thing to their own will and pleasure. And to support themselves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of some officer in the army, under the colour of which justice was publicly sold, and all corruption encouraged.

"In the western church, Damasus and Ursicinus carried their contests at Rome for the episcopal seat so high, that they came to open violence and murder, which Viventius the governor not being able to suppress, he retired into the country, and left them to themselves, till Damasus prevailed. It is said, that on this occasion, in the church of Sicininus, there were no less than 137 found killed in one day. And no wonder they were so fond of these seats, when they became by that means enriched by the presents of matrons, and went abroad in their chariots and sedans in great state, feasting sumptuously even beyond the luxury of princes, quite contrary to the way of living of the country prelates, who alone seemed to have some temperance and modesty left.

"These dissensions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to Constantius, who, confounding the pure and simple Christian religion with anile superstitions, and perplexing it with intricate questions, instead of reconciling different opinions, excited many disputes, which he fomented as they proceeded with infinite altercations. This grew worse in the time of Justinian, who, not to be behind the

bishops of the fifth and sixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different persuasion from his own.

"This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy, was necessarily followed by a general depravity of the people; those of all conditions making it their sole business to get money by any means, and then to squander it away, when they had got it, in luxury and debauchery.

"But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for heresies, which might be in some measure attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes. Some of the Christians of that nation believed the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day: these, Origen is said to have convinced. Among the Arabs it was that the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazaræans, and also that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at least propagated: the latter introduced the Virgin Mary for God, or worshipped her as such, offering her a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, whence the sect had its name.

"Other sects there were of many denominations within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts, several of whose notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion."

The posture of public affairs, both in the eastern and the western empires, was in the highest degree favourable to the success of this daring enterprise. "If," continues Sale, "the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of Mohammed on that side, the weakness of the Roman and Persian monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes in any attempt on those once formidable empires, either of which,

had they been in their full vigour, must have crushed Mohammedism in its birth; whereas nothing nourished it more than the success the Arabians met with in their enterprises against those powers, which success they failed not to attribute to their new religion, and the Divine assistance thereof.

"The Roman empire declined apace after Constantine, whose successors were for the generality remarkable for their ill qualities, especially cowardice and cruelty. By Mohammed's time, the western half of the empire was overrun by the Goths; and the eastern so reduced by the Huns on the one side, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor Maurice paid tribute to the Khagân, or King of the Huns; and after Phocas had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc there was among the soldiers, that, when Heraclius came, not above seven years after, to muster the army, there were only two soldiers left alive, of all those who had borne arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. And though Heraclius was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the Persians, so as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own; yet still, the very vitals of the empire seemed to be mortally wounded; that there could no time have happened more fatal to the empire, or more favourable to the enterprises of the Arabs, who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God, to be a scourge to the Christian church, for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received. The general luxury and degeneracy of manners into

which the Grecians were sunk, also contributed not a little to the enervating of their forces, which were still further drained by those two great destroyers, monachism and persecution.

"The Persians had also been in a declining condition for some time before Mohammed, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions; great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known: the latter lived in the reign of Khosru Kobâd, and pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were brothers, and descended from the same common parents. This, he imagined, would put an end to all feuds and quarrels among men, which generally arise on account of one of the two. Kobâd himself embraced the opinions of this impostor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife; which permission, Anushirwân, his son, with much difficulty prevailed on Mazdak not to make use of. These sects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the Persian empire, had not Anushirwân, as soon as he succeeded his father, put Mazdak to death with all his followers, and the Manicheans also, restoring the ancient Magian religion.

"In the reign of this prince, deservedly surnamed the Just, Mohammed was born. He was the last king of Persia who deserved the throne, which, after him, was almost perpetually contended for, till subverted by the Arabs. His son Hormûz lost the love of his subjects by his excessive cruelty: having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was obliged to resign the crown to his son Khosrû Parvîz, who, at the instigation of Bahrâm Chubîn, had rebelled

against him, and was afterwards strangled. Parvîz was soon obliged to quit the throne to Bahrâm; but obtaining succours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he recovered the crown: yet, towards the latter end of a long reign, he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held private correspondence with the Arabs; and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shirûyeh. After Parvîz, no fewer than six princes possessed the throne in less than six years. These domestic broils effectually brought ruin upon the Persians; for, though they did, rather by the weakness of the Greeks than their own force, ravage Syria, and sack Jerusalem and Damascus under Khosrû Parviz; and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had some power in the province of Yaman, where they set up the last four kings before Mohammed; yet, when attacked by the Greeks under Heraclius, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions; and no sooner were the Arabs united by Mohammedism, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally subdued them.

"As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing; having been peopled at the expense of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in a free country, as Arabia then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts; living in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Their

political government was also such as favoured the designs of Mohammed; for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur."

The tribe of Koreish has already been referred to as one of the most distinguished in Arabia. As the hereditary guardians of the Kaaba, their princes enjoyed a species of pontifical supremacy. Haschem, the great-grandfather of Mohammed, at the commencement of the sixth century, raised the city under his government to a state of activity and opulence, by the establishment of two annual caravans, one for Syria, and the other for Yemen. His son, Abd-ul-Motalleb (or Abdulmûtleb), had the glory of defeating Abrahah, the Abyssinian usurper, and of delivering Mekka from the African invaders. Of the numerous progeny with which his domestic happiness was crowned, Abdallah was the youngest, who dying soon after his marriage with Ameinah, the mother of Mohammed, left his widow and infant son but slenderly provided for. On the division of his inheritance, the share of the future lord of Arabia consisted only of five camels and one Ethiopian slave.

Mohammed (pronounced Muhammed), the only son of Abdallah and Ameinah, was born at Mekka, A. D. 569, four years after the death of Justinian, and in the fortieth of the reign of Noushirvân. In his sixth year he lost his mother, and, when he had attained his eighth year, his grandfather

Abdulmûtleb, who, with his dying breath, consigned him to the care of his uncle Abu Taleb, the pontifical head of the tribe. By this "royal merchant," young Mohammed was instructed in the arts of war and merchandise: he accompanied him to the fairs of Syria, and fought with him in the conflicts between the Arabian tribes. In his twenty-fifth year, he obtained the office of factor to Kadijah, the widow of a wealthy trader, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune; and by this fortunate step, the son of Abdallah was at once raised to an equality with the proudest merchants of Mekka.

The youth of Mohammed is said to have been marked by the seriousness of his deportment, and his strict attention to devotional exercises. Of what nature these were, Jewish, Christian, or Pagan, does not appear. His family were idolaters. It was not, however, till he had attained his fortieth year, the last fifteen of which he had lived in ease and independence, that he announced his prophetic mission. How these fifteen years of preparation were passed, at what period he first conceived the ambitious or fanatical project, and how he obtained the knowledge displayed in the Koran, are matter of mere conjecture. All that we are told is, that once every year, in the month of Ramadan, he retired for the purposes of fasting, prayer, and meditation, to a cave in Mount Hara, near Mekka, and that by this periodical seclusion, as well as by his charity and frugality, he obtained a high name for sanctity among his fellow-citizens. Gibbon styles him an illiterate barbarian, and refers to the Koran in proof that he could neither read nor write. With all the credulity of a sceptic, he seems to attribute, nevertheless, to Mohammed's

unassisted genius, the whole composition of the Koran; and though the Historian was unable to read a page of the original, he adduces the uniformity of the work as a proof of its being the composition of a single artist! Illiterate Mohammed might be, although the use he makes of his ignorance, real or affected, in the Koran, to prove the reality of the revelations it contains, tends to bring into suspicion his own declarations on this subject. But whether he could himself read or not, is a matter of little consequence: he had evidently access through some indirect medium to both the canonical and the apocryphal scriptures. He seems to have had some obscure information with regard to the promise of the Paraclete; * and it may be worth remark, that the name by which he designates the apostles of Jesus (*Al Hâwariyan*) is not Arabic, but Ethiopic.† The charge that he was assisted in the composition, he himself notices in a way that shews a particular individual was suspected, and that individual a foreigner. "We also know that they say, Verily, a certain man teacheth him to compose the Koran. The tongue of the person unto whom they incline, is a foreign tongue; but this, wherein the Koran is written, is the perspicuous Arabic tongue." The variation of the traditions as to who was the suspected individual here alluded

* See Sale's Koran, chap. lxi. The Persian paraphrast on the passage referred to, cites in explanation John xvi. 7; but this misapplication is founded on a blunder, *Paracletos*, a comforter, being confounded with *Periclutos*, very celebrated, which is the meaning both of Mohammed and Ahmed. Gibbon remarks, that this promise had already been usurped by the Montanists and Manicheans, which may possibly indicate the source of Mohammed's information.

† See Sale's Koran, chap. iii. *notes*.

to, proves only that he had more than one likely confederate among his Jewish, Persian, and Christian associates.* The second person to whom he entrusted the secret of his mission, was the cousin of his wife Kadijah, Warrakah Ebn Nawfal, "who being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures; and he as readily came into her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared to Moses, was now sent to Mohammed."† It is singular, that this person is not noticed among the different individuals to whom the suspicions attached.‡

"Encouraged by so good a beginning," says Sale, "he resolved to proceed, and try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife Khadijah, his servant Zeid

* Dr. Prideaux, in his Life of Mohammed, cites several authorities in support of his opinion, that the person alluded to in the Koran, as suspected of assisting Mohammed, was Abdia Ben Salon, or Abdallah Ebn Salam, a Persian Jew, "a cunning, crafty fellow, so thoroughly skilled in all the learning of the Jews, that he had commenced rabbi among them." It was he who, by his skill in drawing an intrenchment at the "battle of the ditch," saved Mohammed and all his army. Sale however states, that Salman the Persian was a different man from Abdallah Ebn Salam. (*Koran*, chap. xvi. *note.*) Johannes Andreas, a doctor of the Mohammedan law, who turned Christian, is among others cited by Prideaux, as affirming that this learned Jew "was, for ten years together, the person by whose hand all the pretended revelations of the Impostor were first written, and, therefore, no doubt he was a principal contriver in the forging of them." And Sale, in his Preliminary Dissertation, though he frequently exposes Prideaux's inaccuracies, admits that he has given the most probable account of this matter.

† Sale, Prelim. Diss. § 2. ‡ Sale's Koran, chap. xvi. *notes.*

Ebn Hâretha (to whom he gave his freedom on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers), and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Tâleb, though then very young: but this last, making no account of the other two, used to style himself the first of believers. The next person Mohammed applied to, was Abdallah Ebn Abi Kohâfa, surnamed Abu Becr, a man of great authority among the Koreish, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him, as it soon appeared; for Abu Becr being gained over, prevailed also on Othmân Ebn Affân, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, al Zobeir Ebn al Awâm, and Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, all principal men in Mecca, to follow his example. These men were the six chief companions who, with a few more, were converted in the space of three years; at the end of which Mohammed having, as he hoped, a sufficient interest to support him, made his mission no longer a secret, but gave out that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations; and, in order to do it with more convenience and prospect of success, he directed Ali to prepare an entertainment, and invite the sons and descendants of Abd'almotalleb, intending then to open his mind to them; this was done, and about forty of them came; but Abu Laheb, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Mohammed had an opportunity of speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day; and when they were come, he made them the following speech: 'I know no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do you; I offer you happiness both in this life and that which is to come: God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him; who, therefore, among you will

be assisting to me herein, and become my brother and my vicegerent?' All of them hesitating and declining the matter, Ali at length rose up, and declared that he would be his assistant; and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him. Mohammed upon this embraced Ali with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to and to obey him as his deputy: at which the company broke out into great laughter, telling Abu Taleb that he must now pay obedience to his son.

"This repulse, however, was so far from discouraging Mohammed, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers; which so highly provoked them, that they declared themselves his enemies, and would soon have procured his ruin, had he not been protected by Abu Taleb. The chief of the Koreish warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew, making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting; which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture, if he did not prevail on Mohammed to desist. At this Abu Taleb was so far moved, that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any further, representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run. But Mohammed was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly, that if they set the sun against him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprise: and Abu Taleb, seeing him so firmly resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies.

"The Koreish finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force and ill treatment, using Mohammed's followers so very injuriously, that it was not safe for them to continue at Mecca any longer; whereupon Mohammed gave leave to such of them as had not friends to protect them, to seek for refuge elsewhere. And, accordingly, in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, sixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Ethiopia; and among them Othmân Ebn Affân and his wife Rakîah, Mohammed's daughter. This was the first flight; but afterwards, several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children. These refugees were kindly received by the Najashi or King of Ethiopia, who refused to deliver them up to those whom the Koreish sent to demand them, and, as the Arab writers unanimously attest, even professed the Mohammedan religion.

"In the sixth year of his mission, Mohammed had the pleasure of seeing his party strengthened by the conversion of his uncle Hamza, a man of great valour and merit, and of Omar Ebn al Khattâb, a person highly esteemed, and once a violent opposer of the prophet. As persecution generally advances rather than obstructs the spreading of a religion, Islamism made so great a progress among the Arab tribes, that the Koreish, to suppress it effectually, if possible, in the seventh year of Mohammed's mission, made a solemn league or covenant against the Hashemites and the family of Al Motalleb, engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them; and to give it the greater sanction, reduced it into writing, and laid

it up in the Caaba. Upon this, the tribe became divided into two factions; and the family of Hashem all repaired to Abu Taleb, as their head, except only Abd'al Uzza, surnamed Abu Laheb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb, of the family of Ommeya.

"The families continued thus at variance for three years; but, in the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Taleb, that God had manifestly shewed his disapprobation of the league which the Koreish had made against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the instrument except the name of God. Of this accident Mohammed had probably some private notice, for Abu Taleb went immediately to the Koreish, and acquainted them with it, offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them; but, in case it were true, he insisted that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the Hashemites. To this they acquiesced, and, going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment found it to be as Abu Taleb had said; and the league was thereupon declared void.

"In the same year Abu Taleb died, at the age of above fourscore; and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though others say, that when he was at the point of death he embraced Mohammedism, and produce some passages out of his poetical compositions to confirm their assertion. About a month, or, as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Mohammed had the additional mortification to lose his wife Khadijah, who had so generously made his fortune. For which reason this year is called the year of mourning.

"On the death of these two persons, the Koreish began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends; insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Tâyef, about sixty miles east from Mecca, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his servant Zeid, and applied himself to two of the chief of the tribe of Thakîf, who were the inhabitants of that place, but they received him very coldly. However, he stayed there a month; and some of the more considerate and better sort of men treated him with a little respect; but the slaves and inferior people at length rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to Mecca, where he put himself under the protection of al Motáam Ebn Adi.

"This repulse greatly discouraged his followers: however, Mohammed was not wanting to himself, but boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained several proselytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathreb of the Jewish tribe of Khazraj, who, on their return home, failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the same.

"In the twelfth year of his mission it was that Mohammed gave out that he had made his night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence to heaven, so much spoken of by all that write of him. Dr. Prideaux thinks he invented it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission; or else, by pretending to have conversed with God, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind by

way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the Jews. But I do not find that Mahommed himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings as his followers have since done: and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles, it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with God in heaven, as Moses had heretofore on the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of Gabriel.

"However, this story seemed so absurd and incredible that several of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined the whole design, had not Abu Becr vouched for its veracity, and declared that if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a degree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future. And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances Mohammed ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived.

"In this year, called by the Mohammedans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathreb or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Mecca, and took an oath of fidelity to Mohammed at al Akaba, a hill on the north of that city. This oath was called the women's oath; not that any women were present at this

time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed or his religion; it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Koran, and is to this effect, viz. 'That they should renounce all idolatry; that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children, (as the pagan Arabs used to do when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them,) nor forge calumnies; and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable.' When they had solemnly engaged to do all this, Mohammed sent one of his disciples, named Masáb Ebn Omair, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion.

"Masáb being arrived at Medina, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly Osaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moádh, prince of the tribe of Aws; Mohammedism spreading so fast, that there was scarcely a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it.

"The next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's mission, Masáb returned to Mecca, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Medina, who had professed Islamism, besides some others who were as yet unbelievers. On their arrival, they immediately sent to Mohammed, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need, for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in Mecca, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger. Wherefore he accepted their proposal, and met them one night, by appointment, at al Akaba above mentioned, attended by his uncle al Abbas, who, though he was

not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of Medina, wherein he told them, that as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city, and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him; and that if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, Mohammed swore to be faithful to them; on condition that they should protect him against all insults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then asked him what recompense they were to expect, if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel: he answered, paradise. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home, after Mohammed had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority among them as the twelve apostles of Christ had among his disciples.

"Hitherto Mohammed had propagated his religion by fair means, so that the whole success of his enterprise before his flight to Medina, must be attributed to persuasion only, and not to compulsion. For before this second oath of fealty or inauguration at al Akaba, he had no permission to use any force at all; and in several places of the Koran, which he pretended were revealed during his stay at Mecca, he declares his business was only to preach and admonish; that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion; and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto God. And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those injuries which were

offered them on account of their faith; and when persecuted himself, he chose rather to quit the place of his birth and retire to Medina, than to make any resistance. But this great passiveness and moderation seems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers for the first twelve years of his mission; for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of Medina, to make head against his enemies, than he gave out, that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels; and at length, as his forces increased, he pretended to have the Divine leave even to attack them, and to destroy idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword; finding, by experience, that his designs would otherwise proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown; and knowing, on the other hand, that innovators, when they depend solely on their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risk; from whence, the politician observes, it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and the unarmed ones have failed. Moses, Cyrus, Theseus, and Romulus would not have been able to establish the observance of their institutions for any length of time, had they not been armed. The first passage of the Koran which gave Mohammed the permission of defending himself by arms, is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter; after which, a great number to the same purpose were revealed.

"That Mohammed had a right to take up arms for his own defence against his unjust persecutors, may perhaps be allowed; but whether he ought afterwards to have made use of that means for the establishing of his religion, is a question I will not here determine. How far the secular power may or ought

to interpose in affairs of this nature, mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the sword, gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is so propagated, and is disallowed by every body in those of another religion, though the same persons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own; supposing, that though a false religion ought not to be established by authority, yet a true one may; and accordingly, force is almost as constantly employed in these cases by those who have the power in their hands, as it is constantly complained of by those who suffer the violence. It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs that Mohammedism was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword; and it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the Divine original of Christianity, that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as other oppositions, for three hundred years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto; after which time indeed this proof seems to fail, Christianity being then established, and paganism abolished by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one, and destruction of the other, ever since. But to return.

"Mohammed having provided for the security of his companions as well as his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with those of Medina, directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did; but himself, with Abu Becr and Ali, staid behind, having not yet received the Divine permission, as he pretended, to leave Mecca. The Koreish, fearing the consequence of this

new alliance, began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent Mohammed's escape to Medina, and having held a council thereon, after several milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a resolution that he should be killed: and they agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the Hashemites were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death.'"

By some means or other, this conspiracy came to Mohammed's knowledge, and he contrived to withdraw with Abubeker and two attendants to a cave in Mount Thûr, to the S.E. of Mekka, where he lay hid for three days, and by this means baffled the pursuit of the conspirators.* At length, he effected his escape to Medinah, where he soon found himself strong enough to make reprisals on the Koreishites. "But what established his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of Beder, in the second year of the Hejira." We must refer to Gibbon's florid paragraphs for the details of this famous victory, and the more doubtful combat which ensued, in which the prophet was wounded in the face. A third time the Koreish appeared before the walls of Medinah, with an army of 10,000 men; but Moham-

* We have preferred Sale's circumstantial and homely narrative to Gibbon's more highly embellished account. At the close of each evening, it is added, they received from the son and daughter of Abubeker, a secret supply of intelligence and food. "'We are only two,' said the trembling Abubeker. 'There is a third,' replied the prophet; 'it is God himself.'"

med had strongly intrenched himself, by the aid, as it is said, of Salmân the Persian; and after the siege had been protracted for twenty days, quarrels broke out among the auxiliaries, which, together with a violent tempest, led to the breaking up and dispersion of the assailant army: the Koreish, deserted by their allies, found themselves unable to maintain the contest with their invincible exile.

From his establishment at Medinah, Mohammed assumed the exercise of the regal and pontifical functions. Having purchased a small portion of ground, he built a house and mosque, where, with his back against a palm-tree, and afterwards in a rough, unadorned pulpit, he declaimed in the weekly assembly against the idolatry of his nation. In the sixth year of the Hejira, he set out with fourteen hundred men, but with the most peaceable professions, to visit the temple of Mekka; but, when he reached the limits of the sacred territory, the Koreish sent him word, that they would not permit him to enter Mekka. On this, he had resolved to attack the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp with proposals for a ten years' truce.* One stipulation, however, on the part of Mohammed was, that he should be permitted to enter the city as a friend the following year, and remain there three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. Accordingly, the next year, the

* The occasion of this peaceful embassy is said to have been this. "Fourscore of the infidels came privately to Mohammed's camp at al Hodeibiya, with an intent to surprise some of his men, but were taken and brought before the prophet, who pardoned them, and set them at liberty; and this generous action was the occasion of the truce struck up by the Koreish with Mohammed." —SALE'S *Koran*, chap. xlviii.

Koreish retired to the hills, while the pilgrims of Medinah performed the accustomed rites, and Mohammed kept his word by evacuating the city on the fourth day. The ambassador from Mekka, Sohail Ebn Amru, who concluded the treaty, is said to have reported, that he had seen the Chosroes of Persia, and the Cæsar of Rome, but had never beheld any prince among his subjects so highly venerated as Mohammed was among his companions; for, when he made his ablutions, they ran and caught the water, they collected his very spittle, and treasured up every hair that fell from him with abject superstition. To make amends to his followers for the failure of this first expedition against Mekka, about a month after his return to Medinah, he led some of his followers against the Jews of Khaibar. He appears already to have found out, that an Arab soldiery could be attached to his cause only by the hope of plunder. Gibbon remarks, that his choice of Jerusalem for the first *kebla* of prayer, discovers his early predilection for the Jews; but their obstinate opposition converted his friendship into implacable hatred. The tribe of Kainoka who dwelt at Medinah, first felt his power. On the occasion of an accidental tumult, they were expelled the city, after an obstinate contest, and "a wretched colony of 700 exiles, with their wives and children, were driven to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria." The Nadhirites having conspired to assassinate the prophet in a friendly interview, he laid siege to their castle, distant three miles from Medinah; but their resolute defence obtained for them an honourable capitulation. The Koraidhites had excited and joined the war of the Koreish: the atrocious vengeance taken on them by Mohammed is a dreadful stain upon his character. Seven hundred

jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city, and there massacred, their remains being ignominiously thrown into one common grave, and their sheep, camels, and arms were divided among the Moslems.* Khaibar, an ancient town six days' journey to the N.E. of Medinah, was the metropolis of the Arabian Jews, and its wealthy territory was protected by eight castles. Mohammed took the field with 200 cavalry and 1,400 foot; the castles were successively ceded to the conqueror, and the inhabitants of Khaibar submitted to accept a precarious toleration, on the condition of an annual tribute of half their revenues. In the khalifate of Omar, the Jews were totally banished from the Peninsula.

In the seventh year from his flight, Mohammed began to entertain the hope of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes, to invite them to embrace the new faith. The Persian monarch, Khosrû Parviz, received the letter with high disdain, and tearing it in pieces, abruptly dismissed the envoy; but the Emperor Heraclius, the Arabian historians assure us, received the communication at Emesa, in Syria, with great respect; and Mokawkas, Governor of Egypt, sent back several valuable presents by the messenger, among the rest, two young girls. As for the Ethiopian monarch, he is said to have already been converted. Al Mondar Ibn Sawa, King of Bahhrein, and Badhan, King of Yemen, embraced Moham-

Moslem, signifying a professor of Eslam, or Islamism, (*i. e.* the religion of Mohammed,) makes Muselman in the dual, and Muselminn in the plural; but the *legitimate* plural in English is Moslems, though usage has sanctioned Muselmans. Islam is said to mean devotion, or the total resignation of body and soul to God.

medism with all their subjects; but the Christian king of Yamâma returned a very rough answer; and Hareth, King of Ghassan, sent word that he would go to Mohammed himself. The Arabian messenger to the Governor of Bosra,* was slain by a Christian emir named Sherheil al Mutar, in the district of Belka, about three days' journey east of Jerusalem. Being tributaries of the Greek emperor, these Syrians are styled Grecians. To avenge this insult, Mohammed sent 3,000 Moslems to invade the Syrian territory; and in the battle of Mutah, the valour of the fanatics was first tried in an encounter with a foreign enemy. The Syro-Roman army being greatly superior in numbers, the Arabians were repulsed in the first attack, and successively lost their three generals, Zeid Ebn Haretha, Mohammed's freedman, Jaafar, the son of Abu Taleb, and Abdallah Ebn Rawâha. "Advance," exclaimed Abdallah, as his predecessor fell, "victory or paradise is ours." The lance of a Roman deprived him of the first; but the falling standard was rescued by Khaled Ebn al Walid, a proselyte of Mekka, and his valour sustained the conflict till night closed upon the combatants. The next morning, his skilful evolutions struck a panic into the enemy, and secured, if not a victory, a safe retreat: the Mohammedan historians say, that Khaled returned to Medinah with rich spoil.

In this same year (the eighth) Mohammed gained possession of his native city. The Koreish are accused of having been the first to violate the truce;† but, however this may have been, the pretence was

* Bosra was the capital of the kingdom of Ghassan. Possibly, this same Hareth is here referred to.

† See Sale, Prel. Disc. § 2.

eagerly seized for invading their territory with an army 10,000 strong. Taken by surprise, the people of Mekka surrendered at discretion, and Abu Sofian, the governor, saved his life by turning Moslem. The soldiers of the prophet were eager for plunder or for vengeance, and eight and twenty inhabitants perished by the sword of Khaled; but Mohammed blamed this act of cruelty, and pardoned all the Koreish on their submission,* except six men and four women; and of these, only three men and one woman were actually put to death. Thus, "after an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country." The three hundred and sixty idols of the Kaaba were now cast out and ignominiously broken, and the temple of Saturn, or Abraham, was changed from a pantheon into a sanctuary of Islam. The conquest of Mekka determined the faith and obedience of most of the Bedoween tribes; but an obstinate remnant still adhered to the paganism of their ancestors, and the Hanazanites and the citizens of Tayef made a powerful stand in the field of Honain. The victory was at first doubtful, and in the end sanguinary. Ultimately, the people of Tayef submitted to the demolition of their temples, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. "On the shores of the Red Sea, the Ocean, and the Persian Gulf, his lieutenants were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful people, and the ambassadors who knelt before the throne of Medinah, were as numerous, says the Arabian proverb,

* "The chiefs of the Koreish were prostrate at his feet. 'What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?' 'We confide in the generosity of our kinsman.' 'And you shall not confide in vain.'"—GIBBON.

as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm-tree. The nation submitted to the God and the sceptre of Mohammed; the opprobrious name of tribute was abolished; the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of tithes and alms were applied to the service of religion; and 114,000 Moslems accompanied the last pilgrimage of the apostle." The kingdom or province of Yemâma alone, where a competitor for the prophetical or pontifical office had started up in Moseilama, presented an exception, during the last years of Mohammed, to the national uniformity: the schismatics were not reduced to obedience till the khalifate of Abubeker. In the full possession of power, the Arabian pontiff now projected the invasion of Syria, and actually proceeded, at the head of an army of 10,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 12,000 camels, as far as the grove and fountain of Tabouk, on the road to Damascus; but here, a council of war determined on the abandonment of the enterprise, owing, as it would seem, to the desertions which had taken place among the troops, in consequence of the intolerable heat of the season, and the want of skill or foresight in the *commissariat* department. But the terrors of his name produced the submission of the Syrian tribes, from Euphrates to the head of the Red Sea.

Till the age of sixty-three years, the strength of Mohammed was equal to the fatigues of his twofold office; but, during the last four years, his health declined. He believed that he was poisoned at Khaibar by a Jewish female. His mortal disease was a bilious fever of fourteen days, which deprived him at intervals of his reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he enfranchised his slaves, and minutely

directed the order of his funeral. Till the third day before his death, he performed the function of public prayer; and when he was so ill as to enter the mosque resting on the shoulders of his servants, he ordered his ancient and faithful friend Abubeker to read the service in his stead: but he prudently declined, except so far as this act might so be construed, to nominate his successor. One daughter alone, of all his children, survived him. To the last moment, he maintained the faith of an enthusiast, or supported the character of an impostor; he described the visits of Gabriel, who then bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence of the favour of the Almighty. In the agony of dissolution, his head reclining on the lap of Ayesha, his favourite wife, he uttered the last broken but articulate words, "O God, pardon my sins. Ah! my companion, I attend thee to the realms above." He was buried at Medinah, and the pilgrims to Mekka turn aside to pay their devotions at the simple tomb of their prophet.

Sale, the Translator of the Koran, has made the best apology for the character of this extraordinary man. "His original design of bringing the pagan Arabs to the knowledge of the true God, was certainly," he remarks, "noble and highly to be commended. Mohammed was, no doubt, fully satisfied in his conscience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of God, which was what he chiefly attended to, all his other doctrines and institutions being accidental, rather than premeditated. The damage done to Christianity seems to have been owing to his ignorance, rather than to his *malice*; for his great misfortune was, his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the Christian

religion, which was in his time so abominably corrupted, that it is not surprising if he went too far, and resolved to abolish what he might think incapable of reformation." Till the age of forty, his character remained unblemished; and the solitary of Mount Hera would have died without a name. Gibbon remarks, that "from enthusiasm to imposture, the step is perilous and slippery, and the demon of Socrates affords a memorable instance how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud." It may be questioned whether this remark will bear the test of analysis. That enthusiasm, at least, which has truth for its object, and faith for its source, is incapable of alliance with fraud, although a man may begin an enthusiast, and end an impostor. It may be doubted, however, whether Mohammed can justly be characterised as an enthusiast: the time of life at which he first developed his project, and the cautious steps by which he proceeded, oppose this idea. Whatever were his ultimate views or motives, the means by which he sought to attain his end, were characterised by deliberate imposition. Yet, when we call to mind the apocryphal gospels of the first centuries, and the pious frauds and lying miracles of those who called themselves ministers of Christ, we must admit that the Arabian prophet dealt by no means more largely in imposture, than many of the saints in the Romish calendar, and he was certainly a far more respectable man. Gibbon's sarcasm is but too well founded. "The injustice of Mekka and the choice of Medinah," he says, "transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his sword was consecrated by the example

of the saints."* His private life was not unamiable. Simple in his manners, frugal in his diet, affectionate in the relations of life, the lord of Arabia despised the pomp of royalty: he milked the ewes, kindled his own fire, and mended, with his own hands, his shoes and coarse woollen garment. Dates and water were his usual fare: honey and milk his luxuries. The prohibition of wine was enforced by his example. When he travelled, he divided his morsel with his servant. The sincerity of his exhortations to benevolence, was testified at his death, by the exhausted state of his coffers. He was affected to tears when the sword of an enemy sundered the bands of friendship; and his feeling of gratitude to Kadijah, neither time nor the death of his benefactress could eradicate.† So long as she lived, his conjugal fidelity was unimpeached; but when death terminated a union of more than twenty-five years' duration, and the sunshine of prosperity beamed upon him, licentious principles were kindled, which ill accorded with his assumed character; and his vilest falsehoods were the revelations by which he sought to excuse these sometimes unpremeditated departures from morality. The doctrine of indulgencies would have precluded the necessity of Gabriel's communications on this subject. As a conqueror, more especially as an Asiatic con-

* It suited Gibbon's purpose to confound the saints of a paganised Christianity with the saints of the New Testament. We suppress the blasphemous insinuation which follows.

† "Was not Kadijah old?" inquired Ayesha, with the insolence of a blooming beauty; "and has not God given you a better in her place?"—"No," replied Mohammed, "there never was a kinder or better woman. She believed in me when men despised me; she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world: she was all devotion to my cause."

queror, he might be esteemed clement, were it not for the signal vengeance taken on the Koraidhite Jews; which is the more remarkable, as a similar act of cruelty is the subject of execration in the Koran. So closely did Mohammed imitate, in this instance, the conduct of the Jewish persecutor towards the Christians of Nedjeraun, that he might seem to have been guided by the principle of retaliation. But the outcasts of Israel have met with similar treatment at every hand, Pagan, Christian, and Moslem: and the flames of the Inquisition awaited those whom Mohammed spared, and Omar only exiled. One decree of the Arabian legislator appears to have been dictated by genuine humanity: he enacted that, in the sale of captives, the infant should not be separated from the mother. It is a pity that the West India colonists are not Mohammedans.

Fairly to appreciate the character of Mohammed, it would be requisite to have better information than is now accessible, as to the degree of religious knowledge which he possessed, and the sources from which he obtained it. The composition of the Koran, as regards the language, was probably his own dictation; but whence did he acquire his knowledge of the Old Testament histories and Jewish traditions? His family, his fellow-citizens were pagans: how came he to conceive his abhorrence of idolatry, his Jewish belief in the unity of God, his almost Christian notions of prayer? The Jewish religion was, indeed, widely disseminated in Arabia; and he might have frequent opportunities of conversing with those who traded to Mekka; but how came he to go so far beyond his Jewish teachers, as to honour Christ? And how did he know that the Christians were open to the charge which he brings against them, that "they

take their priests and their monks for their lords besides God, and Christ the Son of Mary, although they are commanded to worship God only."* He had probably never seen a copy of the New Testament; yet, he refers to the Gospel;† places the believers in Jesus above the Jewish unbelievers;‡ and constantly represents the Koran as "a confirmation of those Scriptures which have been revealed before it."§ Was he then a Christian to the extent of his knowledge of Christianity? Were we to admit this, we must add, that his knowledge was so imperfect as to embrace none of its distinguishing doctrines: he was not a believer in "Christ crucified."

"The Mohammedans," remarks the Abbé Fleury, "are neither atheists nor idolaters. On the contrary, their religion, false as it is, hath many principles in common with the true one. They believe in one God Almighty, Creator of all, just and merciful; they abhor polytheism and idolatry; they hold the immortality of the soul, a final judgement, a heaven and a hell, angels good and bad, and even guardian angels; they acknowledge a universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the father and first author of their religion; they hold Moses and Christ to have been great prophets sent from God, and the Law and the Gospel to be sacred books." To this may be added, that, in contrast with the corrupt system of doctrine which to a great extent Islamism dis-

* Koran, chap. ix.

† Ibid, chap. iii. "O ye to whom the Scriptures have been given, why do ye dispute concerning Abraham, since the Law and the Gospel were not sent down till after him? Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian; but he was of the true religion, one resigned unto God, and not of the number of the idolaters."

‡ Chap. iii. § Chap. xii towards the end.

placed, it has, in many respects, the advantage. Nay, it may be said to have imbodied more truth and less error than the Romish superstition in its vulgar form. Saladin's was a more Christian faith than that of Cœur de Lion, and Mekka was the scene of a purer worship than Rome. Wherever Mohammedism spread, it expelled idolatry: the pseudo-Christianity adopted and perpetuated it. The Moslems denounced and sometimes extirpated the image-worshippers: the orthodox, on the plea of heresy, destroyed their brethren. The religion of the Koran, sensual as are the future rewards it holds out to the faithful, was more spiritual than that which dealt in absolutions and indulgencies: the former postponed at least the gratification of the passions to a future state, while the latter let them loose in this. Nor were the pretensions of Mohammed more impious than those of the Pope: the Arabian impostor promised paradise to the faithful; the Roman pontiff sold heaven to the highest bidder, and fixed a price on the pains of hell. The morality of the Koran was far purer, too, than that of the canons; and finally, the devotion of the mosque brought the Moslem into far more intimate communion with the idea of Deity, —partook more of the character of worship, than the unmeaning ceremonials of the Romish demonolatry. In Spain, the two systems came fairly into opposition; and who would not prefer to have lived under the splendid dominion of the Moorish sovereigns of Granada, rather than under their Gothic contemporaries, or in the later days of Ferdinand and Isabella, or Charles the Fifth? Had the Arabian empire been but able to maintain itself in Spain, as the Turkish lords of Greece have been suffered to reign at the other extremity of Europe, the Inquisition would

never have kindled its flames, and the progress of the Reformation in the Peninsula would have had less to contend against.

Had the Christianity of that age corresponded to the faith of the New Testament, it must have been morally impossible that it should yield to either the Koran or the sword of Mohammed. The Koran, a book that will not endure the test of translation,* so exclusively do its beauties consist in its diction,—this clumsy revelation, so little in harmony with the Scriptures to which it pretends to be an appendix, so deficient in all the characters of a Divine record, so little adapted to universal circulation,—contemptible in any language but the Arabic,†—cannot stand before the Bible. To bring them into comparison would be to insult the majesty of inspired truth. "Of all creeds," it has been justly remarked, "Islam has been found the least compatible with philosophy. The Koran cannot bear inspection. And here the adage of infidelity is true; for the Moslem, when they begin to reason, will cease to believe." ‡

"The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel: he will peruse with impatience the endless, incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The Divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language. If the composition of the Koran exceed the faculties of a man, to what superior intelligence should we ascribe the Iliad of Homer, or the Philippics of Demosthenes?"—GIBBON.

† It has, however, been translated (or part of it) into the Chinese, the Malay, and the Macassar languages, and probably some other dialects of Eastern Asia; but the Mohammedans of those countries are, for the most part, idolaters.

‡ Douglas's Hints on Missions, p. 82.

The reader will pardon this digression. In presenting even a sketch of Arabian history, it cannot be thought irrelevant to take this general view of the moral phenomenon which had its rise in that country, —the religion not of the Arabians only, but of the Persians, the Syrians, the Tartars, the Turks, the Moors of Tripoli, and Barbary, and Spain, the Saracens of Egypt, the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula, of the Malayan Archipelago, and the remotest tribes of eastern Asia. The subsequent annals of Mohammedism will not long detain us, as they soon cease to be identified with the history of Arabia.

On the death of Mohammed, the *mohaujerein* (fugitives) of Mekka, and the *ansaur* (auxiliaries) of Medinah, contended for the privilege of electing his successor. The birth, the alliance, and the character of Ali, the son of Abu Taleb and the husband of Fatima, the prophet's only surviving child, gave him the strongest claim to the vacant throne. He was the head of the family of Hashem, and, as such, the hereditary prince of Mekka, and guardian of the Kaaba. He is said, moreover, to have united in himself, the qualifications of a poet, a hero, and a saint; his eloquence was equal to his valour; and Mohammed had delighted to style him his brother, his vicegerent, his Aaron. But the jealousy of the Koreish and the spirit of faction led to the disregard of his claims. It was at first proposed to choose two khalifs, —a measure which would have been fatal to the nascent empire; but Omar, on being nominated by Abubeker, avowed his inability to discharge so weighty a trust, and renouncing his own pretensions, declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abubeker. The rival cities united in their allegiance to the new sovereign; the Hashemites

alone declined the oath of fidelity, and their chief maintained in his own house for some months, a sullen and independent reserve, in spite of Omar's threat that he would set fire to it. The death of Fatima at length subdued the indignant spirit of Ali; and at the mild remonstrance of Abubeker, who is said to have even offered to abdicate in his favour, he consented to waive all further opposition, and to unite against the common enemy. The death of the prophet was the signal to the restless and independent tribes of pagan Arabs who had submitted with reluctance to this new religion, to shake off the yoke. Abubeker found himself reduced to the cities of Mekka, Medinah, and Tayef; and even the Koreish shewed a disposition to restore the idols of the Kaaba. By the vigorous measures, however, which were taken by Abubeker, and the valour of Khaled, the unconnected tribes of the desert were soon reclaimed to obedience, and the appearance of a military force revived the loyalty of the wavering.* But in Ye-

* The circular letter of Abubeker ran as follows: "In the name of the most merciful God; to the rest of the true believers, health and happiness, and the blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Mohammed. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria, to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." The khalif's directions to his general do him honour: "When you meet your enemies, quit yourselves like men, and do not turn your backs; and if you get the victory, kill no little children, nor old people, nor women. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn: cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill for subsistence." The troops are ordered to respect the inmates of monasteries. But "you will find another sort of people," it is added, "that belong to the synagogues of Satan, who have shaven crowns; be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, till they either turn Mohammedans, or pay tribute."—MILLS's *History*, pp. 48—50.

mâma, Moseilama hoisted his rival standard, and, supported by the tribe of Hanifah, was sufficiently formidable to require that Khaled should take the field against him at the head of 40,000 men. In the first action, the Moslems were defeated with the loss of 1,200 men; but their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of 10,000 infidels, and Moseilama himself received from a javelin a mortal wound. The various rebel chiefs, left without a leader, were speedily reduced to submission, and the whole nation were soon united by the desire of foreign conquest. On the summons of Abubeker, a large army assembled round Medinah, the command of which was given to Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian. A second army, destined for the subjugation of Palestine, was raised through the enthusiasm inspired by the successes of the first, and Amrou was nominated the general. Thus Khaled was again passed by; but that ferocious Moslem was ultimately sent to co-operate with Abu Obeidah, to whom Yezid had resigned his charge. The fall of Bosra, which was hastened by the treachery of the Roman governor, opened the way to Damascus. The battle of Aiznadin, in July 633, in which 50,000 Christians and infidels are said to have been slain, decided the fate of the capital of Syria. Emesa and Baalbek were taken the following year, and the Syro-Grecians made a last and ineffectual stand in the open field, on the banks of the Hieromax. Jerusalem sustained a siege of four months, at the end of which, the patriarch Sophronius obtained, as a term of capitulation, the honour of delivering up the holy city to the Khalif Omar in person, who had quietly succeeded to the sceptre bequeathed to him by Abubeker. Leaving Ali as his lieutenant, the Commander of the Faithful set out on his red camel for Jerusalem, with a few

attendants, and equipped more like a prophet than a sovereign. The gates were opened to him on his arrival, and the patriarchs of Christendom and Islam entered the holy city together in familiar discourse concerning the antiquities of the place. The conquest of Aleppo, A.D. 638, after a tedious and bloody siege, and that of Antioch which followed, completed the subjugation of Syria. The fall of Alexandria before the forces of Amrou, decided the fate of Egypt in the same year. The battle of Kadesia, two stations from Kufah, and the capture of Medaein (Ctesiphon) had already made the Moslems the masters of Persia almost to the banks of the Oxus. In the twenty-third year of the Hejira, Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin. He left the appointment of his successor to the discretion of six commissioners, who offered the khalifate to Ali, one of their number, but, as it would seem, with restrictions which he disdained; and Othman, the secretary of Mohammed, accepted the government.

"The unlimited obedience of the Moslems to Abubeker and Omar, was not continued to Othman. His partiality to his family, his appropriation of the public money to the use of his friends, and his presuming to sit in the highest seat of the pulpit, though Abubeker and Omar had occupied only the first or the second step, were the real or alleged crimes which prompted the Arabs to shake off their allegiance. The oppressed and the factious subjects of the khalif in Egypt, Syria, and Persia, assembled in the neighbourhood of Medinah, and demanded justice. The khalif satisfied all their requisitions, but the malignant and ambitious spirit of Ayesha was not readily appeased. She wished the throne to be filled by one of her own partisans, and she secretly assisted all the

machinations of the rebels. A mandate, forged in the khalif's hand-writing, for the murder of the Egyptian lieutenant whom he had been compelled to name, was placed within the reach of the deputies from Egypt: the torch of civil discord was lighted once more, and the insurgents besieged the injured Othman in his palace. Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali, protected him awhile; and some remains of respect for a legitimate successor of the prophet, suspended his fate. But the animosity of the rebels strengthened; the gates of the palace were forced; the chief conspirators entered the apartment in which the khalif was seated studying the Koran, and the blood of his faithful attendants was shed in vain in defending their venerable chief from his enemies."*

The murderers of Othman offered the vacant khalifate to Ali, but he refused to accept it till the popular voice had ratified the election. At the hour of prayer, he repaired to the mosque at Medinah, clad in a thin cotton gown, a coarse turban on his head, his slippers in one hand, and a bow, instead of a staff, in the other. The chiefs of the tribes saluted their new sovereign, and gave him their right hand in token of fealty. Thus, twenty-four years after the death of Mohammed, his son-in-law was invested with what seemed his rightful inheritance. But short and tumultuous was his reign. Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sofiah, possessed the affections of the army of Syria, and the various lieutenants throughout the empire refused to recognise the authority of Ali. The pretence for insurrection was, that the murder of Othman remained unavenged. The bloody shirt of the late khalif was suspended over the pulpit at

* Mills's History of Muhammedanism, pp. 88, 9.

Damascus, and 60,000 Saracens were seduced from their allegiance to become the instruments of faction. Two powerful chieftains, Telha and Zobeir, irritated, it is said, by Ali's refusing to confer on them the governorships of Kufah and Bassora, escaped into Irâk, accompanied by the widow of the prophet, where they erected the standard of revolt. At the head of 20,000 loyal Arabs, Ali marched from Medinah to Bassora, and being joined at Kufah by 10,000 auxiliaries, encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels. Telha and Zobeir were both slain, and the guilty and perfidious Ayesha was led a captive into the tent of Ali, who respectfully dismissed her to her proper station at the tomb of the prophet, under the guard of his two sons, Hassan and Hossein.

Established at Kufah, the Commander of the Faithful received the submission of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Khorassan; but he was speedily summoned to the field by a more powerful foe. The army of Syria proclaimed Moawiyah khalif, denouncing Ali as the murderer of Othman. In the course of 110 days, 90 battles or skirmishes took place between the hostile armies in the plains of Seffeyn. Five and forty thousand of the partisans of Moawiyah, and twenty-five thousand of the soldiers of Ali, fell in this civil war. "The cousin of Mohammed, with a generosity rare in Asiatic princes, commanded his troops invariably to await the attack, to spare the fugitives, and to respect the virtue of the female captives. Nor was his valour less conspicuous than his humanity. 'How long,' said Ali to Moawiyah, 'shall the people lose their lives in our controversies? I challenge you to appeal to the decision of God and the sword.' But his adversary declined this test of their

merits, for the personal prowess of Ali was proverbial in the army. In the morning, after a nocturnal battle, the victory of Ali appeared no longer doubtful; but a stratagem of Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt and friend of Moawiyah, deceived the soldiers of the lawful khalif. The Koran was hoisted on the points of the lances of the Syrian soldiers, and the cry was repeated, that that book ought to decide all differences. In vain did Ali represent to his Arabs the insidiousness of the appeal: their enthusiasm was excited, they forgot their allegiance, and bowed in veneration before the word of the apostle. The battle was suspended, the armies retired to their several camps, and a long negotiation ensued. The authority of Ali declined from day to day; and rebellion, always more rapidly contagious than a pestilence, spread throughout the khalifate. The Charegites, a sect of religious and political zealots, closed the career of Ali. In the open field he had defeated their force, but three of the fugitives resolved on his murder, in expiation of the death of their comrades. In the disordered imagination of the Charegites, peace would never be restored to their country during the lives of Moawiyah and Amrou. Each of the three confederates chose his victim, and poisoned his dagger.* The secretary of Amrou received the blow which was meditated for his master; Moawiyah was severely wounded; but, in the mosque of Kufah, the dagger of the third assassin was plunged into the breast of Ali, and the generous chief died in the sixty-third year of his age, commanding his son not to aggravate the sufferings of the murderer by useless torture. On the death of Ali, his eldest son Hassan

* This atrocious conspiracy is said to have been formed by the three assassins in the temple of Mekka.

was saluted khalif by the Kufians, but Moawiyah was in possession of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and the unambitious descendant of Mohammed soon retired to a life of ease and piety at Medinah. But the simple recluse was still an object of jealousy in the eyes of Moawiyah, the supreme lord of the Moslem world. Yezid, the son of the khalif, professed a passion for the wife of Hassan, and instigated her to poison the beloved grandson of the founder of the Saracenian greatness." *

On the accession of the son of Moawiyah, a feeble attempt was made to reinstate the family of Hashem in the person of Hossein, the surviving son of Ali; but, basely betrayed by his followers, he fell covered

* Mills, pp. 93—96. This favourable view of Ali's character has been adopted chiefly on the authority of Abulfeda, the Emir of Hamah, who compares him to Marcus Antoninus. Whether it may not savour of *Persian* partiality, might admit of question, if such a question were worth agitating. The Abbé de Marigny, in the preface to his History of the Arabians, says; "I must own I never met with any thing in history to countenance the opinion they would have us entertain of this prince. Not a single act is therein recorded which shews the great man. On the contrary, he appears to be of an unsteady, turbulent disposition, inconsistent in what related to himself, and much more unsettled in what concerned others. The very moment the prophet his father-in-law was dead, he began to cabal, in order to obtain the khalifate. He had no sooner ascended the throne, than he quarrelled with every one, so that he was obliged to quit his capital, and fix the seat of the khalifate in another place." Ali's warlike exploits have been celebrated with Arabian extravagance in the *Khaver-namah*, a poem well known in the East. In his last moments, he is said to have confessed that 10,000 individuals had fallen by his hand! It would not be easy to clear him altogether from the charge of favouring the assassination of Othman; and Moawiyah, at least, appears to have acted under the decided conviction of his having been concerned in it. The reader who is disposed to pursue the inquiry, will do well to consult Major Price's Retrospect of Mahommedan History, compiled chiefly from original Persian authorities (3 vols. 4to, 1811). See especially vol. i. pp. 188 and 253.

with wounds, and his sisters and children were led in chains to Damascus. But Yezid, though advised to extirpate the rival race, discovered a clemency rare in Asiatic despots, and honourably dismissed them to Medinah. The reputed descendants of Ali and Fatima are still numerous in every quarter of the Moslem world. In Arabia, where they form whole villages, they are styled shereefs or seids; in Syria and Turkey, emirs; in Africa, Persia, and India, seids. The green turban is, in some of these countries, assumed by those who do not even pretend to the honour of an hereditary claim; but in Turkey, it is still the great distinction of the descendants of Fatima.*

For nearly a century (A.D. 661—750) the house of Moawiyah, commonly called the dynasty of the Ommiades, continued to enjoy the khalifate; but, in the reign of Merwaun, an insurrection was made in favour of the great-grandson of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, which terminated in a general massacre of the descendants of Moawiyah. The Ommiades had removed the seat of government from Medinah to Damascus; the first of the Abassides fixed his court at Kufah, whence it was transferred to Haschemiah on the Euphrates; and Almansor, the second prince of the family, erected on the site of that village the magnificent city of Bagdadt. But the undivided khalifate terminated in the early days of the Abassides. Real or nominal descendants of Ali and Fatima had possessed themselves of the thrones of Egypt and Western Africa; and a prince of the Ommiades, who escaped the general massacre of his family, was

* In Arabia, the title of shereef is applied to the descendants of Mohammed who are of the military profession; that of seid, to those who engage in commerce; but sometimes *shereef* means the descendants of Hossein, and *seid* those of Hassan.—MILLS, p. 101.

founder of an independent kingdom in Spain. Thus, the sovereignty of Arabia was lost by the extent and rapidity of foreign conquest.* From being the seat and centre, it sank into a mere province of the Mohammedan empire; and "the Bedoweens of the desert," in the language of Gibbon, "awakening from their dream of dominion, resumed their old and solitary independence."

The ancient feud between the friends and enemies of Ali, is still perpetuated in the grand schism of the Mohammedan church, which divides the *shei-ites*, or sectaries, from the *sunnites* or orthodox Moslems, and excites the religious animosity subsisting between the Persians and the Turks. The *shei-ites* (or, as they call themselves, *adli-ites*) bitterly execrate as usurpers the three khalifs who intercepted the indefeasible right of Ali, and the name of Omar is expressive of all that is detestable. The tomb of Ali, near Kufah, has been enriched by the offerings of successive dynasties of barbaric khans and shahs; and "the twelve imaums," Ali, his two sons, and the lineal descendants of Hossein to the ninth generation, are the saints and martyrs of the church of Persia. By the *sunnites*, on the contrary, Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, are alike recognised as legitimate successors of the prophet; but the lowest degree of sanctity is assigned to the husband of Fatima.†

For five centuries, the family of Abbas reigned with various degrees of authority over the Moslems of the East. Radhi, the twentieth khalif of this

* At the end of the first century of the Hejira, the khalifs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe; and under the last of the Ommiades, the Arabian empire extended 200 days' journey from E. to W., from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic.

† See Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. i. p. 189.

dynasty (A.D. 940), was the last who was invested with any considerable power. During the next three centuries, the successors of Mohammed swayed a feeble sceptre. The introduction of a body-guard of Turkish mercenaries by the Khalif Motassem, led to the same species of military oligarchy as that of the prætorian guards of Rome, the mamlouks of Kahira, and the janizaries of Constantinople. About the year 890, (the 277th of the Hejira,) a new prophet appeared in the neighbourhood of Kufah, of the name of Karmath, the success of whose preaching threatened Arabia with a new revolution. He announced himself as the reformer of Mohammedism; he denounced the pomps and vanities of the court of Bagdadt, yet relaxed the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage, and permitted the use of wine and pork. A timid persecution assisted the progress of this new sect. After a bloody conflict, they made themselves masters of the province of Bahhrein; Baalbek, Kufah, and Bagdadt, were successively taken and pillaged; and Abu Thaher, the successor of Karmath, led his troops across the desert to the holy city, where 30,000 citizens and strangers were put to the sword, and the black stone of the Kaaba was borne away in triumph; but it was eventually restored. For two centuries, these Karmathians were the scourge of the khalifate, and the state, convulsed to its centre, was never again perfectly settled in peace.*

* Gibbon, c. iii. Mills, p. 168. These Karmathians are supposed to be the same sect that appeared soon after in the north of Persia, under the title of Hussunees (corrupted into assassins), from Hussan Subah, their founder, whose dogmas were a mixture of Mohammedism with the doctrines of the Sooffees. Whether Karmath was the same person as Hussan, does not appear. A different etymo-

At length, towards the middle of the seventh century of the *Hejira* (A.D. 1258), the metropolis of Islamism fell into the hands of the grandson of Zingis Khan; and in the Khalif Motassem, the thirty-seventh of his house, who was barbarously murdered, the khalifate of Bagdadt expired. The spiritual supremacy was perpetuated for three centuries more, in the second dynasty of the Abassides, but without the slightest vestige of temporal authority; till, when the Emperor Selim conquered Egypt, A.D. 1517, he took captive Mohammed XII., the last of the Abassides, and received from him at Constantinople, the formal renunciation of the khalifate. The keys of the temple of Mekka were also delivered up to the conqueror by the Fatimite shereef; and since then, the ecclesiastical supremacy has, on this doubtful title, attached to the Turkish sultans.

From the beginning of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, the history of Arabia exhibits nothing more interesting than the squabbles of petty chieftains, and the rise and fall of different sheikhdoms or principalities. But, between sixty and seventy years ago, a new prophet started up in the province of Nedjed, whose sect has rapidly spread, and produced a greater change in the political state of the country, that any event since the time of Mohammed. Abd-ul-Wahheb was born at El Aiâne or Aijana, a town in the district of Darale, in the province of Nedjed el Arud, early in the eighteenth cen-

logy has been given of the word, corrupted into *assassins*. However this may be, the founder of this sect is obviously the person described by Volney as the founder of the Ansarians or *Anzairies* of Syria, who are a shei-ite sect, and the remains, as it would seem, of these Karmathians.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. i. pp. 261—273.

tury.* He was educated at Medinah, and afterwards travelled through Persia, and spent some time at Bassora. He returned to his native country a Mohammedan reformer. "The province of Nedjed was at this time divided among a multitude of smaller tribes, each governed by its own sheikh. To these, Abd-ul-Wahheb pointed out the abuses which had crept into the Muselman religion, particularly the worshipping of saints, and the use of spirituous liquors, and other exhilarating articles. He reprobated the doctrine of the two sects of the *sunnis*, with respect to the denying that the Koran was either created or existing from all eternity, but admitted it was inspired by God as a guide for the conduct of mankind. However, as the greater part of the sheikhs were *sunnis*, he conciliated them by acknowledging the authority of the sayings of Mohammed."† Lord Valentia, from whom we take the above account, received from Hajji Abdallah, an avowed Wahhabee, the following statement of their profession of faith: "There is only one God. He is God, and Mohammed is his prophet. Act according to the Koran and the sayings of Mohammed. It is unnecessary for you to pray for the blessing of God on the prophet oftener than once in your life. You are not to invoke

* The *pseudo* Ali Bey (Badhia) places his birth about the year 1720, but on conjecture merely.

† According to the information communicated to Niebuhr by an intelligent Bedoween sheikh, Wahheb denied the inspiration of the Koran. "He considered Mohammed, Jesus Christ, Moses, and many others respected by the Sunnites in the character of prophets, as merely great men, whose history might be read with improvement, denying that any book had ever been written by Divine inspiration, or brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel." Ali Bey (Badhia), however, maintains that they acknowledge Mohammed to have been a prophet, and the Koran to be the Divine word.

the prophet to intercede with God on your behalf, for his intercession will be of no avail. Do not call on the prophet; call on God alone."* These doctrines, we are told, spread rapidly among the several tribes, and gradually led to the recognition of a supreme controlling power in the person of the reformer, which gave him a preponderating influence in the north-eastern part of the Peninsula. The sheikhs who did not acknowledge his authority, at length became jealous of his ascendancy, and, under the command of the Sheikh of Lachsa, attacked him in his native city. Abd-ul-Wahheb defended himself successfully, and, on a subsequent occasion, defeated an army of 4,000 men, which had been raised against him. From that time, his cause and his authority continued to extend. Aware what men he had to deal with as his followers, he did not neglect to superadd to the inducements of fanaticism, the temptation of plunder, by declaring that all the property of the unconverted should be confiscated for the use of their conquerors. Numbers, therefore, turned Wahhabees to save their property before he marched against them, and immediately began to put in practice their new principles by attacking and spoiling their neighbours.

One of the most powerful supporters of Wahhed was the Sheikh of Nedjeraun, named Mékrami. He, too, in his youth, had travelled throughout Arabia, Persia, and India, and returned with liberal principles. The Imaum of Saade intrusted him with the government of Nedjeraun; but scarcely had he been invested with the office, than he threw off his allegiance. By his genius and his valour, Niebuhr says, he had rendered himself formidable, not only to his

* Valentia's Travels, 8vo, vol. ii. p. 368.

neighbours, but to distant chieftains. In 1763, he invaded the principality of Abu Arisch, and defeated the shereef, but did not follow up his victory, being recalled by an attack on his own territories by the Sheikh of Kachtan. At another time, he made an irruption into Haschid-u-Bekil, and made himself master of the canton of Sahaun. In 1764, he led his troops across Nedjed, and entered the province of Lachsa, as the ally of Wahheb. Sheikh Mekrami enjoyed the reputation of being a profound theologian as well as a valiant warrior. He honoured Mohammed as the prophet of God, but treated with little respect his successors and commentators. His prayers were believed to have singular effect in procuring rain. When the country suffered by drought, he was accustomed to appoint a fast, and, at the close of it, a public procession, at which all his subjects were required to assist, without their turbans, and in the meanest garb.

The account which Badhia, who travelled under the name of Ali Bey, gives of the rise of the Wahhabees, varies in several respects from the statement of Lord Valentia. He represents the reformer as having taken up the resolution in early life, while pursuing his theological studies at Medinah, to restore the Mohammedan worship to its pristine simplicity. "Medinah and Mekka, being interested in maintaining the ancient rites and customs, were not the proper places to introduce the innovations proposed by the reformer. He therefore directed his steps towards the East, with a view to insinuate himself among the tribes of Bedoween Arabs, who, being indifferent about the worship, and too little enlightened to support or defend its particular rites, were not, on the other hand, interested in the sup-

port of any one in particular. In reality, Abdoulwahheb made a proselyte of Ibn Saaoud, prince, or grand sheikh, of the Arabs, established at Draaiya (Daraieh), a town seventeen days' journey east of Medinah, in the desert. The period of the reformation of Abdoulwahheb may be reckoned from that date (1747). Abdoulwahheb never offered himself as a prophet, as has been supposed. He has only acted as a learned sheikh reformer, who was desirous of purifying the worship of all the additions which the imaums, the interpreters, and the doctors had made to it, and of reducing it to the primitive simplicity of the Koran. The reform of Abdoulwahheb, being admitted by Ibn Saaoud, was embraced by all the tribes subject to his command. This was a pretext for attacking the neighbouring tribes, who were successively reduced to the alternative of embracing the reform, or of perishing under the sword of the reformer.

"At the death of Ibn Saaoud, his successor, Abdelaaziz (or Abduluziz) continued to use those energetic means which could not fail in their effect.*

Abduluziz is represented by Lord Valentia to have been the son of Abd-ul-Wahheb, whom he is stated to have peaceably succeeded in his spiritual and temporal power. But, according to Niebuhr, the son of Abd-ul-Wahheb was named Mohammed, and he had already succeeded his father, in 1764. Niebuhr travelled about that time, and he says: "After the death of Abd-ul-Wahheb, his son retained the same authority, and continued to prosecute his views. He sustains the supreme ecclesiastical character in El Arud. The hereditary sheikhs of the small states in that country, which were once independent, do indeed still retain a nominal authority, but Mohammed is, in fact, sovereign of the whole. He exacts a tribute, under the name of *sikka* (aid), for the purpose of carrying on the war against the infidels." Badhia has apparently mistaken this son of Abd-ul-Wahheb for his father, styling the latter, the Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Abdoulwahheb. Abduluziz was probably

Upon the smallest resistance, he attacked with a decided superiority; and consequently, all the wealth and property of the vanquished passed immediately into the hands of the Wahhabites. If the enemy did not resist, but embraced the reform, and entered under the dominion of Abdelaaziz, the prince of the faithful, this still more increased the strength of his party.

"Abdelaaziz, being already master of the interior part of Arabia, soon found himself in a state to extend his views over the adjacent country. He began, in 1801, by making an expedition to the neighbourhood of Bagdadt. At the head of a body of troops mounted on dromedaries, he advanced upon Imaum Hosseïn, a town at a short distance from Bagdadt, where stood the tomb of this Imaum, the grandson of the prophet, in a magnificent temple, filled with the riches of Turkey and Persia. The inhabitants made but a feeble resistance; and the conqueror put to the sword all the men and male children of every age. While they executed this horrible butchery, a Wahhabite doctor cried from the top of a tower, 'Kill, strangle all the infidels who give companions to God.' Abdelaaziz seized upon the treasures of the temple, which he destroyed and pillaged, and burned the city, converting it into a desert.*

the son of Ibn Saaoud, though he is merely called by Badhia, his successor. But, from 1764 to 1801, there is a chasm. If Abduluziz was really descended from Abd-ul-Wahheb, he may have been his grandson, and the successor of Mohammed.

* "No wars," justly remarks Mr. Mills, "which ever desolated the Christian world, have caused half the bloodshed and woe, or been so strongly stamped with the character of implacable animosity, as have the political and religious controversies of the Mohammedan sectaries. The history of every age of the Hejira teems with details of horror; and the Turks and Persians, the represen-

"Upon his return from this horrible expedition, Abdelaaziz fixed his eyes upon Mekka, persuaded that, could he seize upon this holy city, the centre of Islamism, he should acquire a new title to the sovereignty of the Mussulman countries that surround it. Fearing the vengeance of the Pasha of Bagdadt, on account of his expedition against Imaum Hosseïn, he was unwilling to absent himself from his territory; he, therefore, sent his son Saaoud with a strong army to take possession of Mekka."*

Thus far we have followed Ali Bey; but the particulars of this expedition are given with more minuteness and apparent authenticity by Lord Valentia, who visited Arabia in 1803-4. Ghalib, the reigning shereef, was at this time deservedly unpopular. He was represented to the noble Traveller as a monster of iniquity, who had scrupled at no means of accumulating treasure, and who had poisoned two pashas and a young prince of the Maldives, who had come to Djidda in a vessel of his own, on his way to Mekka. So little confidence did Mozeifé, his brother-in-law, place in him, that, on being sent on a mission to Daraieh, he took the opportunity of deserting, and professed himself a Wahhabee. On this, Abduluziz intrusted him with the command of 12,000 men, with which he returned to invade the territories of his brother-in-law, and, in several battles, constantly

tatives of the two sets of opinions, have in most ages emulated each other in mutual detestation. In the rancour of their feuds, not only were the Christians and Jews held in comparative esteem, but the destruction of a single individual of the adverse party, has been accounted a more meritorious action than the slaughter of seventy individuals of any other description."—*Hist. of Muhammed.* p. 374.

* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. pp. 129—34.

defeated him. In February 1803, he laid siege to Tayif, where Ghalib had his finest palace and most flourishing gardens. The shereef hastened to its relief, and defended the place for several days, till his nephew Abdullah secretly withdrew in the night to Mekka; when, conscious of the detestation in which he was held by his subjects, and dreading lest they should place Abdullah in his stead, Ghalib abandoned Tayif, after setting his palace on fire, and, with his wives and treasure, gained his capital. Mozeifé immediately entered Tayif, and his followers commenced their usual work of devastation. Eight hundred males were put to the sword, but the harems were respected; many houses, however, were burned, and the whole place was plundered. All the saints' tombs were destroyed, and among them, that of Abdullah Ebn Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, an edifice celebrated throughout Arabia for its pre-eminent beauty and sanctity. Mozeifé, as a reward of his treachery, was appointed governor of Tayif; but, unwilling that any descendant of the prophet should be his viceroy in Mekka, Abduluziz sent his eldest son Sâoud to take the command of the victorious army, with which he marched against the holy city so rapidly, that Ghalib, taken by surprise and panic-struck, fled to Djidda, leaving his brother to make the best terms he could with the enemy. On the 27th of April, 1803, the Wahhabite general entered Mekka.* In strict conformity to the terms of the capitulation, he neither plundered nor injured

Lord Valentia speaks of this as the first time that Mekka had submitted to a hostile invader since Mohammed entered it in 629. But Abu Thaher had previously taken and pillaged the city in the year 930

the inhabitants. Scandalised, however, at the sepulchral honours paid to the descendants of the prophet, he ordered eighty splendid tombs, the great ornament of the city, to be levelled with the ground; nor was the monument of the venerable Kadijah exempted from the ruthless edict. The coffee-houses next fell under the desolating zeal of the reformers: the hookahs were piled in a heap, and burned, and the use of tobacco and coffee was prohibited under severe penalties. The holy places were plundered, but the Kaaba remained uninjured; and Sâoud, aware of the benefits which the city derived from the annual influx of pilgrims, transmitted the following letter to the Grand Seignior:

"Sâoud to Selim. I entered Mekka on the 4th day of Moharem, in the 1,218th year of the Hejira. I kept peace towards the inhabitants. I destroyed all the tombs that were idolatrously worshipped. I abolished the levying of all customs above two and a half per cent. I confirmed the kadi whom you had appointed to govern in the place, agreeably to the commands of Mohammed. I desire that, in the ensuing years, you will give orders to the Pashas of Shâm (Damascus) and Misr (Cairo), not to come accompanied with the *mahamel*,* trumpets, and drums into Mekka and Medinah. For why? Religion is not profited by these things. Peace be between us, and may the blessing of God be unto you! Dated on the 10th day of Moharem." (May 3.)

On the 11th of May, Sâoud marched against Djidda; but the delay had given time to the shereef to prepare for his reception. An attempt made to storm the

* For a description of the *mahamel*, or *mahmal*, and the procession alluded to, see MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. ii. pp. 47—9.

town failed, but Sâoud contrived to cut off the supply of water, and, during the nine days that the blockade was continued, numbers perished with thirst. At length, the shereef was induced to offer a sum of money to Sâoud as the condition of his abandoning the siege; and the sum of a lac and 30,000 dollars had been agreed on, when intelligence was brought to Sâoud of the death of his father, which compelled him precipitately to return to Daraieh, lest any rival should dispute the succession. Abduluziz, while at prayers in one of the mosques of his capital, was, like Ali, assassinated by an Arab, whose daughter he had forcibly carried away many years before; on which the Arab had sold all his property, and perseveringly tracked the footsteps of his oppressor, till he found the opportunity of satiating his long-cherished revenge.

By the retreat of Sâoud, Djidda was for the time saved, and Mekka again fell under the dominion of its shereef; but Tayif remained in the hands of Mozeifé. In 1804, Medinah, with the accumulated treasure of ages, became a prey to the Wahhabees, and the tomb of the prophet shared the fate of those of his descendants. Djidda was again attacked, but without success: the shereef had received succours from Egypt. Yambo fell, but was retaken by a naval force. The Pasha of Syria forced his way that year through the undisciplined troops of the Wahhabees, and the usual ceremonies were performed by the faithful at the Kaaba. But since then, several years have passed without its being practicable for the pilgrims to visit the holy city, owing to the flying squadrons of the enemy. The great caravan from Damascus in 1805, could not obtain a passage, but by heavy sacrifices; and Sâoud signified to the Emir

Hajji, or prince of the pilgrims, (as the Pasha of Damascus is styled,) that the caravan should no longer come under the protection of the Turks, or bring the rich carpet that the Grand Seignior sends every year to cover the sepulchre of the prophet; a thing looked upon as a great sin by the Wahhabees. In short, he required that the whole caravan should be composed absolutely of pilgrims alone, without troops, arms, flag, or any other trophies or ornaments, and without music or women. Notwithstanding this delaration of Sâoud, the caravan of Damascus wished to make the pilgrimage the following year (1806), without strictly conforming to the ordinances of the conqueror; but it had hardly arrived at the gates of Medinah, when it was obliged to retire in disorder, persecuted and annoyed by the Wahhabees, who occupied the city and the neighbourhood.

The political situation of the country in January 1807, the time at which Badhia visited Mekka, was highly critical. The sultan-shereef had remained the natural and immediate sovereign of the Hedjaz, and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Grand Seignior was still publicly recognised in the sermon on Fridays, in spite of Sâoud's prohibition to introduce his name into the service. The shereef still preserved, also, some influence in the Arabian ports, as well as at Kosseir, and even on the coasts of Abyssinia, in the name of the Grand Seignior. The Porte continued to send a pasha to Djidda, who passed his time at Mekka in eating at the expense of the shereef, without performing any act of authority, so that his existence was almost unknown. Djidda, Mekka, and Medinah received, also, each its kadi from Constantinople, but their functions were purely judicial. The

Sultan Sâoud had not yet made himself master of the government; he exacted no contributions, and appeared even to respect the authority of the shereef, although the latter felt himself compelled to conform to the orders and regulations issued by the Wahhabite sovereign. There was not a consul or agent of any foreign nation in the country. Such was the state of things, when, on the 26th of February, 1807, the Sultan Sâoud issued orders, which were proclaimed in all public places, that all pilgrims and soldiers, Turkish as well as Moggrebin, belonging to the shereef, should quit Mekka, on the afternoon of the following day, preparatory to their being sent out of Arabia. This order extended to the Turkish pasha, and both the old and new kadies of Mekka, Medinah, and the other places, so that not a single Turk was to remain in the country. The shereef was disarmed, his authority annihilated, and the judicial power passed into the hands of the Wahhabees. All the Turkish soldiers retired to Djidda during the night. Of the negro soldiers, 250 went over to the service of Sâoud, and the rest left on the 28th. It was given out, that the sultan would himself accompany the rear-guard of the troop of pilgrims as far as the frontiers of Syria, and then return to establish his residence at Mekka, or at least give the government of the sacred territory to one of his sons. Accordingly, having installed his kadies, and left a large sum to be distributed as alms among the servants of the temple and the poor of the city, he directed his course with his troops to Medinah; and thus this political revolution terminated, without a drop of blood being shed.

Since then (A.D. 1815), Mekka has again changed its master, having been conquered by Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt. In whose hands it is at pre-

sent, we know not. The possession of this isolated and defenceless town, with its barren territory, is of no further consequence, than as it gives the shadow of a title to the ecclesiastical supremacy, and as a revenue is derived from the contributions levied on the pilgrims who repair to the Kaaba. So much, however, have the security and the *éclat* of these pious expeditions been diminished, that the trading part is likely to be diverted into other channels, and, in that case, the pilgrimage would lose at least half its attractions. It is a pity that the Wahhabees have not long ago carried off the black stone, filled up the well Zemzem, and overturned the Kaaba. But Islamism has received its death-blow from the sword of Sâoud, and Arabia is for ever lost to the pretended successor of the prophet. The most powerful person in the country, next to the Sultan of Daraiyeh, at the period of Ali Bey's visit, was Abou Nokhta, "grand Sheikh of Yemen." The Imaum of Mascat was dependent on Sâoud; the Bahhrein Islands, with the pearl fishery, were also under his dominion; and he was extending his power on the great desert between Damascus, Bagdadt, and Bassora. Mokha, Sanaa, and other walled towns in Yemen, were still exempted from his authority; but the little state of Aden alone appeared to possess, in the wisdom of its sovereign and the bravery of his troops, the means of resisting the Wahhabite despotism.

"The Wahhabees," says Ali Bey, "have no military organisation. All their tactics consist in forming themselves into squadrons, under the direction of a chief, and in following his movements, without order, and without forming ranks; but their discipline is truly Spartan, and their obedience extreme. Their civil organisation is in no better state than their

military: they have no person in office, nor any superior or inferior courts. Each sheikh is responsible for the payment of the tenth," (the tribute imposed by the Koran, which Sâoud continued to exact,) "and for furnishing the contingent of troops in time of war. Sâoud sends kadies to the towns subject to his dominion, but he has no pashas, vizirs, or other ministers. The reformer, Abdoul Wehhab, did not invest himself with any honour or public character: he was only the chief of the sect, and did not require any personal distinction. After his death, his son, who succeeded him, preserved the same simplicity."

Such a power as this contains within itself the seeds of dissolution. The physical character of the country could alone render the Wahhabees powerful. Well does their character correspond to the language of prophecy, that Ishmael shall be "a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand will be against him, and he shall dwell in the presence of his brethren."* Enemies alike to commerce, to agriculture, and the arts,† consuming less than they destroy, and producing less than they consume, religiously opposed to the luxuries and refinements of civilised society, these austere and fierce barbarians present the phenomenon of a people in the primitive stage of civilisation, dwelling in the presence of all their brethren, unsubdued and unchangeable,—chil-

* Gen. xvi. 12.

† The sale of chaplets made of odoriferous sandal-wood, formed a very lucrative branch of commerce at Mekka. The Wahhabite sovereign prohibited the manufacture, condemning the use of them as superstitious. Coffee, the principal article of cultivation in Yemen, and tobacco, are both prohibited articles. Their religious antipathy to monumental architecture has been but too savagely demonstrated at Mekka and at Imaum Hossein.

dren of the desert, hostile towards all the rest of the human race, — yet, in their acknowledgment of the true God, and their singular zeal against every approach to idolatry, seeming still to bear the mark of their ancestry as the children of Abraham.

But we must now proceed to take a nearer view of the topography, population, and scenery of this singular country; and we shall first conduct the reader across the desert, from Suez to the consecrated precincts of Sinai.

PENINSULA OF MOUNT SINAI.

THE Travellers with whom we are now about to explore the wilderness of Sinai, are Niebuhr (1762), Mr. Fazakerley (1811), Burckhardt (1816), and Sir Frederick Henniker (1820). The *hajji* route from Cairo is altogether overland, but Christians were forbidden, when Niebuhr travelled, to take this sacred route, and embarked at Suez for Djidda. The desert from Cairo to Suez is crossed by three different routes; — the great hajji route; a route pursued by the Syrian Bedoweens, close along the mountains; and the route called *derb el ankaby*, taken by the Bedoweens of Tor, which lies midway between the *hajji* route and the most southerly one. The middle track was taken by Burckhardt, and he supposes, that before Nechos dug the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, the communication between Arsinoe and Memphis may have been carried on this way, as several spots occur, which are now covered with petrified trees, and have probably been stations. The desert of Suez is never inhabited by Bedoween encampments, though it is full of rich pasture and pools of water during winter and spring. The reason assigned is, that no strong tribes frequent the eastern

borders of Egypt, and a weak, insulated encampment would soon be stripped of its property by nightly robbers. The ground is the patrimony of no tribe, but, contrary to the general custom of the desert, is common to all.

Suez, in the time of Niebuhr, was not enclosed. There is now a wall on the west and south-west, which is rapidly falling to decay: the eastern part is completely in ruins, but near the shore are some well-built khans, and in the inhabited part of the town are several good private houses. The harbour is spacious and safe. Its aspect is that of an Arabian, not an Egyptian town. Even in the barren waste that surrounds it, it resembles Yambo and Djidda; and the greater part of the shopkeepers are Syrians or Arabs. Neither merchants nor artisans live in it. Its population, Burckhardt says, consists only of about a dozen agents, who receive goods from the ports of the Red Sea, and forward them to their correspondents at Cairo; together with some shopkeepers who deal in provisions. "As Suez is one of the few harbours in the Red Sea where ships can be repaired, some vessels are constantly to be seen at the wharf, where the repairs are carried on by *Greek* shipwrights in the service of the pasha; but it has of late become a harbour of secondary importance, the supplies of provisions, &c. for the hedjaz being collected chiefly at Kosseir, whence they are shipped for Yambo and Djidda: the trade in coffee and India goods still passes this way to Cairo."* The air of the town is bad, owing to the extensive salt marshes on the north and north-east, which are filled with stagnant waters

* In 1817, a small fleet of English ships arrived at Suez direct from Bombay, being an attempt on the part of the pasha to open a direct trade between India and Egypt.

by the tides. The inhabitants endeavour to counteract the influence of the malaria by drinking brandy; but the mortality is not diminished by such a remedy, and fevers of a malignant kind prevail during the spring and summer. At Suez, there is not a single spring. The water of the wells of Naba, two leagues distant, though called sweet, has a very indifferent taste, and becomes putrid after being kept in skins for a few days. "Nothing," says Mr. Fazakerley, "can look more desolate and deplorable than Suez: a few houses built of mud and wood, and bounded by the desert and the sea; not a blade of grass or the leaf of a tree in sight. Crowds of vultures were feeding on the carcases of mules, horses, and camels, as we approached the town." All the provisions are brought from Cairo, except dried fruits from Ghaza, and a few dates and other fruits in autumn, together with charcoal from Mount Sinai.*

It is a passage of twenty-four hours across the Red Sea to Tor,—a journey by land of three days. The precise spot at which the Israelites crossed, it is, perhaps, impossible precisely to determine. The natives point out indifferently the valley of Bedeah, the passage from Suez across the narrow arm of the sea which runs up to the port, and other points of the coast further southward, opposite *Ayoun Mousa* and the *Hammam Faraoun*. The learned Traveller, Dr. Shaw, objects against the opinion which fixes the passage opposite *Ayoun Mousa*, that there is not sufficient depth of water there to drown so many Egyptians,—an objection which would seem to apply with

* Yet, Sir F. Henniker styles the situation of Suez "beautiful," and the place "tolerable even as a Turkish town:" were it in other hands, he says, it would be delightful. "The Red Sea appears here as a lake girded with rock!" Thus do travellers differ!

still greater force to the opinion of Niebuhr, who fixes upon Suez as the point at which they crossed. But the fact is, that the waters have retired, and the coral shoals have increased so much in every part of the gulf, that no decisive argument can be built on the present shallowness of the water.* The Gulf of Suez, Niebuhr says, undoubtedly extended further north ages ago than it does at present. In former times, ships entered the harbour of Kolsoum, which stood higher up than Suez, but, in consequence of the retreat of the waters, that harbour was deserted, and

* "The arm of the sea which runs up before Suez, appears at first sight to be only of the breadth of a river, in comparison with the open sea, and too small, therefore, to have been chosen by the Almighty as the scene of the manifestation of his power. I therefore thought at first, that the children of Israel must have passed the Red Sea some leagues southward of Suez. But, on measuring the breadth of the gulf near the town, I found it 1,514 paces (3,500 feet), and farther north, it is still wider. This led me to change my opinion. If the children of Israel passed the sea at Kolsoum, the miracle would, indeed, be less than if they crossed it near Bedeah. But it is a mistake to suppose that the multitude could cross here without a prodigy; for even in the present day, no caravan crosses here to go from Cairo to Mount Sinai, notwithstanding that it would materially shorten the distance. It must naturally have been more difficult to the Israelites thousands of years ago, when the gulf was probably broader and deeper, and extended further northward. It has been objected, however, that, if the Israelites had crossed the Red Sea near Suez, Pharoah might easily have doubled the point and overtaken them; but we cannot ascertain how far northward the gulf might then extend. Pharoah does not appear to me to have been senseless in wishing to cross the sea at Suez, where, perhaps, the channel was only half a league in breadth, after he had seen the Israelites go over; but he would have been wanting in prudence, if, after having seen so many prodigies in Egypt, he had entered a sea three leagues and more in extent; and all the Egyptians must have been out of their minds, to have been willing to pursue the Israelites through such a sea."—NIEBUHR, *Description de l'Arabie*, pp. 353, 4. See also his *Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 204; and *Calmet's Dict. by* TAYLOR, Frag. xxxix. vol. iii. p. 66.

Suez, which was not in existence towards the end of the fifteenth century, rose on its ruins. Niebuhr crossed the creek at low water on his camel, near the supposed ruins of Kolsoum, and the Arabs, who attended him on foot, were only up to their knees; but no caravan, he says, could pass here without great inconvenience, and certainly not dry-foot.* Nor could the Israelites, he remarks, have availed themselves of any coral rocks, as they are so sharp that they would have cut their feet. Moreover, if we suppose that the agency of the tides was employed by Divine Providence in favouring the passage of the Israelites, the east wind which, blowing all night, divided the waters of the gulf in the middle, preserving a body of water above and below, and laying bare the channel between the walls, — was clearly supernatural. The wind here constantly blows six months north and six months south.† And as this unprecedented ebb of the waters must have been preternatural, not less so was the sudden tempestuous reflux by which the Egyptians were overwhelmed.

* When Burckhardt left Suez, the tide was at flood, and he was obliged to make the tour of the whole creek, which, he says, "at low water can be forded;" but, "in winter time, and immediately after the rainy season, the circuit is rendered still greater, because the low grounds to the northward of the creek are then inundated, and become so swampy that the camels cannot pass them." He rode for *an hour and three quarters* in a straight line northwards, before he turned to the east.

† "The north-east monsoon prevails from the 15th of October to the 15th of April, rendering the entrance of the Red Sea easy, which is impracticable during the opposite monsoon. These periodical winds have great influence on the height of the tides, so that the extremity of that arm which divides Suez from Arabia, may sometimes be passed on foot."—MALTE BRUN, vol. ii. p. 191. The exodus took place on the 15th of the month Nisan (the beginning of April), during the prevalence, therefore, of the northern monsoon.

Perhaps a thick fog, it is suggested, might hasten their destruction. The depth at high water now does not exceed from eight to ten feet, but the same causes which have enlarged the land on the eastern shore, have rendered the gulf shallower. The winds, blowing the sands of Arabia into the Red Sea, are constantly forming shallows among the rocks, and threaten in time to fill up the gulf.

Dr. Shaw, however, displays his usual learning and ingenuity in fixing the passage of the Israelites opposite the desert of Shur. Supposing Rameses to have been Cairo, there are two roads, he remarks, by which the Israelites might have been conducted to Pihahhiroth on the coast; the one through the valleys of Jendily, Rumeleah, and Baideah, which are bounded on each side by the mountains of the Lower Thebais; the other, more to the northward, having these mountains for several leagues on the right, and the desert on the left, till it turns through a remarkable breach or ravine in the northernmost range, into the valley of Baideah. The latter he presumes to have been the road taken by the Israelites. Succoth, the first station, signifies only a place of tents; and Etham, the second station, he considers as probably on the edge of the mountainous district of the Lower Thebais. Here the Israelites were ordered to turn (from their line of march), and encamp before Pihahhiroth, *i. e.* the mouth of the gullet or defile, betwixt Migdol and the sea.* This valley, he supposes to be identified with that of Baideah, which signifies miraculous, and it is also still called *Tiah Beni Israel*, the road of the Israelites. *Baal-tzephon*, over against which they encamped, is supposed to be the

* Exod. xiv 1.

mountain still called *Jebel Attakkah*, the mountain of deliverance. Over against *Jebel Attakkah*, at ten miles' distance, is the desert of Sdur, or Shur, where the Israelites landed.* This part of the gulf would, therefore, be capacious enough to cover a numerous army,† and yet, might be traversed by the Israelites in a night; whereas, from Corondel to Tor, the channel is ten or twelve leagues broad, which is too great a distance to have been travelled by a multitude with such incumbrances, and the passage from Suez appears as much too short. Having once entered this valley, it might well be said, that the wilderness had "shut them in," inasmuch as the mountains of Mokattem would deny them a passage to the southward; those in the neighbourhood of Suez would be a barrier to the northward, towards the land of the Philistines; the Red Sea was before them to the east, while Pharoah with his army closed up the defile behind them. The valley ends in a small bay formed by the eastern extremities of the mountains. ‡

The Arabian Gulf is supposed to derive its Hebrew name, *Yam Súf*, from the *algæ* and *fuci* with which the sea abounds, by which the ancients accounted for its remarkably green colour, *súf* being rendered weed, reed, or any submarine plant. Dr. Shaw, however, says, he no where observed any species of the flag kind; M. Forskal denies that any reeds grow on the shore; and Mr. Bruce says, that he never saw a weed of any sort in it. The opinion of the latter writer is, that "it is from the large trees, or plants, of *white*

* Exod. xv. 22.

† The Israelites amounted to 600,000 men, besides children and a mixed multitude; and the army of Pharoah, which included 600 chosen chariots, could not have been less numerous.

‡ Shaw's Travels, folio, pp. 344—6, and Supplem. p. 96.

coral, spread every where over the bottom of the Red Sea, that the sea has obtained this name," which he proposes to translate, the Sea of Coral. Against this it is objected, that the proper word for coral is *ramuth*;* but the meaning of that term has been disputed. The name by which the gulf is invariably designated in the Old Testament, is still preserved in the Arabic appellation, *Bahr Souf*. It is also called *Bahr el Kolsoum*, the Sea of Kolsoum (the Greek Clysma), which signifies drowning, or overwhelming, and seems to allude to the destruction of the Egyptians. By the Septuagint, the original word is rendered θαλασσα Σιφ, the Sea of Ziph,† Ερυθρα θαλασσα, the Erythrean Sea,‡ and ισχατην θαλασσαν, the furthest sea.§ The latter, it has been contended by some, is the true meaning of the Hebrew, *suph* sometimes signifying limit, boundary, or extremity; and this sea is repeatedly mentioned in Scripture as the boundary of the possessions of Israel.‖ At what time it received the name of the Sea of Edom, is uncertain; but this is believed to be the name which the Greeks, mistaking a proper name for an appellative, rendered the Erythrean, or Red Sea. Pliny and Pomponius Mela state, that it obtained this name from a King Erythros who reigned in Arabia, and whose tomb was to be seen in the island Tyrine, or Agyris. This king is plausibly supposed to be no other than Edom, or Esau; and the Sea of Sûf (or Zuf) is expressly

* Job xxviii. 18. Ezek. xxvii. 16.

† Judges xi. 16.

‡ Exod. xiii. 18, *et passim*.

§ 1 Kings ix. 26.

‖ Exod. xxiii. 31. Num. xxxiv. 3. Psalm lxxii. 8. See Harris's Nat. Hist. of the Bible, Art. *Flag*. But query, whether this be not only a secondary meaning of the word *suf*, (*i. e.* post, or stake,) and not likely to be applied to a sea?

said to have been in the land of Edom.* Its western branch is, by the Greek and Latin geographers, styled the Gulf of Heroopolis and the Sea of Clysma,† from the towns on its western shore. The Erythrean Sea is the name applied by the Greeks to all the seas round the Arabian peninsula; but the Red Sea is now understood as exclusively denoting the Arabian Gulf. We shall have further occasion to advert to the dangers of the navigation; but, while we are adverting to its many names, it may be as well to mention, that in calm weather, according to Forskal, the bottom of the gulf, "covered with a carpet of greenish coral," presents a resemblance to "a series of verdant submarine forests and meadows, affording an agreeable contrast to the gloomy uniformity of arid and sandy country by which it is encircled." Well may it be called, then, the Coral Sea.

We shall now proceed to avail ourselves of Burckhardt's journal of his tour in the peninsula of Sinai. He left Suez early on the 25th of April, 1816, attended by his guide and another Arab. After passing several mounds of rubbish, which afford no object of curiosity except "a few large stones, supposed to be the ruins of Clysma, or of Arsinoe,‡ he rode northward for an hour and three quarters, and then turned to the east, "just at the point where the remains of the ancient canal are very distinctly visible." Two

* 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.

† Clysma, or Kolsoum, is placed by Niebuhr at Suez; but Shaw supposes Suez to be the ancient Arsinoe.

‡ Probably the remains of "the castle which the Turks built upon" (or from) "the ruins of the ancient Kolsoum,"—referred to by Niebuhr, who says, that of Kolsoum considerable ruins still remain to the north of Suez.

swellings of the ground, about eight or ten feet high, run in parallel directions, at the distance of about twenty-five feet: they begin at a few hundred paces to the N.W. of high-water mark, whence the ground northward is covered with a saline crust. Having turned the point of the inlet, our Traveller halted for a short time at the wells of Ayoun Mousa, under the date-trees, and then, proceeding two hours and three quarters further, rested in the plain called El Kordhye. "The water of the wells of *Ayoun Mousa* (the springs of Moses) is copious, but one only affords sweet water, and this is so often rendered muddy by the passage of Arabs, whose camels descend into the wells, that it is seldom fit to supply a provision to the traveller, much less for shipping."*

The next day, proceeding in a direction S. by E. and then S.S.E., over a barren, sandy, and gravelly plain, called *El Ahtha*, he halted, at the end of four hours and a half, in a dry and shallow wady, called *Wady Seder*, and, in three hours further, reached *Wady Wardan*, at the extremity of which is the well of Abou Szoueyra, half an hour from the sea-shore, containing good water. Low mountains, the commencement of the chain of Tyh, inhabited by the Terabein Arabs, run parallel with the road, at the distance of about eight miles to the left. Near *Abou Szoueyra*, a chain of sand-hills begins to the west, near the sea, and the eastern mountains approaching the road, form, about two hours further, a junction with these hills. At ten hours, the road enters the hilly country, consisting of chalk and silex in very irregular strata; and at the end of ten hours and

* "These pretended fountains are five holes in the sand, in a well of very indifferent water, that becomes turbid whenever any of it is drawn."—NIEBUHR.

three quarters, Burckhardt rested for the night in a barren valley called *Wady Amara.*

At an hour and three quarters from his resting-place, he passed, the next day, the well of *Howara*, round which grow a few date-trees, but the water of which is so bitter, that men cannot drink it; and even camels, if not very thirsty, refuse to taste it. "From Ayoun Mousa to the well of Howara," continues Burckhardt, "we had travelled fifteen hours and a quarter. Referring to this distance, it appears probable that this is the desert of three days, mentioned in the Scriptures to have been crossed by the Israelites immediately after their passing the Red Sea, and at the end of which they arrived at Marah. In moving with a whole nation, the march may well be supposed to have occupied three days; and the bitter well at Marah, which was sweetened by Moses, corresponds exactly to that of Howara. This is the usual route to Mount Sinai, and was probably, therefore, that which the Israelites took on their escape from Egypt, *provided it be admitted, that they crossed the sea near Suez*, as Niebuhr with good reason conjectures. There is no other road of three days' march in the way from Suez towards Sinai; nor is there any other well absolutely bitter on the whole of this coast, as far as Ras Mohammed. The complaints of the bitterness of the water by the children of Israel, who had been accustomed to the sweet water of the Nile, are such as may daily be heard from the Egyptian servants and peasants who travel in Arabia. Accustomed from their youth to the excellent water of the Nile, there is nothing which they so much regret in countries distant from Egypt. With respect to the means employed by Moses to render the waters of the well sweet, I have frequently inquired among the

Bedouins in different parts of Arabia, whether they possessed any means of effecting such a change by throwing wood into it, or by any other process; but I never could learn that such an art was known.

"At the end of three hours we reached *Wady Gharendel*, which extends to the N.E., and is almost a mile in breadth, and full of trees. The Arabs told me, that it may be traced through the whole desert, and that it begins at no great distance from El Arish on the Mediterranean; but I had no means of ascertaining the truth of the statement. About half an hour from the place where we halted, in a southern direction, is a copious spring with a small rivulet, which renders the valley the principal station on this route. The water is disagreeable, and, if kept for a night in the water-skins, it *turns bitter*, and spoils, as I have myself experienced, having passed this way three times. If we admit *Bir Howara* to be the Marah of Exodus (xv. 23), then *Wady Gharendel* is probably Elim, with its wells and date-trees; an opinion entertained by Niebuhr, who, however, did not see the bitter well of Howara. (It lies among hills, about 200 paces out of the road.) The non-existence at present of twelve wells at Gharendel, must not be considered as evidence against this conjecture; for Niebuhr says, that his companions obtained water here by digging to a very small depth, and there was a great plenty of it when I passed. Water, in fact, is readily found by digging, in every fertile valley in Arabia, and wells are thus easily formed, which are quickly filled up again by the sands. The Wady Gharendel contains date-trees, tamarisks, acacias of different species, and the thorny shrub *gharkad*, (the *peganum retusum* of Forskal,) which is extremely common in this peninsula, and is also met with in

the sands of the Delta on the coast of the Mediterranean. Its small red berry, of the size of a grain of the pomegranate, is very juicy and refreshing, much resembling a ripe gooseberry in taste, but not so sweet. The Arabs are very fond of it, and make a conserve of the berries. The *gharkad*, which, from the colour of its fruit, is also called *homra*, delights in a sandy soil, and reaches its maturity in the height of summer, when the ground is parched up, exciting an agreeable surprise in the traveller at finding so juicy a berry produced in the driest soil and season.* The bottom of the valley swarms with ticks, which are extremely distressing both to men and beasts, and on this account the caravans usually encamp on the sides of the hills."

Dr. Shaw, however, who differs from Niebuhr in fixing the passage of the Israelites at Baideah, and in landing them opposite the *Jebel Attakkah* in the desert of Shur, fixes Marah at *Corondel;* the same place that Niebuhr writes *Girondel*, and Burckhardt *Gharendel*. Here, he says, "is a small rill of water, which, unless it be diluted with the dews and rains, still continues to be brackish." Burckhardt bears testimony to the disagreeableness and impurity of the

* Burckhardt suggests, that possibly the berry of this shrub may be what Moses used to sweeten the waters of Marah, and that it may have the same effect as the juice of pomegranates. He did not observe any of this shrub, however, near Howara; nor did he submit the water to any experiment. The wood which God shewed Moses, is called *alvah*. A modern Traveller in South America, speaks of a shrub called *alumbre*, a branch of which, put into the muddy stream of the Magdalena, precipitated the mud and earth, leaving the water sweet and clear.—See MOD. TRAV., *Columbia*, p. 307. The first discoverers of the Floridas are said to have corrected the stagnant and fetid water they found there, by infusing in it branches of sassafras; and it is understood, that the first use of tea among the Chinese, was, to correct the waters of their ponds and rivers.

water. Near this place, the sea forms a large bay called *Berk el Corondel*, into which a strong current sets in from the northward. The desert in this neighbourhood, according to Dr. Shaw, is still called Marah, (*Morra*, in Arabic, means bitter,)—a circumstance which requires only to be verified, to determine the disputed locality. In placing Marah at Corondel, he contends that he is justified by its distance from Sedur or Shur, which answers to three such days' journeys as he supposes the Israelites would make. We have seen that Burckhardt makes it only sixteen hours and a half from Ayoun Mousa, and about ten hours from *Wady Seder* (Shur), which is little more than one ordinary day's journey (eight hours). According to the Oriental mode of calculation, however, we have no reason to suppose that the Israelites travelled three whole days from Shur before they found water, (which is not at all probable,) but that they did not find water till the third day, which, according to European reckoning, would be some time on the second;* and five hours (from fifteen to eighteen miles) is perhaps as great a distance as, with women and children, they can be supposed to have travelled in a day. To remove Elim as far north as Corondel, is, Dr. Shaw contends, unreasonable: "for no station," he says, "could have been better or more circumstantially marked out than this, or has preserved greater tokens of the circumstances of its ancient situation. We are told that, at Elim, there were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees, and that they encamped or pitched there

* Thus, our Lord is reckoned to have lain three days and three nights (part of three twenty-four hours) in the grave. Compare also Esther iv. 16, with v. 1.

by the waters. Now at Corondel, we do not find (as far as I saw or could learn) the traces of any wells at all; neither is there any grove or collection of palm-trees. Whereas, in the neighbourhood of Tor, there is a regular and delightful plantation of palm-trees, equal to any in the date country of the Tuniseens. For the threescore and ten have, in process of time, improved themselves into more than two thousand. The wells, which are ranged along a narrow vale near the grove, are, indeed, a little diminished in number; yet, even those *nine* of them that remain to this day (as so many are nowhere found together in any other part of Arabia,) are sufficient to attest for the possibility of there having been once a greater number... Under the shade of these trees is the *Hammam Mousa* (bath of Moses), which the inhabitants of Tor have in extraordinary esteem and veneration; acquainting us, that it was here that Moses himself and his peculiar household were encamped." * The spot alluded to is two leagues from Tor, and nearly thirty from Corondel, on the northern skirts of the desert of Sin. As the Israelites did not leave Elim and enter this desert till the fifteenth day of the second month (*i. e.* about a month after the passover), its distance better agrees with the narrative of their journeyings, than that of Wady Gharendel, which is only an hour and a quarter from Howara.

From Wady Gharendel, Burckhardt proceeded in a S.S.E. direction over an open hilly country, and in an hour and a half reached *Wady Oszaitu* (Niebuhr writes it Usaitu), enclosed by chalk hills, where there is another bitter well, which is sometimes dry: a few

* Shaw, p. 350, and Sup. p. 104.

date-trees stand near it.* Two hours and a quarter further, S.E. by S., is *Wady Thale*, where are found date-trees, acacias, and tamarisks. Rock salt abounds here as well as in Gharendel. Proceeding southward, he turned the point of the mountain, part of the chain extending towards Gharendel, and passed the rude tomb of a female saint called *Arys Themman* (the bridegroom of Themman), where the Arabs are in the habit of saying a short prayer, and suspending some rags of clothing upon some poles planted round the tomb. After having doubled the mountain, he entered the valley of *Wady Taybe*, which descends

* From Girondel, Niebuhr proceeded half a mile to the S.W. "through some little woods, over hills and through valleys;" then, turning southward, crossed a plain near the sea, and arrived, at the end of three quarters of a mile, at *Hammam Faraoun*. "This bath," he says, "has two openings in the rock, close to each other, and is about ten feet above the level of the sea. A hot and powerful sulphurous vapour rises from it, and the water, which issues in several places from the bottom of the rock, is so hot that you can hardly hold your finger in it. They pretend that there are often sick persons in this bath, who, by the help of cords, descend into the above-mentioned openings, and bathe themselves for forty days in the hot water, during which they subsist almost entirely on a fruit called *laswaf*, which abounds in this country. I know not what are the effects of this cure; but I saw in the neighbourhood a pretty large cemetery. If you will believe the Arabs, the king Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea, is now in the abyss which sends up the hot water and sulphurous vapour of the bath; and not only the bath, but a part also of the Arabian Gulf, which is still called *Birket Faraoun*, and which at certain seasons is very tempestuous, is named after that monarch. The eastern shore of the gulf, from Suez to *Djebel Hammam Faraoun*, is flat, with the exception of the little hills which are seen here and there; but the western coast is full of high mountains, which are separated by only two great valleys; the one opposite the plain of El Ty, the other opposite to Girondel." Vol. i. p. 184. On leaving the place, this Traveller entered a winding valley, which led him now northward, now eastward, then to the south and west, till he reached Wady Usaitu.

rapidly to the sea, and in three quarters of an hour turned into a branch of it, running E.S.E. between steep calcareous cliffs, called *Wady Shebeyke*, where he halted for the night, after a day's journey of nine hours and a quarter.

The fourth day, he proceeded at first E. by S. to a high plain, surrounded with rocks, and having a towering mountain called *Sarbout el Djemel* on the N. side. In two hours and a half, he turned the point of this mountain, and entered *Wady Hommar*, running E. by N. At the end of four hours, he issued from this valley, where the southern rocks terminate, and proceeded over one of those sandy plains called *El Debbe*, till, in two hours and a half further, he entered a mountainous country much devastated by torrents. Here sandstone rocks begin. Following the windings of a valley, he reached, in seven hours and a quarter, *Wady el Naszeb*, where he rested "under the shade of a large impending rock, which for ages, probably, has afforded shelter to travellers." He supposes it to be the same that Niebuhr speaks of, who calls this valley the plain of *Warsan*.* This may, he says, be its true name, but the Arabs comprise all the contiguous valleys under the general name of Naszeb. "Shady spots like this are well known to the Arabs; and, as the scanty foliage of the acacia, the only tree in which these valleys abound, affords no shade, they take ad-

* The fourth day from Ayoun Mousa, Niebuhr rested in the plain of Warsan, "under a little rock in which a great number of Greeks, who had gone on pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, had carved their names." Whether this is the rock to which Burckhardt alludes, seems doubtful. On walking round the rock, the latter was surprised to find inscriptions similar in form to those found in Wady Mokatteb, on the surface of blocks which have fallen down from the cliff. They have evidently been done in haste, and are very rudely scratched on the sandstone rock. A few rude drawings of camels and goats are likewise seen.

vantage of such rocks, and regulate the day's journey in such a way as to be able to reach them at noon, there to take the siesta.* The main branch of the Wady Naszeb continues further up to the S.E. and contains, at about half an hour from the place where we rested, a well of excellent water. The Wady empties its waters in the rainy season into the Gulf of Suez, at a short distance from the *Birket Faraoun* ... The rocks round the resting-place are much shattered and broken, evidently by torrents; yet, no torrents within the memory of man have ever rushed down the valley. Some *syale*-trees, a species of mimosa, grow here, the pods of which, together with the tenderest shoots of the branches, serve as fodder to the camels, and the bark is used by the Arabs to tan leather." From this spot, our Traveller proceeded E. by S., and, at the end of two hours and a half, reached the summit of a steep mountain covered with moving sands, and rested on a high plain called *Raml el Morak*. Here he obtained an extensive view, bounded on the north by the chain of El Tyh, which begins near Sarbout el Djemel, and extends in a curve twenty or twenty-five miles eastward from the termination of Wady Hommar. At the eastern extremity is a high mountain, called *Djebel Odjme*, to the north of which begins the ridge called *El Dhelel*, a branch or continuation of El Tyh, running eastwards towards the Gulf of Akaba. "These chains form the northern boundaries of the Sinai mountains, and are the pasturing-places of the Sinai Bedouins. They are the most regular ranges of the peninsula, being almost throughout of equal height, without any prominent peaks, and extending in an uninterrupted line eastwards. They are inhabited by the tribes Terabein and Tyaha, the latter of whom

* See Psalm lxi. 2.

are richer in camels and flocks than any other of the Towara tribes. The valleys of these mountains are said to afford excellent pasturage and fine springs, though not in great numbers. The Terabein frequently visit Cairo and Suez; but the Tyaha have more intercourse with Ghaza and Khalyl (Hebron), and are a very bold independent people, often at war with their neighbours, and, even now, caring little for the authority of the Pasha of Egypt. At the southern foot of the mountain El Tyh, extends a broad sandy plain, called *El Seyh*, which begins at the *Debbe*, and continues for two days' journey eastwards. It affords good pasturage in spring, but has no water, and is therefore little frequented by the Bedoweens." These details, if not very important or interesting, will serve far better than vague general descriptions, to convey an idea of the nature of the country.

The next day, crossing the plain of Raml Morak, Burckhardt reached, in an hour and a quarter, the upper chain of the mountains of Sinai, where the grünstein rocks begin, mixed in places with layers of granite; and entered the valley of *Wady Khamyle*. Here, on a projecting rock, he observed rude inscriptions and drawings similar to those of Wady Naszeb. At the end of three hours, he passed a burial-ground of the Szowaleha Bedoweens; the place is called Mokbera. It seems, he says, to be a custom prevalent among the Arabs in every part of the desert, to have regular burial-grounds, whither they carry their dead, sometimes from the distance of several days' journey;* so that these cemeteries by no means prove the former existence of a city in the vicinity. These rude tombs consist, for the most part, of mere heaps

* This may illustrate Gen. xxiii., and xlix. 29.

of earth covered with loose stones; and in the midst of those of Mokbera is the tomb of a Bedoween saint, which is kept carefully covered with fresh herbs. In half an hour further, he began to ascend a steep valley called *Wady Borak*. Here, the rock changes to porphyry with strata of grünstein. The mountains on both sides are much disintegrated, and the bottom of the valley is filled with loose fragments of rock. In two hours and three quarters he reached the summit of *Djebel Leboua* (the mountain of the lioness), from which he descended into a fine valley, several miles in breadth, called *Wady Genne:* it affords good pasturage, and abounds with odoriferous shrubs. The ranges of mountains in this part differ in their formation from most of the Arabian chains; the valleys reach to the very summits, where they spread into a plain, and thence descend to the other side. To *Wady Genne* succeeded that of *Wady Berah*, which is covered with sand; and, at the end of ten hours and a half from *Raml Morak*, our Traveller alighted for the night at a Bedoween encampment in the side valley of *Wady Osh*. Here there is a well of sweet water; and "from hence upwards," Burckhardt says, "and throughout the primitive chain of Mount Sinai, the water is generally excellent; while, in the lower chalky mountains all round the peninsula, it is brackish, or bitter, except in one or two places."* Blocks with inscriptions were continually noticed in this and the next day's route.

The sixth day, our Traveller did not leave the encampment of hospitable Bedoweens till the afternoon, and proceeded only four hours, to *Wady el*

* In Wady Osh, gneiss is mixed with granite. Native cinnabar is said to be found in a mountain called Sheyger, a few hours to the N.E.

Sheikh (*i. e.* the great valley), one of the principal valleys of the peninsula. In the rainy season, this *wady*, collecting the waters of *Wadys Osh* and *Berah*, discharges a considerable stream into *Wady Faran*, and thence into the sea. It is much frequented for its pasturage. The next morning, ascending the valley, he reached, in two hours, a thick wood of tamarisk (*tarfa*), an evergreen shrub from which manna is collected: camels feed upon its thorny shoots. "We now approached," says Burckhardt, "the central summits of Mount Sinai, which we had had in view for several days. Abrupt cliffs of granite, from six to eight hundred feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun, surround the avenues leading to the elevated platform to which the name of Sinai is specifically applied. These cliffs enclose the holy mountain on three sides, leaving the east and north-east sides only, towards the Gulf of Akaba, more open to view. On both sides of the wood of tarfa-trees, extends a range of low hills, of a substance called by the Arabs *tafal*, which I believe to be principally a *detritus* of the feldspar of granite, but which, at first sight, has all the appearance of pipe-clay: it is brittle, crumbles easily between the fingers, and leaves upon them its colour, which is a pale yellow. The Arabs sell it at Cairo, where it is in request for taking stains out of cloth, and where it serves the poor instead of soap, but it is chiefly used to rub the skins of asses during summer, to defend them against the heat of the sun. At the end of three hours, we entered the above-mentioned cliffs by a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth, with perpendicular rocks on both sides. The ground is covered with sand and pebbles, brought down by the torrent which rushes from the upper re-

gion in the winter time. In a broader part of the pass, an insulated rock about five feet high, with a kind of natural seat, is shewn as a place upon which Moses once reposed, whence it has the name of *Mokad Seidna Mousa*. The Bedouins keep it covered with green or dry herbs, and some of them kiss it, or touch it with their hands in passing by. Beyond it the valley opens; the mountains on both sides diverge from the road, and the *Wady el Sheikh* continues in a southerly direction with a slight ascent." An hour beyond the defile, the route enters a narrow inlet in the eastern chain, and then, crossing the mountain, falls again into the *Wady el Sheikh*. At the end of eight hours, our Traveller reached the tomb of Sheikh Szaleh; a small, rude stone building, surrounded with a thin wooden partition, hung with green cloth, on which several prayers are embroidered. On the walls are suspended silk tassels, handkerchiefs, ostrich eggs, camel halters, bridles, &c., the offerings of the Bedoweens, by whom this spot is the most revered in the peninsula, next to the mountain of Moses. "Once a year, all the tribes of the Towara Arabs repair hither in pilgrimage, and remain encamped in the valley round the tomb for three days. The men and women are dressed in their best attire. Many sheep are then killed, camel races are run, and the whole night is passed in dancing and singing. The festival, which is the greatest among this people, usually takes place in the latter part of June, when the Nile begins to rise in Egypt, and the plague subsides. A caravan leaves Sinai immediately afterwards for Cairo. It is just at this period, too, that the dates ripen in the valleys of the lower chain of Sinai, and the pilgrimage to Sheikh Szaleh thus becomes the most remarkable period in the Bedouin

year." * From this tomb, our Traveller proceeded southward till, at the end of six hours and a half, he turned to the right into a broad valley, at the end of which he was agreeably surprised by the beautiful verdure of a garden of almond-trees belonging to the convent. In an hour beyond this he arrived at the convent itself, being the seventh day from Suez.†

Sir Frederick Henniker descended the Red Sea to Tor, and reached Sinai from that part of the coast. He describes Tor as "a wretched huttage, in the occupation of a few families drawn together by twelve springs of water and a grove of palm-trees: for any additional luxuries, they are indebted to a few boats that convey weary pilgrims to and from Mekka. The water is the best that is to be found on the coast, and on this account we see here a fortification, said to have been built by the Portuguese: it is now in decay. Tor," adds this Traveller, "is supposed to be the ancient Elim: the number of springs is still *the same*,‡ but that of the palm-trees has increased.

These pilgrimages are generally connected with mercantile speculations. Thus, the tomb of Nebby Osha (the prophet Hosea) near Szalt, is transformed into a fair at the time of the visit of the pilgrims. In the winter season, scarcely any body seeks favours at the shrine of the saint.—See BURCKHARDT, p. 354. Who this Sheikh Szaleh was, is uncertain: some will have him to have been the famous prophet Salah, mentioned in the Koran; others, with more probability, represented him as a local saint. Burckhardt says, the whole valley takes the name of *el Sheikh* from the tomb.

† Mr. Fazakerley, who crossed the Gulf of Suez above Ayoun Mousa, reached the convent on the sixth day. Niebuhr crossed on the 6th of Sept. (1762), and did not reach the foot of Djebel Mousa till the 14th, but he went round by *Wady Faran* (the valley of Paran), and lost time on the road.

‡ Did Sir Frederick count them? Dr. Shaw could see only nine. If the former be correct, the three which the latter Traveller supposes to have been filled up by the sand, have been again cleared. Sir Frederick Henniker says, "there is another place

The mountains east of Tor," (seen from ship-board,) "equal any scenery that I ever witnessed in rough and barren nature: they are Alps unclothed. About eight miles north from Tor, and within a short distance from the sea, is a phenomenon called the *narkous*, or bell, near which, so runs the tale, was seen a bodiless hand ringing a bell. Ever since that time, one of the gaps in the rock has chosen occasionally to utter miraculous sounds. The first notice of its anger is a gentle rumbling, which increases gradually till it shames the thunder; and in this state it will continue some hours, during which the sand performs an earthquake. In outward appearance, there is no difference between this and any other of the many neighbouring gaps, which are equally filled with sand." This Traveller found the "grumbling" neither so loud nor so long as he had been led to anticipate; but it is difficult to gather any distinct idea of the phenomenon from his careless and jocose narrative. As far as we can make out, the noise is produced simply by the falling of the sand into the subterranean cavity. There are several inscriptions on the rocks in the vicinity. The grove of palms constitutes the chief wealth of the inhabitants of Tor. "Every tree," we are told, "is registered; most of them are entailed property; and they produce marriage portions in dates,—as portions in Holland were formerly given in tulips." Beyond this sacred grove, a flat sandy plain extends to the foot of the rocky mountains. A narrow fissure in this natural bulwark, through which flows a shallow streamlet, conducts to Mount Sinai. It is so narrow, that the

named Elim, between this and Suez." This must be a mistake. He has probably been misled by the hypothesis which places Elim at Gharendel.

camels were frequently obliged to walk in water. In about an hour, this defile expands into a wider space. Early on the third day, our Traveller arrived at a green valley, whence he had the pleasure of descrying the convent, which has the appearance of a fortress, "situated at the extremity of a *cul de sac*, formed by overhanging rocks. If I had to represent the end of the world," says Sir Frederick, "I would model it from Mount Sinai."

The convent of Mount Sinai, though usually called after Saint Catherine, its vice-patroness, is dedicated to the Transfiguration. One would have thought, a more illustrious saint than Saint Catherine might have been selected by the monk who *dreamed* where that lady's bones were to be found. In such a scene, it is most revolting to be met by all the fooleries of the Empress Helena, and to find a worship as senseless as that of the golden calf perpetuated within the awful precincts of Sinai. The situation in which the poor fanatics are placed who have immured themselves here, is not a very enviable one. The convent has a door, but it is walled up, and opened only for the archbishop, who compounds dearly with the Arabs for this honour.* On the arrival of a stranger, as there is neither bell nor bugle, the warden must be summoned by strength of lungs. His credentials are then demanded, and a string is let down for his letter of introduction. If this proves satisfactory to the prior, a rope, with a stick fixed transversely to the end of it, is let down from a window between thirty and forty feet from the ground, and the pilgrim is hoisted up by a windlass. There, a crowd of priests surround

* Niebuhr was told by the Arabs, that the monks enter by a subterraneous passage. Sir F. Henniker says, there is a secret door leading to the garden, but it is seldom opened.

him, to salute him by his newly acquired title of *hadji* (χατζή), and, putting a wax taper into his hand, lead him off in procession to the church, and to the shrine of Saint Catherine, chaunting as they march.* Sir Frederick Henniker, however, in quality, as it would seem, of a *milordos*, was conducted, after due salutations, to "the traveller's room."

The best account of the convent is furnished by Burckhardt. "The convent of Mount Sinai is situated in a valley so narrow, that one part of the building stands on the side of the western mountain, while a space of twenty paces only is left between its walls and the eastern mountain. The valley is open to the north, from whence approaches the road from Cairo; to the south, close behind the convent, it is shut up by a third mountain, less steep than the other, over which passes the road to Sherm. The convent is an irregular quadrangle of about one hundred and thirty paces, enclosed by high and solid walls built with blocks of granite, and fortified by several small towers. While the French were in Egypt, a part of the east wall which had fallen down, was completely rebuilt by order of General Kleber, who sent workmen here for that purpose. The upper part of the walls in the interior is built of a mixture of granite-sand and gravel, cemented together by mud, which has acquired great hardness.

"The convent contains eight or ten small court-yards, some of which are neatly laid out in beds of flowers and vegetables; a few date-trees and cypresses also grow there, and great numbers of vines.

* This was the reception given to Mr. Fazakerley and his companions, their visit being attributed to devout motives: a pilgrimage to Sinai entitles the traveller to the honourable appellation referred to.

The distribution of the interior is very irregular, and could not be otherwise, considering the slope upon which the building stands; but the whole is very clean and neat. There are a great number of small rooms in the lower and upper stories, most of which are at present unoccupied. The principal building in the interior is the great church, which, as well as the convent, was built by the Emperor Justinian, but it has subsequently undergone frequent repairs. The form of the church is an oblong square; the roof is supported by a double row of fine granite pillars, which have been covered with a coat of white plaster, perhaps because the natural colour of the stone was not agreeable to the monks, who saw granite on every side of them. The capitals of the columns are of different designs; several of them bear a resemblance to palm branches, while others are a close but coarse imitation of the latest period of Egyptian sculpture, such as is seen at Philæ, and in several temples in Nubia. The dome over the altar still remains as it was constructed by Justinian, whose portrait, together with that of his wife Theodora, may yet be distinguished on the dome, together with a large picture of the Transfiguration, in honour of which event the convent was erected. An abundance of silver lamps, paintings, and portraits of saints adorn the walls round the altar; among the latter is a saint Christopher, with a dog's head. The floor of the church is finely paved with slabs of marble.

"The church contains the coffin in which the bones of St. Catherine were collected from the neighbouring mountain of St. Catherine, where her corpse was transported after her death by the angels in the service of the monks. The silver lid of a sarcophagus likewise attracts attention; upon it is represented at

full length, the figure of the Empress Anne of Russia, who entertained the idea of being interred in the sarcophagus, which she sent here; but the monks were disappointed of this honour. In a small chapel adjoining the church, is shewn the place where the Lord is supposed to have appeared to Moses in the burning bush; it is called Alyka, and is considered as the most holy spot in Mount Sinai. Besides the great church, there are twenty-seven smaller churches or chapels dispersed over the convent, in many of which daily masses are read, and in all of them at least one every Sunday.

"The convent formerly resembled, in its establishment, that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which contains churches of various sects of Christians. Every principal sect, except the Calvinists and Protestants, had its churches in the convent of Sinai. I was shewn the chapels belonging to the Syrians, Armenians, Copts, and Latins, but they have long been abandoned by their owners: the church of the Latins fell into ruins at the close of the seventeenth century, and has not been rebuilt. But, what is more remarkable than the existence of so many churches, is, that close by the great church stands a Mohammedan mosque, spacious enough to contain two hundred people at prayers. The monks told me, that it was built in the sixteenth century, to prevent the destruction of the convent. Their tradition is as follows. When Selim, the Othman emperor, conquered Egypt, he took a great fancy to a young Greek priest, who falling ill at the time that Selim was returning to Constantinople, was sent by him to this convent to recover his health: the young man died, upon which the emperor, enraged at what he considered to be the work of the priests, gave orders to the governor of

Egypt to destroy all the Christian establishments in the peninsula; of which there were several at that period. The priests of the great convent of Mount Sinai being informed of the preparations making in Egypt to carry these orders into execution, began immediately to build a mosque within their walls, hoping that, for its sake, their house would be spared; it is said that their project was successful, and that ever since, the mosque has been kept in repair.

"This tradition, however, is contradicted by some old Arabic records kept by the prior, in which I read a circumstantial account how, in the year of the Hedjra 783, some straggling Turkish Hadjis, who had been cut off from the caravan, were brought by the Bedouins to the convent; and, being found to be well educated, and originally from Upper Egypt, were retained here, and a salary settled on them and their descendants, on condition of their becoming the servants of the mosque. The conquest of Egypt by Selim did not take place till A.H. 895. The mosque in the convent of Sinai appears, therefore, to have existed long before the time of Selim. The descendants of these Hadjis, now poor Bedouins, are called Retheny; they still continue to be the servants of the mosque, which they clean on Thursday evenings, and light the lamps; one of them is called the Imam. The mosque is sometimes visited by Moslem pilgrims, but it is only upon the occasion of the presence of some Mussulman of consequence that the call to prayers is made from the minaret.

"In the convent are two deep and copious wells of spring water. One of them is called the well of Moses, because it is said that he first drank of its water. Another was the work, as the monks say, of an

English lord; it bears the date 1760. There is also a reservoir for the reception of rain water.

"None of the churches or chapels have steeples. There is a bell, which, I believe, is rung only on Sundays. The usual mode of calling the monks to morning prayers, is by striking with a stick upon a long piece of granite, suspended from ropes, which produces a sound heard all over the convent: close by it hangs a piece of dry wood, which emits a different sound, and summons to vespers. A small tower is shewn, which was built forty or fifty years ago for the residence of a Greek patriarch of Constantinople, who was exiled to this place by the orders of the sultan, and who remained here till he died.

"According to the credited tradition, the origin of the convent of Mount Sinai dates from the fourth century. Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said to have erected here a small church, in commemoration of the place where the Lord appeared to Moses in the burning bush; and in the garden of the convent a small tower is still shewn, the foundations of which are said to have been laid by her. The church of Helena drawing many visiters and monks to these mountains, several small convents were erected in different parts of the peninsula, in the course of the next century; but the ill treatment which the monks and hermits suffered from the Bedouins, induced them at last to present a petition to the Emperor Justinian, entreating him to build a fortified convent capable of affording them protection against their oppressors. He granted the request, and sent workmen from Constantinople and Egypt, with orders to erect a large convent upon the top of the mountain of Moses; those, however, to whom the work was entrusted, observing the entire want of water in that spot, built

it on the present site. They attempted in vain to cut away the mountain on each side of the building, with a view to prevent the Arabs from taking post there and throwing stones at the monks within. The building being completed, Justinian sent from Constantinople some slaves, natives of the shores of the Black Sea, to officiate as servants in the convent, who established themselves with their families in the neighbouring valleys. The first prior was Doulas, whose name is still recorded upon a stone built into the wall of one of the buildings in the interior of the convent. The above history is taken from a document in Arabic, preserved by the monks. An Arabic inscription over the gate, in modern characters, states, that Justinian built the convent in the thirtieth year of his reign, as a memorial of himself and his wife Theodora. It is curious to find a passage of the Koran introduced into this inscription; it was probably done by a Moslem sculptor, without the knowledge of the monks.

"A few years after the completion of the convent, one of the monks is said to have been informed in his sleep, that the corpse of St. Catherine, who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria, had been transported by angels to the summit of the highest peak of the surrounding mountains. The monks ascended the mountain in procession, found the bones, and deposited them in their church, which thus acquired an additional claim to the veneration of the Greeks.

"Monastic establishments seem soon after to have considerably increased throughout the peninsula. Small convents, chapels, and hermitages, the remains of many of which are still visible, were built in various parts of it. The prior told me, that Justinian gave the whole peninsula in property to the convent,

and that at the time of the Mohammedan conquest, 6 or 7,000 monks and hermits were dispersed over the mountains, the establishments of the peninsula of Sinai thus resembling those which still exist on the peninsula of Mount Athos.

"It is a favourite belief of the monks of Mount Sinai, that Mohammed himself, in one of his journeys, alighted under the walls of the convent, and that, impressed with due veneration for the mountain of Moses, he presented to the convent a firmaun, to secure to it the respect of all his followers. Ali is said to have written it, and Mohammed, who could not write, to have confirmed it by impressing his extended hand, blackened with ink, upon the parchment. This firmaun, it is added, remained in the convent until Selim the First conquered Egypt, when, hearing of the precious relic, he sent for it, and added it to the other relics of Mohammed in the imperial treasury at Constantinople; giving to the convent in return, a copy of the original certified with his own cipher. I have seen the latter, which is kept in the Sinai convent at Cairo, but I do not believe it to be an authentic document. None of the historians of Mohammed, who have recorded the transactions of almost every day of his life, mention his having been at Mount Sinai, either in his earliest youth, or after he set up as a prophet; and it is totally contrary to history, that he should have granted to any Christians such privileges as are mentioned in this firmaun, one of which is, that the Moslems are bound to aid the Christian monks in rebuilding their ruined churches. It is to be observed also, that this document states itself to have been written by Ali, not at the convent, but in the mosque of the prophet at Medinah, in the second year of the Hedjra, and is addressed, not to

the convent of Mount Sinai in particular, but to all the Christians and their priests. The names of twenty-two witnesses, followers of Mohammed, are subscribed to it; and in a note it is expressly stated, that the original, written by Ali, was lost, and that the present was copied from a fourth successive copy taken from the original. Hence it appears, that the relation of the priests is at variance with the document to which they refer; and I have little doubt, therefore, that the former is a fable, and the latter a forgery.

"Notwithstanding the difficulties to which the monks must have been exposed from the warlike and fanatical followers of the new faith in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and the Desert, the convent continued uninjured, and defended itself successfully against all the surrounding tribes by the peculiar arms of its possessors, patience, meekness, and money. According to the statement of the monks, their predecessors were made responsible by the sultans of Egypt for the protection of the pilgrim caravans from Cairo to Mekka, on that part of the road which lay along the northern frontiers of their territory from Suez to Akaba. For this purpose they thought it necessary to invite several tribes, and particularly the Szowaleha and the Aleygat, to settle in the fertile valleys of Sinai, in order to serve as protectors of this road. The Bedouins came, but, their power increasing, while that of the monks declined, they in the course of time took possession of the whole peninsula, and confined the monks to their convent. It appears from the original copy of a compact between the monks and the above Bedouins, made in the year of the Hedjra 800, when Sultan Dhaher Bybars reigned in Egypt, that, besides this convent, six others were still existing in

the peninsula, exclusive of a number of chapels and hermitages. From a writing on parchment, dated in the A. H. 1053, we find that in that year all these minor establishments had been abandoned, and that the great convent, holding property at Feiran, Tor, and in other fruitful valleys, alone remained. The priests assured me, that they had documents to prove, that all the date valleys and other fertile spots in the gulf of Akaba had been in their possession, and were confirmed to them by the Sultans of Egypt; but they either could not or would not shew me their archives in detail, without an order from the prior at Cairo: indeed, all their papers appeared to be in great confusion.

"Whenever a new sultan ascends the throne of Constantinople, the convent is furnished with a new firmaun, which is transmitted to the Pasha of Egypt; but, as the neighbouring Bedouins, till within a few years, were completely independent of Egypt, the protection of the pashas was of very little use to the monks; and their only dependence was upon their own resources and their means of purchasing and conciliating the friendship, or of appeasing the animosity of the Arabs.

"At present, there are only twenty-three monks in the convent. They are under the presidence of a Wakyl or prior, but the Ikonómos (Οἰκονόμος), whom the Arabs call the Kolob, is the true head of the community, and manages all its affairs. The order of Sinai monks dispersed over the East, is under the control of an archbishop, in Arabic called the Reys. He is chosen by a council of delegates from Mount Sinai and from the affiliated convent at Cairo, and he is confirmed, *pro formâ*, by the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem. The archbishop can do nothing as to the

appropriation of the funds without the unanimous vote of the council. Formerly he lived in the convent; but since its affairs have been on the decline, it has been found more expedient that he should reside abroad, his presence here entitling the Bedouins to great fees, particularly on his entrance into the convent. I was told, that ten thousand dollars would be required, on such an occasion, to fulfil all the obligations to which the community is bound in its treaties with the Arabs. Hence it happens that no archbishop has been here since the year 1760, when the Reys Kyrillos resided, and I believe died, in the convent. I was informed that the gate has remained walled up since the year 1709, (1769?) but that if an archbishop were to come, it must be again opened to admit him, and that all the Bedouin sheikhs then have a right to enter within the walls.

"Besides the convent at Cairo, which contains a prior and about fifty monks, Mount Sinai has establishments and landed property in many other parts of the East, especially in the Archipelago and at Candia: it has also a small church at Calcutta, and another at Surat.

"The discipline of these monks, with regard to food and prayer, is very severe. They are obliged to attend mass twice in the day and twice in the night. The rule is, that they shall taste no flesh whatever all the year round; and in their great fast, they not only abstain from butter and every kind of animal food and fish, but also from oil, and live four days in the week on bread and boiled vegetables, of which one small dish is all their dinner. They obtain their vegetables from a pleasant garden adjoining the building, into which there is a subterraneous passage. The soil is stony, but, in this climate, wherever water is in

plenty, the very rocks will produce vegetation. The fruit is of the finest quality: oranges, lemons, almonds, mulberries, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, olives, nebek-trees, and a few cypresses, overshade the beds in which melons, beans, lettuces, onions, cucumbers, and all sorts of culinary and sweet-scented herbs are sown. The garden, however, is very seldom visited by the monks, except by the few whose business it is to keep it in order; for, although surrounded by high walls, it is not inaccessible to the Bedouins, who, for the last three years, have been the sole gatherers of the fruits, leaving the vegetables only for the monks: they have thus been obliged to re-purchase their own fruit from the pilferers, or to buy it in other parts of the peninsula.

"The excellent air of the convent, and the simple fare of the inhabitants, render diseases rare. Many of the monks are very old men, in the full possession of their mental and bodily faculties. They have all taken to some profession, — a mode of rendering themselves independent of Egypt, which was practised here, even when the three hundred private chambers were occupied, which are now empty, though still ready for the accommodation of pious settlers. Among the twenty-three monks who now remain, there is a cook, a distiller, a baker, a shoemaker, a tailor, a carpenter, a smith, a mason, a gardener, a maker of candles, &c. &c. Each of these has his work-shop, in the worn-out and rusty utensils of which are still to be seen the traces of the former riches and industry of the establishment. The rooms in which the provisions are kept, are vaulted, and built of granite, with great solidity: each kind of provision has its purveyor. The bake-house and distillery are still

kept up upon a large scale. The best bread is of the finest quality, but the second and third sorts are made for the Bedouins who are fed by the convent. In the distillery, they make brandy from dates, which is the only solace these recluses enjoy, and in this they are permitted to indulge even during the fasts.

"Most of the monks are natives of the Greek islands. In general, they do not remain more than four or five years, when they return to their own country, proud of having been sufferers among Bedouins: some, however, have been here forty years. A few of them only understood Arabic; but none of them write or read it. Being of the lower orders of society, and educated only in convents, they are extremely ignorant. Few of them read even the modern Greek fluently, excepting in their prayer-books; and I found but one who had any notion of the ancient Greek. They have a good library, but it is always shut up; it contains about fifteen hundred Greek volumes, and seven hundred Arabic manuscripts: the latter, which I examined volume after volume, consist entirely of books of prayer, copies of the Gospels, lives of saints, liturgies, &c. A thick folio volume of the works of Lokman, edited, according to the Arab tradition, by Hormus, the ancient king of Egypt, was the only one worth attention. The prior would not permit it to be taken away, but he made me a present of a fine copy of the Aldine Odyssey, and an equally fine one of the Anthology. In the room anciently the residence of the archbishop, which is very elegantly paved with marble, and extremely well furnished, though at present unoccupied, is preserved a beautiful ancient manuscript of the Gospels in Greek, which, I was

told, was given to the convent by 'an emperor called Theodosius.' It is written in letters of gold upon vellum, and ornamented with portraits of the apostles.

"Notwithstanding the ignorance of these monks, they are fond of seeing strangers in their wilderness; and I met with a more cordial reception among them, than I did in the convents of Libanus, which are in possession of all the luxuries of life. The monks of Sinai are even generous. Three years ago, they furnished a Servian adventurer, who styled himself a Knes, and pretended to be well known to the Russian Government, with sixty dollars, to pay his journey back to Alexandria, on his informing them of his destitute circumstances.

"At present, the convent is seldom visited: a few Greeks from Cairo and Suez, and the inhabitants of Tor, who repair here every summer, and encamp with their families in the garden, are the only persons who venture to undertake the journey through the desert. So late as the last century, regular caravans of pilgrims used to come here from Cairo as well as from Jerusalem. A document preserved by the monks, states the arrival in one day of eight hundred Armenians from Jerusalem, and, at another time, of five hundred Copts from Cairo. I believe that from sixty to eighty is the greatest number of visiters that can now be reckoned in a year.

"The only habitual visiters of the convent are the Bedouins. They have established the custom, that whoever amongst them, whether man, woman, or child, comes here, is to receive bread for breakfast and supper, which is lowered down to them from the window, as no Bedouins, except the servants of the house, are ever admitted within the walls. Fortu-

nately for the monks, there are no good pasturing-places in their immediate neighbourhood; the Arab encampments are therefore always at some distance, and visiters are thus not so frequent as might be supposed; yet, scarcely a day passes without their having to furnish bread to thirty or forty persons. In the last century, the Bedouins enjoyed still greater privileges, and had a right to call for a dish of cooked meat at breakfast, and for another at supper: the monks could not have given a stronger proof of their address, than by obtaining the abandonment of this right from men in whose power they are so completely placed. The convent of Sinai at Cairo is subject to similar claims; all the Bedouins of the peninsula who repair to that city on their private business, receive their daily meal from the monks, who, not having the same excuses as their brethren of Mount Sinai, are obliged to supply a dish of cooked meat. The convent has its ghafeirs, or protectors, twenty-four in number, among the tribes inhabiting the desert between Syria and the Red Sea; but the more remote of them are entitled only to some annual presents in clothes and money, while the Towara ghafeirs are continually hovering round the walls, to extort as much as they can. Of the Towara Arabs, the tribes of Szowaleha and Aleygat only are considered as protectors; the Mezeine, who came in later times to the peninsula, have no claims; and of the Szowaleha tribe, the branches Oulad Said and Owaremè are exclusively the protectors, while the Koreysh and Rahamy are not only excluded from the right of protection, but also from the transport of passengers and loads. Of the Oulad Said, each individual receives an annual gift of a dollar, and the ghafeir of this branch of the Szowaleha is the con-

vent's chief man of business in the desert. If a sheikh or head man calls at the convent, he receives, in addition to his bread, some coffee-beans, sugar, soap, sometimes a handkerchief, a little medicine, &c. &c.

"Under such circumstances, it may easily be conceived that disputes continually happen. If a sheikh from the protecting tribes comes to the convent to demand coffee, sugar, or clothing, and is not well satisfied with what he receives, he immediately becomes the enemy of the monks, lays waste some of their gardens, and must at last be gained over by a present. The independent state of the Bedouins of Sinai had long prevented the monks from endeavouring to obtain protection from the Government of Egypt, whose power in the peninsula being trifling, they would only by complaining have exasperated the Bedouins against them; their differences, therefore, had hitherto been accommodated by the mediation of other sheikhs. It was not till 1816 that they solicited the protection of Mohammed Ali; this will secure them for the present against their neighbours; but it will, probably, as I told the monks, be detrimental to them in the end. Ten or twenty dollars were sufficient to pacify the fiercest Bedouin; but a Turkish governor will demand a thousand for any effectual protection.

"The Arabs, when discontented, have sometimes seized a monk in the mountains, and given him a severe beating, or have thrown stones or fired their muskets into the convent from the neighbouring heights: about twenty years ago, a monk was killed by them. The monks, in their turn, have fired occasionally upon the Bedouins, for they have a well-furnished armoury and two small cannon, but they

take great care never to kill any one. And though they dislike such turbulent neighbours, and describe them to strangers as very devils, yet, they have sense enough to perceive the advantages which they derive from the better traits in the Bedouin character, such as their general good faith, and their placability. 'If our convent,' as they have observed to me, 'had been subject to the revolutions and oppressions of Egypt or Syria, it would long ago have been abandoned; but Providence has preserved us by giving us Bedouins for neighbours.'

"Notwithstanding the greediness of the Bedouins, I have reason to believe that the expenses of the convent are very moderate. Each monk is supplied annually with two coarse woollen cloaks, and no splendour is any where displayed, except in the furniture of the great church, and that of the Archbishop's room. The supplies are drawn from Egypt; but the communication by caravans with Cairo is far from being regular, and the ikonómos assured me that, at the time I was there, the house did not contain more than one month's provision.

"The yearly consumption of corn is about one hundred and sixty erdebs, or two thousand five hundred bushels, which is sufficient to cover all the demands of the Bedouins; and I believe that 1000*l.* sterling, or 4000 dollars, is the utmost of the annual expenditure. The convent at Cairo expends perhaps two or three times that sum. The monks complain greatly of poverty; and the prior assured me, that he sometimes has not a farthing left to pay for the corn that is brought to him, and is obliged to borrow money from the Bedouins at high interest. But an appearance of poverty is one of their great protections; and considering the possessions of this convent abroad, and

the presents which it receives from pilgrims, I am much inclined to doubt the prior's assertion."*

Sir Frederick Henniker found thirty resident monks here; and there are, he says, the same number of "travelling fellows," who go from place to place to beg for the convent. The superior had been resident here forty-five years. One old monk, just arrived from Cairo in thirty days, said that he had been a member of the establishment seventy years.

After reposing in the convent and its delightful garden, the first duty of a pilgrim is, to climb the summit of the *Djebel Mousa*, or mountain of Moses, the road to which begins to ascend immediately behind the walls of the convent. Regular steps (it is said, to the number of 15,000 †) have been cut all the way up; but they are now either entirely destroyed, or so much damaged by the winter torrents, as to be of very little use. They are ascribed to the munificence of the Empress Helena. "After ascending for about twenty-five minutes," says Burckhardt, "we breathed a short time under a large impending rock, close by which is a small well of water, as cold as ice. At the end of three quarters of an hour's steep ascent, we came to a small plain, the entrance to which from below is through a stone gateway, which in former times was probably closed: a little beneath it, stands, amidst the rocks, a small church dedicated to the Virgin. On the plain is a larger building of rude construction, which bears the name of the convent of St. Elias: it was lately inhabited, but is now abandoned, the monks repairing here only at certain times of the year to read mass. Pilgrims usually halt on

* Travels in Syria, pp. 551—557.

† Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, translated by the Right Rev. Rob. Clayton, Lord Bishop of Clogher.

this spot, where a tall cypress-tree grows by the side of a stone tank, which receives the winter rains. On a large rock in the plain are several Arabic inscriptions, engraved by pilgrims three or four hundred years ago; I saw one also in the Syriac language.

"According to the Koran and Moslem traditions, it was in this part of the mountain, which is called Djebel Oreb, or Horeb, that Moses communicated with the Lord. From hence a still steeper ascent of half an hour, the steps of which are also in ruins, leads to the summit of Djebel Mousa, where stands the church which forms the principal object of the pilgrimage: it is built on the very peak of the mountain, the plane of which is at most sixty paces in circumference. The church, though strongly built with granite, is now greatly dilapidated by the unremitted attempts of the Arabs to destroy it; the door, roof, and walls are greatly injured. Szaleh, the present Sheikh of the Towara, with his tribe the Korashy, were the principal instrument in the work of destruction, because, not being entitled to any tribute from the convent, they are particularly hostile to the monks. Some ruins round the church indicate that a much larger and more solid building once stood here; and the rock appears to have been cut perpendicularly with great labour, to prevent any other approach to it than by the southern side. The view from this summit must be very grand, but a thick fog prevented me from seeing even the nearest mountains.

"About thirty paces from the church, on a somewhat lower peak, stands a poor mosque, without any ornaments, held in great veneration by the Moslems, and the place of their pilgrimage. It is frequently visited by the Bedouins, who slaughter sheep in honour of Moses, and who make vows to him, and

entreat his intercession in heaven in their favour. There is a feast-day on which the Bedouins come hither in a mass, and offer their sacrifices. I was told, that formerly they never approached the place without being dressed in the Ihram, or sacred mantle, with which the Moslems cover their naked bodies on visiting Mekka, and which then consisted only of a napkin tied round the middle; but this custom has been abandoned for the last forty years. Foreign Moslem pilgrims often repair to the spot; and even Mohammed Ali Pasha, and his son Tousoun Pasha, gave notice that they intended to visit it, but they did not keep their promise. Close by the footpath, in the ascent from St. Elias to this summit, and at a small distance from it, a place is shewn in the rock, which somewhat resembles the print of the fore-part of the foot; it is stated to have been made by Mohammed's foot when he visited the mountain. We found the adjacent part of the rock sprinkled with blood, in consequence of an accident which happened a few days before to a Turkish lady of rank who was on her way from Cairo to Mekka, with her son, and who had resided for some weeks in the convent, during which she made the tour of the sacred places, bare-footed, although she was old and decrepit. In attempting to kiss the mark of Mohammed's foot, she fell, and wounded her head, but not so severely as to prevent her from pursuing her pilgrimage. Somewhat below the mosque is a fine reservoir, cut very deep in the granite rock, for the reception of rain water.

"The Arabs believe that the tables of the Commandments are buried beneath the pavement of the church on Djebel Mousa, and they have made excavations on every side, in the hope of finding them. They more particularly revere this spot from a belief

that the rains which fall in the peninsula are under the immediate control of Moses; and they are persuaded that the priests of the convent are in possession of the Taourat, a book sent down to Moses from heaven, upon the opening and shutting of which depend the rains of the peninsula. The reputation which the monks have thus obtained of having the dispensation of the rains in their hands, has become very troublesome to them, but they have brought it on by their own measures for enhancing their credit with the Bedouins. In times of dearth, they were accustomed to proceed in a body to Djebel Mousa, to pray for rain, and they encouraged the belief that the rain was due to their intercessions. By a natural inference, the Bedouins have concluded, that, if the monks could bring rain, they had it likewise in their power to withhold it; and the consequence is, that whenever a dearth happens, they accuse the monks of malevolence, and often tumultuously assemble and compel them to repair to the mountain to pray. Some years since, soon after an occurrence of this kind, it happened that a violent flood burst over the peninsula, and destroyed many date-trees. A Bedouin, whose camels and sheep had been swept away by the torrent, went in a fury to the convent, and fired his gun at it, and, when asked the reason, exclaimed—'You have opened the book so much that we are all drowned!' He was pacified by presents; but, on departing, he begged that in future the monks would only half open the Taourat, in order that the rains might be more moderate.

"The supposed influence of the monks is, however, sometimes attended with more fortunate results. The Sheikh Szaleh had never been father of a male child; and on being told that Providence had thus punished

him for his enmity to the convent, he two years ago brought a load of butter to the monks, and entreated them to go to the mountain and pray that his newly married wife, who was then pregnant, might be delivered of a son. The monks complied, and Szaleh soon after became the happy father of a fine boy; since that period, he has been the friend of the convent, and has even partly repaired the church on Djebel Mousa. This summit was formerly inhabited by the monks, but at present they visit it only in time of festivals.

"We returned to the convent of St. Elias, and then descended on the western side of the mountain for half an hour by another decayed flight of steps, into a valley where is a small convent called El Erbayn, or the forty: it is in good repair, and is at present inhabited by a family of Djebalye, who take care of the garden annexed to it, which affords a pleasing place of rest to those who descend from the barren mountains above. In its neighbourhood are extensive olive-plantations; but I was told that, for the last five summers, the locusts had devoured both the fruit and foliage of these trees, upon which they alight in preference to all others. This insect is not less dreaded here than in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt; but the Bedouins of Mount Sinai, unlike those of Arabia, instead of eating them, hold them in great abhorrence."

The convent of the Forty Martyrs is situated in the midst of the valley lying between *Djebel Mousa* on the east, and *Djebel Katerin* (Mount Catherine) on the west. The latter is the loftier and more picturesque peak of the two, and the ascent is very difficult. At about an hour from the convent, the pilgrim arrives at a small spring, called *Bir Shonnar* (the well of the partridge), so named, because it was first dis-

covered to some thirsty monks by a bird's flying up from the spot.* It is closely surrounded with rocks, and is not more than a foot in diameter, and as much in depth; but the Bedoweens say, that it never dries up, and that its water, even when exposed to the sun, is as cold as ice. Several trees grow near it; among others, the *zarour*, which bears a fruit resembling in flavour the strawberry. This side of the *Djebel Katerin* is noted for its excellent pasturage: herbs sprout up every where between the rocks, and, as many of them are odoriferous, the scent early in the morning, when the dew falls, is delicious. A botanist, Burckhardt says, would find a rich harvest here.† He mentions in particular, the *zattar* (*ocimum zatarhendi*), which affords the best possible food for sheep, and the *euphorbia retusa* of Forskal, bearing a pretty red flower, which abounds in the valleys of Sinai, and is seen among the most barren granitic rocks. "In the month of June, when the herbs are in blossom, the monks repair to this and the surrounding mountains, in order to collect various herbs, which they dry and send to the convent at Cairo, whence they are despatched to the Archbishop of Sinai, who distributes them to his friends and dependents: they are supposed to possess many virtues

* "This fountain, the Greeks say, broke out miraculously when the body of St. Catherine was carried from this mountain to the great convent; at which time the bearers of her corpse being ready to perish with thirst, the partridges which attended her funeral from the summit of the mountain, conducted them to this place, and discovered the fountain to them."—*Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai.*

† And the geologist too, according to Bishop Clayton's document, which speaks of abundance of curious stones, and pendent rocks marked with the most beautiful veins, shooting forth in the resemblance of trees.

conducive to health." In winter, when the whole of the upper Sinai is deeply covered with snow, and many of the passes are choked up, the mountains of Moses and St. Catherine are often inaccessible. Mr. Fazakerley, who ascended them in the month of February, found a great deal of snow, and the ascent was "severe;" but upon the whole, he adds, "we fared better than Pietro della Valle, who went up in a violent snow-storm, and gives a lamentable account of his adventures here." The English Traveller reached the summit at the end of three hours from the convent of the Forty Martyrs. There have formerly been steps, but these are entirely destroyed. The mountain terminates, like the Djebel Mousa, in a sharp peak, consisting of an immense block of granite, the surface of which is so smooth, that it is very difficult to climb it. Luxuriant vegetation reaches up to this rock. On its summit, there is nothing to excite attention, but a small chapel (Mr. Fazakerley calls it "a shed") hardly high enough to allow a person to stand upright within it, and badly built of loose, uncemented stones. The floor is the bare rock, in which, says Burckhardt, solid as it is, the body of St. Catherine is believed to have been miraculously buried by angels after her martyrdom at Alexandria.*

Mr. Fazakerley says, it is difficult to imagine a scene more desolate and terrific than that which is discovered from the summit of Sinai. A haze limited the prospect, and, except a glimpse of the sea in one direction, nothing was within sight but snow, and huge peaks and crags of naked granite.* Sir F. Hen-

* This is rather an embellishment of the legend. According to the Journal translated by Bishop Clayton, the body was laid on the surface; and the impression which it made on the rock, "still remains to be seen." It is *seven* feet in length!

niker describes it as a "sea of desolation." "It would seem," he says, "as if Arabia Petræa had once been an ocean of lava, and that while its waves were running literally mountains high, it was commanded suddenly to stand still." He did not ascend the *Djebel Katerin;* but the former Traveller did, and speaks of it in the following terms: "The view from hence is of the same kind, only much more extensive than from the top of Sinai: it commands the two seas (gulfs) of Akaba and Suez; the island of Tiraan and the village of Tor were pointed out to us; Sinai was far below us; clouds prevented our seeing the high ground near Suez: all the rest, wherever the eye could reach, was a vast wilderness, and a confusion of granite mountains and valleys destitute of verdure." Burckhardt thus describes the country as seen from this same summit: "From this elevated peak, a very extensive view opened before us, and the direction of the different surrounding chains of mountains could be distinctly traced. The upper nucleus of the Sinai, composed almost entirely of granite, forms a rocky wilderness of an irregular circular shape, intersected by many narrow valleys, and from thirty to forty miles in diameter. It contains the highest mountains of the peninsula, whose shaggy and pointed peaks, and steep and shattered sides, render it clearly distinguishable from all the rest of the country in view. It is upon this highest region of the peninsula, that the fertile valleys are found, which produce fruit-trees: they are principally to the west and south-west of the convent, at three or four hours' distance. Water, too, is always found in plenty in this district, on which account it is the place of refuge of all the Bedouins, when the low country is parched up.

" I think it very probable that this upper country or wilderness is, exclusively, the *Desert of Sinai*, so often mentioned in the account of the wanderings of the Israelites. Mount St. Catherine appears to stand nearly in the centre of it. To the northward of this central region, and divided from it by the broad valley called *Wady el Sheikh*, and by several minor *wadys*, begins a lower range of mountains, called *Zebeir*, which extends eastward, having at one extremity the two peaks called *El Djoze*, above the plantations of Wady Feiran, and losing itself to the east in the more open country towards *Wady Sal*. Beyond the Zebeir northward, are sandy plains and valleys, which I crossed toward the west at *Raml el Moral*, and toward the east about *Hadhra*. This part is the most barren and destitute of water of the whole country. At its eastern extremity it is called *El Birka*. It borders to the north on the chain of *El Tyh*, which stretches in a regular line eastward, parallel with the Zebeir, beginning at *Sarbout el Djemel*. On reaching, in its eastern course, the somewhat higher mountain called *El Odjme*, it separates into two. One of its branches turns off in a right angle northward, and after continuing for about fifteen miles in that direction, again turns to the east, and extends parallel with the second and southern branch all across the peninsula, towards the eastern gulf. The northern branch, which is called *El Dhehel*, bounds the view from Mount St. Catherine. On turning to the east, I found that the mountains in this direction beyond the high district of Sinai, run in a lower range towards the *Wady Sal*, and that the slope of the upper mountain is much less abrupt than on the opposite side. From Sal, east and north-east, the chains intersect each other in many irregular masses of inferior height, till they reach the

gulf of Akaba, which I clearly distinguished when the sun was just rising over the mountains of the Arabian coast. Excepting the short extent from Noweyba to Dahab, the mountains bordering on the gulf are all of secondary height, but they rise to a considerable elevation between those two points. The country between Sherm, Nabk, and the convent, is occupied also by mountains of minor size; and the valleys generally are so narrow, that few of them can be distinguished from the point where I stood, the whole country, in that direction, appearing an uninterrupted wilderness of barren mountains. The highest points on that side appear to be above *Wady Kyd*, above the valley of Naszeb, and principally the peaks called *Om Khehsyn* and *Masaoud.*

" The view to the south was bounded by the high mountain of Om Shomar, which forms a nucleus of itself, apparently unconnected with the upper Sinai, although bordering close upon it. To the right of this mountain, I could distinguish the sea in the neighbourhood of Tor, near which begins a low calcareous chain of mountains called *Djebel Hemam, i. e.* death, (not *Hamam*, or bath,) extending along the gulf of Suez, and separated from the upper Sinai by a broad, gravelly plain, called *El Kaa*, across which the road from Tor to Suez passes. This plain terminates to the W.N.W. of Mount St. Catherine, and nearly in the direction of *Djebel Serbal.* Towards the Kaa, the central Sinai mountains are very abrupt, and leave no secondary intermediate chain between them and the chain at their feet. The mountain of Serbal is separated from the upper Sinai by some valleys, especially *Wady Hebran;* and it forms, with several neighbouring mountains, a separate cluster, terminating in peaks, the highest of which appears to be as

high as Mount St. Catherine. Its borders are the *Wady Feiran* and the chain of *Zebein.*" *

The climate of the valley in which the convent of *El Erbayn* stands, is described by Burckhardt as most delightful. A good garden and orchard are attached to the convent; and so brilliant was the verdure, and so aromatic the perfume of the orange-trees, that he fancied himself transported from the barren cliffs of the wilderness to the luxurious groves of Antioch. "It is surprising," he says, "that the Europeans resident at Cairo do not prefer spending the season of the plague in these pleasant gardens and this delightful climate, to remaining close prisoners in the infected city." While in the lower country, and particularly on the sea-shore, the thermometer is often at from 102° to 105°, and sometimes as high even as 110°; in the convent, in the month of May, the maximum was 75°. The semoum never reaches these upper regions, and the climate differs so much from that of Cairo, that apricots, which are in season towards the latter days of April in Egypt, are not ripe in the desert of Sinai till the middle of June. The valley in which the Erbayn stands, is very narrow and stony, many large blocks having rolled into it from the mountains: it is called *El Ledja.*†

At twenty minutes' walk from the convent of *El Erbayn*, a block of granite is shewn as the rock out of which the water issued when struck by the rod of

* Travels in Syria, pp. 573—5. Several bearings are given. El Djoze bore N.W. by N.; Sarbout el Djemel, N.W. ¼ N.; El Odjme, N. ½ E.; Wady Naszeb, extending S.E. and E.S.E.; Dahab, E.S.E.; Djebel Masaoud, S.E. by E.; Wady Kyd, S.E.; Om Shomar, S.S.W.; Tor, S.W.; Serbal, N.W. ½ W.

† The name given to a similar rocky district in the Haouran.

Moses.* It is thus described by Burckhardt: "It lies quite insulated by the side of the path, which is about ten feet higher than the lower bottom of the valley. The rock is about twelve feet in height, of an irregular shape, approaching to a cube. There are some apertures upon its surface, through which the water is said to have burst out; they are about twenty in number, and lie nearly in a straight line round the three sides of the stone. They are for the most part ten or twelve inches long, two or three inches broad, and from one to two inches deep, but a few of them are as deep as *four* inches. Every observer must be convinced, on the slightest examination, that most of these fissures are the work of art; but three or four perhaps are natural, and these may have first drawn the attention of the monks to the stone, and have induced them to call it the rock of the miraculous supply of water. Besides the marks of art evident in the holes themselves, the spaces between them have been chiselled, so as to make it appear as if the stone had been worn in those parts by the action of the water; though it cannot be doubted, that if water had flowed from the fissures, it must generally have taken quite a different direction. One Traveller† saw on this stone twelve openings, answering to the number of the tribes of Israel; another‡ describes the holes as a foot deep. They were probably told so by the monks, and believed what they heard, rather than what they saw.

"About 150 paces further on in the valley, lies another piece of rock, upon which it seems that the work

* In the valley of Rephidim. Exod. xvii. 7.

† Breydenbach. ‡ Sicard.

of deception was first begun, there being four or five apertures cut in it, similar to those on the other block, but in a less finished state. As it is somewhat smaller than the former, and lies in a less conspicuous part of the valley, removed from the public path, the monks thought proper, in process of time, to assign the miracle to the other. As the rock of Moses has been described by travellers of the fifteenth century, the deception must have originated among the monks of an earlier period. As to the present inhabitants of the convent and of the peninsula, they must be acquitted of any fraud respecting it, for they conscientiously believe that it is the very rock from whence the water gushed forth. In this part of the peninsula, the Israelites could not have suffered from thirst. The upper Sinai is full of wells and springs, the greater part of which are perennial; and on whichever side the pretended rock of Moses is approached, copious sources are found within an hour of it. The rock is greatly venerated by the Bedouins, who put grass into the fissures, as offerings to the memory of Moses, in the same manner as they place grass upon the tombs of their saint, because grass is to them the most precious gift of nature, and that upon which their existence chiefly depends. They also bring hither their female camels, for they believe that by making the animal couch down before the rock, while they recite some prayers, and by putting fresh grass into the fissures of the stone, the camels will become fertile, and yield an abundance of milk. The superstition is encouraged by the monks, who rejoice to see the infidel Bedouins venerating the same object as themselves. ...A little further down is shewn the seat of Moses, where it is said that he often sat: it is a small and apparently natural excavation in a granite rock, re-

sembling a chair. Near this is the *petrified pot or kettle of Moses;* a name given to a circular, projecting knob in a rock, similar in size and shape to the lid of a kettle. The Arabs have in vain endeavoured to break this rock, which they suppose to contain great treasures." *

The fact, that this part of the peninsula abounds with perennial springs, which is attested by every traveller, proves decidedly that this cannot be the vale of Rephidim. It is astonishing to find such travellers as Shaw and Pococke credulously adopting this imbecile legend. "Here," says the former, "we still see that extraordinary antiquity, the Rock of Meribah, which hath continued down to this day without the least injury from time or accidents. It is a block of granite marble, about six yards square,† lying tottering, as it were, and loose in the midst of the valley, and seems to have formerly belonged to Mount Sinai, which hangs in a variety of precipices all over this plain. The waters which gushed out, and the stream which flowed withal, have hollowed across one corner of this rock a channel about two inches deep and twenty wide,‡ appearing to be incrusted all over, like the inside of a tea-kettle that hath been long in use. Besides several mossy productions that are still preserved by the dew, we see all over this channel, a great number of holes, some of them four or five inches deep, and one or two in diameter, *the lively and demonstrative tokens* of their having been formerly so many fountains. It likewise may be further observed, that *art or chance could by no means be concerned in the contrivance.* For every circumstance

* Travels in Syria, pp. 578—81.

† According to Pococke, it is 15 feet long, 10 wide, and 12 high.

‡ Pococke says, "about the breadth of eight inches."

points out to us a miracle, and, in the same manner with the rent in the rock of Mount Calvary at Jerusalem, never fails to produce a religious surprise in all who see it."*

That this rock is as truly the Rock of Meribah, as the spot alluded to is *Mount* Calvary, may be freely admitted; but the surprise which they are adapted to awaken in an intelligent observer, is at the credulity of travellers. "These supernatural mouths," says Sir F. Henniker, "appear to me common crevices in the rock:† they are only two inches in depth, and their length is not confined to the water-course. That the incrustation is the effect of water, I have not the slightest doubt, for the rocks close at hand, where water is still dripping, are marked in the same manner; and if a fragment of the cliff were to fall down, we should scarcely distinguish between the two. I therefore doubt the identity of the stone, and also the locality; for, in this place, the miracle would be that a mountain so lofty as Mount Sinai should be without water!"

At about forty minutes' walk from *Erbayn*, where the supposed valley of Rephidim, now called *El Ledja*, opens into a plain extending towards the N.E.,‡ there is a fine garden with the ruins of a small convent, called *El Bostan:* it is now in the possession of the Arabs. Water is conducted into it by

* Shaw's Travels, p. 352.

† Pococke calls them "cracks;" and, speaking more cautiously than Shaw, says, that the "sort of openings or mouths *appear* not to be the work of a tool."

‡ In this plain, the rebellion and destruction of Koran, Dathan, and Abiram occurred, if we will believe the monks.—See *Journal from Cairo to Sinai.* That transaction, however, took place, according to the Scripture narrative, in quite a different part of the peninsula, near Mount Hor.—See Num. xvi.

a small channel from a spring in the Ledja. Burckhardt found it full of apricot-trees and roses in full blossom.* From this garden it is about half an hour's ride to the great convent of Mount Sinai. In the way is shewn "the head of the golden calf which the Israelites worshipped, transmuted into stone." Both the monks and the Bedoweens, however, call it *Ras el Bakar* (the cow's head). "It is a stone, half-buried in the ground, which bears some resemblance to the forehead of a cow. Some travellers," adds Burckhardt, "have explained this stone to be the mould in which Aaron cast the calf, though it is not hollow, but projecting; the Arabs and the monks, however, gravely assured me, that it was the 'cow's head' itself. Beyond this object, towards the convent, a hill is pointed out to the left, called *Djebel Haroun*, because it is believed to be the spot where Aaron assembled the seventy elders of Israel. Both this and the cow's head have evidently received these denominations from the monks and Bedoweens, in order that they may multiply the objects of veneration and curiosity within the pilgrim's tour round the convent."† The place where the brazen serpent was

* The Author of the Journal, &c. says: "In the said garden are nine very stately cedars, of which two exceed the rest in height, and are of a prodigious size, besides many other trees, such as apples, pears, vines, &c. The little church of St. Peter and St. Paul stands in the bottom of the garden, as also a small building belonging to the convent, which is inhabited by the Arabs who watch the garden."

† The Author of the Journal says: "We came to a place where the Greeks shewed us, in the granite marble, which is of a brick-dust colour, a hole or cavity, where, they say, Aaron cast the head of the golden calf. The cavity is, indeed, formed in such a manner as to afford some small resemblance to the head of a calf, and hath marks in it something like horns: it is in length about two feet and a half, in breadth two feet, and in depth two. At the

erected, the burial-place of Moses and Aaron, the grotto where St. Athanasius lived, the pulpit of Moses, and the spot touched by the foot of Mohammed's camel on its way to heaven,—are among the other sacred places pointed out to the credulity of pilgrims, and identified by the authority of the Fathers!

But the greatest curiosity would seem to be the *manna*, which is said to be still found in this part of the peninsula. Mention has already been made of the *tarfa*, or tamarisk-tree, an evergreen shrub which abounds especially in the *Wady el Sheikh*. "It is from the *tarfa*," says Burckhardt, "that the manna is obtained; and it is very strange that the fact should have remained unknown in Europe till M. Seetzen mentioned it in a brief notice of his tour to Sinai. This substance is called by the Bedoweens *mann*, and accurately resembles the description of manna given in the Scriptures. In the month of June, it drops from the thorns of the tamarisk upon the fallen twigs, leaves, and thorns which always cover the ground beneath that tree in the natural state. The manna is collected before sunrise, when it is coagulated, but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it. The Arabs clean away the leaves, dirt, &c., which adhere to it, boil it, strain it through a coarse piece of cloth, and put it in leathern skins: in this way they preserve it till the following year, and use it, as they do honey, to pour over their unleavened bread, or to dip their bread into. I could not learn that they ever make it into cakes or loaves. The manna is found only in years when copious rains

bottom of it is earth or sand, which seemed to be about three feet deep. The Greeks, to impose the more upon the ignorant, say, that though it rain ever so much, no water is seen to lie in this hole."

have fallen: sometimes it is not produced at all. I saw none of it among the Arabs, but I obtained a small piece of last year's produce in the convent, where, having been kept in the cool shade and moderate temperature of that place, it had become quite solid, and formed a small cake. It became soft when kept some time in the hand: if placed in the sun for five minutes, it dissolved; but, when restored to a cool place, it became solid again in a quarter of an hour. In the season at which the Arabs gather it, it never acquires that state of hardness which will allow of its being pounded, as the Israelites are said to have done, in Num. xi. 3. Its colour is a dirty yellow, and the piece which I saw, was still mixed with bits of tamarisk leaves: its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. If eaten in any considerable quantity, it is said to be slightly purgative. The quantity of manna collected at present, even in seasons when the most copious rains fall, is very trifling, perhaps not amounting to more than five or six hundred pounds. It is entirely consumed among the Bedouins, who consider it as the greatest dainty which their country affords. The harvest is usually in June, and lasts for about six weeks: sometimes it begins in May. There are only particular parts of the *Wady el Sheikh* that produce the tamarisk; but it is also said to grow in *Wady Nasseb*, the fertile valley to the S.E. of the convent, on the road from thence to Sherm.

"In Nubia, and in every part of Arabia, the tamarisk is one of the most common trees; on the Euphrates, on the Astaboras, in all the valleys of the Hedjaz and the Bedja, it grows in great plenty; but I never heard of its producing manna except in Mount Sinai. It is true, I made no inquiries on the

subject elsewhere, and should not perhaps have learned the fact here, had I not asked repeated questions respecting the manna, with a view to an explanation of the Scriptures. The tamarisk abounds more in juices than any other tree of the desert, for it retains its vigour when every vegetable production around it is withered, and never loses its verdure till it dies. It has been remarked by Niebuhr (who, during his journey to Sinai, forgot to inquire after the manna), that in Mesopotamia, manna is produced by several trees of the oak species. A similar fact was confirmed to me by the son of a Turkish lady, who had passed the greater part of his youth at Erzeroum, in Asia Minor. He told me that at Moush, a town three or four days distant from Erzeroum, a substance is collected from the tree which produces the galls, exactly similar to the manna of the peninsula in taste and consistency, and that it is used by the inhabitants instead of honey." *

The substance alluded to in the last sentence, is probably the *gum tragacanth*, which is obtained from a spinous, papilionaceous shrub of the genus *astragalus*, and which is of so strong a body, that a dram of it will give a pint of water the consistency of a syrup. The tragacantha is indigenous in Natolia, Crete, and Greece. That which Burckhardt saw, would seem to be the *gum-arabic* to which he refers in another part of his travels. Describing the *Wady Lahyane*, between Akaba and Ghaza, he says: "The Arabs had chosen this place, that their camels might feed upon the thorny branches of the *gum-arabic tree*, of which they are extremely fond. These poor people had no tents with them, and their only shelter from

* Travels in Syria, pp. 599—601.

the burning rays of the sun and the heavy dews of night, were the scanty branches of the *talh*-trees. The ground was covered with the large thorns of these trees, which are a great annoyance to the Bedouins and their cattle. In the summer, they collect the gum-arabic, which they sell at Cairo for about twelve or fifteen shillings per cwt. English; but the gum is of very inferior quality to that of Sennaar. My companions ate up all the small pieces that had been left upon the trees by the road-side. I found it to be quite tasteless, but I was assured that it was very nutritive." * A little after, however, he says: "The acacia-trees of the valley (*Wady Nabk*) were thickly covered with gum-arabic. The Towara Arabs often bring to Cairo loads of it, which they collect in these mountains, but it is much less esteemed than that from Soudan. I found it of *a somewhat sweet and rather agreeable taste.*' The Bedouins pretend that, upon journeys, it is a preventive of thirst, and that the person who chews it may pass a whole day without feeling any inconvenience from the want of water."

If the *talh*, or gum-arabic tree, be not the same as the *tarfa*, or tamarisk, it is evidently a shrub of the same genus, and the supposed manna must be either the real gum-arabic, or a vegetable substance of the

* Travels in Syria, pp. 446, 533. Hasselquist gives a striking instance of the nutritive properties of gum-arabic. In the year 1750, the Abyssinian caravan, which crosses the desert of Africa to Cairo, found their provisions consumed when they had yet two months to travel; they were consequently "obliged to search for something among their merchandise, wherewith they might support life in this extremity, and found nothing more proper than gum-arabic, of which they had carried a considerable quantity with them. This served to support above 1,000 persons for two months."

same kind. The gum-arabic tree has been supposed to be the *acacia vera*, or Egyptian thorn (the *mimosa nilotica* of Linnæus), which, Hasselquist says, the Egyptian Arabs call *charad*. This Traveller represents the same plant as producing the gum-arabic, the gum *thus*, or frankincense, and the *succus acaciæ*. It is more probable that they are the gums of different species of lomentaceous shrubs. The gum-senegal is believed to be obtained from some species of mimosa, or acacia.* Burckhardt mentions a mimosa, called the *syale*, the bark of which is used to tan leather, and which doubtless, therefore, contains a gum-resin. From the vague and general terms, however, in which this Traveller speaks of "thorny mimosas," tamarisks, and acacias of different species, it is impossible to ascertain what are the distinctive marks of the *talh*, the *tarfa*, the *syale*, and the other varieties, or whether any species of vetch or astragalus may be found in these valleys. In another place, describing the productions of the Ghor, or

* Hasselquist represents the *mimosa nilotica* and the *mimosa senegal* as growing together promiscuously in Egypt; but the latter, he says, is of no use or value. The former is the *charad*; the latter the Egyptians call *fetne*. But, unless the gum-senegal be the same gum under a different name as the gum-arabic, either the *fetne* must require a warmer climate to be productive, or it cannot be the real gum-senegal. "The gum," says Hasselquist, "is gathered in vast quantities from the trees growing in Arabia Petræa, near the north bay of the Red Sea, *at the foot of Mount Sinai*, whence they bring the gum *thus* (frankincense), so called by the dealers in drugs in Egypt from Thur or Thor, which is the name of a harbour near Mount Sinai; thereby distinguishing it from the gum-arabic which is brought from Suez. Besides the different places from which these gums are brought, they differ also in some other particulars. The gum *thus* is more pellucid, white, or of no colour at all; but the gum-arabic is less pellucid, and of a brownish or dirty yellow colour." This exactly corresponds to Burckhardt's description of the *manna* he saw in the great convent.

valley of the Jordan, he mentions two other trees as producing a vegetable gum. "One of the most interesting productions of this valley," he says, "is the Beyrouk honey, or, as the Arabs call it, *Assal Beyrouk. I suppose it to be the manna*, but I never had an opportunity of seeing it myself. It was described to me as a juice dropping from the leaves and twigs of a tree called *gharrab*, of the size of an olive-tree, with leaves like those of a poplar, but somewhat broader. The honey collects upon the leaves like dew, and is gathered from them, or from the ground under the tree, which is often found completely covered with it. According to some, its colour is brownish; others said, it was of a greyish hue. It is very sweet when fresh, but turns sour after being kept two days. The Arabs eat it like honey with butter; they also put it in their gruel, and use it in rubbing their water-skins, in order to exclude the air. I inquired whether it was a laxative, but was answered in the negative. The Beyrouk honey is collected only in the months of May and June. Some persons assured me, that the same substance is likewise produced by the thorny tree *tereshresh*, and collected at the same time as that from the *gharrab*."* As this description is given on hearsay information, and the accounts did not entirely agree, we cannot absolutely depend upon its accuracy. From the similarity of the name, the *gharrab* would appear to be the *charad* of Hasselquist; and the description sufficiently corresponds to that given of the tamarisk,

* Travels in Syria, p. 392. Rauwolf has described a thorny plant, called *algul*, as yielding a species of manna, which he calls *tarangubin*. Michaelis mentions another thorny plant, said to be called *alhage*. (Quest. xxvi.) These names will serve to guide the inquiries of future travellers.

to warrant our referring it to the same genus. The Beyrouk honey, the manna of the *tarfa*, and the gum of the *charad*, will probably be found to be nearly, if not altogether, identical. The *asheyr*, or *oshour*, a species of silk-tree which abounds in the Ghor, also yields a white juice of medicinal virtue. On making an incision into the thick branches, the juice exudes, which the Arabs collect by inserting a hollow reed, and sell to the druggists at Jerusalem: it is said to be a strong cathartic. The officinal manna, it is well known, comes from Calabria and Sicily, where it is obtained from a species of ash with a leaf resembling that of the acacia.*

The notion, however, that any species of vegetable gum is the manna of the Scriptures, appears so totally irreconcilable with the Mosaic narrative, that, notwithstanding the learned names which may be cited in support of the conjecture,† it cannot be safely admitted as any explanation of the miracle. It is expressly said, that the manna was rained from heaven; that when the dew was exhaled, it appeared lying on the surface of the ground,—"a small, round thing, as small as the hoar-frost,"—"like coriander seed, and its colour like a pearl;" that it fell but six days in the week, and that a double quantity fell on the sixth day; that what was gathered on the first five days became offensive and bred worms if kept above one day, while that which was gathered on the sixth day kept sweet for two days; that the people had never seen it before, which could not possibly be the case with

* The Calabrian manna is said to exude as the effect of the puncture of an insect, a species of grasshopper that sucks the plant; and Michaelis proposes it as a question for inquiry, whether the Arabian manna may be owing to an insect?

† Salmasius, Michaelis, and the Editor of Calmet.

either wild honey or gum-arabic; that it was a substance which admitted of being ground in a hand-mill or pounded in a mortar, of being made into cakes and baked, and that it tasted like wafers made with honey; lastly, that it continued falling for the forty years that the Israelites abode in the wilderness, but ceased on their arriving at the borders of Canaan.* To perpetuate the remembrance of the miracle, a pot of the manna was to be laid up by the side of the ark, which clearly indicates the extraordinary nature of the production. In no one respect does it correspond to the modern manna. The latter does not fall from heaven, is not deposited with the dew, but exudes from the trees when punctured, and is to be found only in the particular spots where those trees abound; it could not, therefore, have supplied the Israelites with food in the more arid parts of the desert, where they most required it. The gums, moreover, flow only for about a month in the year; they neither admit of being ground, pounded, or baked; they do not melt in the sun; they do not breed worms; and they are not peculiar to the Arabian wilderness. Others have supposed the manna to have been a fat and thick honey-dew, and that this was the wild honey which John the Baptist lived upon, — a supposition worthy of being ranked with the monkish legend of St. John's bread, or the locust-tree,† and equally shewing an entire ignorance of the nature of the country. It requires the Israelites to have been constantly in the neighbourhood of trees, in the midst of a wilderness often bare of all vegetation. Whatever the manna was, it was clearly a substitute for bread, and it is ex-

* Exod. xvi. Num. xi. Deut. viii. 3, 16. Josh. v. 12.

† See Mod. Trav. Palestine, p. 187.

pressly called meat, or food.* The abundant supply, the periodical suspension of it, and the peculiarity attaching to the sixth day's supply, it must at all events be admitted, were preternatural facts, and facts not less extraordinary than that the substance also should be of an unknown and peculiar description. The credibility of the sacred narrative cannot receive the slightest addition of evidence from any attempt to explain the miracle by natural causes. That narrative would lead any plain reader to expect that the manna should no longer be found to exist, having ceased to fall upwards of 3,000 years. As to the fact that the Arabs give that name to the juice of the *tarfa*, the value of their authority may be estimated by the pulpit of Moses and the footstep of Mohammed's camel. The cause of Revelation has less to fear from the assaults of open infidels, than from such ill-judged attempts of sceptical philosophers to square the sacred narrative by their notions of probability. The giving of the manna was either a miracle or a fable. The proposed explanation makes it a mixture of both. It admits the fact of a Divine interposition, yet insinuates that Moses gives an incorrect or embellished account of it. It requires us to believe, that the Scripture history is at once true and a complete misrepresentation, and that the golden vase of manna was designed to perpetuate the simple fact, that the Israelites lived for forty years upon gum-arabic! The miracle, as related by Moses, is surely more credible than the explanation.

We have already seen how little dependence can be placed on the local traditions. Burckhardt was much

* Deut. viii. 3. Psalm lxxviii. 24. John vi. 31, 49, 58; and 1 Cor. x. 3.

disappointed, he says, at being able to trace so very few of the ancient Hebrew names of the Old Testament in the modern names of the peninsula. "It is evident that, with the exception of Sinai and a few others, they are all of Arabic derivation." This latter remark, however, is a strange one, since the ancient Hebrew names and the ancient Arabic names would be nearly identical. But, in the names of *Djebel Mousa* and *Djebel Katerin*, so incongruously associated, we have a pretty strong proof that the modern Arabic appellations are not to be depended on. At the risk of unsettling the implicit geographical faith of centuries, and drawing down upon ourselves the anathemas of the whole brotherhood of Mount Sinai, we must intimate the doubt we entertain, whether the mountain of Moses be the Mount Sinai on which the law was given to Israel. Burckhardt has given a description of another still more elevated summit, which seems at least to put forth rival pretensions.

Mount Serbal, the mountain in question, belongs to what is called the lower Sinai, which is separated from the upper range by *Wady Solaf* and *Wady Hebran*. On issuing from the narrow valley in which the convent stands, two roads may be taken to Suez: that which we are about to describe, is the more southern of the two, and is supposed to be the one taken by Niebuhr. It lies for an hour and a half in a N.N.W. direction across the plain of *El Raha*, then crosses a summit of the same name, and descends to a spring called *Kanaytar*, near which are inscriptions. It then enters the *Wady Solaf* (the valley of wine), coming from the N.E., which is here the boundary of the upper mountains, and continues slightly to descend through sandy valleys, till, in a little less than ten

hours, it issues into the great valley of the western Sinai, the *Wady el Sheikh*,* which it descends in a direction N.W. by W. "Upon several rocks of the mountains," says Burckhardt, "I saw small stone huts, which Hamed" (his guide) "told me, were the works of infidels in ancient times: they were probably the cells of the hermits of Sinai. Upon the summits of three different mountains to the right, were small ruined towers, originally, perhaps, chapels, dependent on the episcopal see of Feiran. In descending the valley, the mountains on both sides approach so near, that a defile of only fifteen or twenty feet across is left. Beyond this they again diverge, when a range of the same hills of *tafal*, or yellow pipe-clay, are seen, which I observed in the higher parts of this wady."

After descending the valley for about an hour, the traveller enters the plantations of *Wady Feiran*, through a wood of tamarisks. This *wady*, which is a continuation of *Wady el Sheikh*, is considered as the finest valley in this part of the Arabian peninsula. From the upper extremity, an uninterrupted succession of gardens and date-plantations extends downwards for four miles, and almost every garden has a well, by means of which the grounds are irrigated the whole year round.† Amid the date-trees

* The Wady Faran of Niebuhr. "Its length," he says, "is equal to a journey of a day and a half, extending from the foot of Mount Sinai to the Arabic Gulf. In the rainy season it is filled with water, and the inhabitants are then obliged to retire up the hills: it was dry when we passed through it. That part of it which we saw, was far from being fertile, but served as a pasture to goats, camels, and asses. The other part" (*i.e.* the Wady Feiran of Burckhardt) "is said to be very fertile."

† "Leaving the valley leading to Marah on the right hand, we entered a large vale between very rough mountains, commonly called Gebel Faran, our course then pointing towards the N.W.

are small huts, inhabited by the Tebna Arabs, (a branch of the Djebalye,) who are the gardeners of the Towara Bedoweens, the lords of the soil, taking one third of the fruit for their labour. The proprietors seldom visit the place, except in the date-harvest, when the valley is filled with people for a month or six weeks. "At that season, they erect huts of palm-branches, and pass their time in conviviality, receiving visits and treating their guests with dates;" —a custom strikingly similar to the Jewish festival of booths (tabernacles). The other productions of the valley are, the nebek (*rhamnus lotus*), the fruit of which is a favourite food of the Bedoweens, who grind the dried fruit, together with the stone, into a sort of meal called bsyse; tobacco, cucumbers, gourds, melons, hemp for smoking, onions, and a few *badendjans* and carob-trees. The narrowness of the valley, which is not more than a hundred paces across, the high mountains on each side, and the thick woods of date-trees, render the heat extremely oppressive, and the unhealthiness of the situation is increased by the badness of the water. Dangerous fevers prevail here in the spring and summer, and the valley is almost deserted. At the point where it is joined by the *Wady Aleyat*, it widens, however, considerably, and is about a quarter of an hour in breadth. Here, Burckhardt says, upon the mountains on both sides of the road, stand the ruins of *an ancient city.**

* And passing through this vale by a tolerably easy descent, we found it adorned with trees and dates on both sides of us, here and there interspersed with the habitations of Arabs, and *full of birds* (Oct. 3), which entertained us very agreeably with their charming notes."—*Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai.*

"We passed by a place on a mountain upon our right hand called Kabegin, which was entirely destroyed, nothing remaining

"The houses are small, but built entirely of stone, some of which are hewn, and some united with cement, but the greater part are piled up loosely. I counted the ruins of about 200 houses. There are no traces of any large edifice on the north side; but, on the southern mountain, there is an extensive building, the lower part of which is of stone, and the upper part of earth. It is surrounded by private habitations, which are all in complete ruins. At the foot of the southern mountain are the remains of a small aqueduct. Upon several of the neighbouring hills are ruins of towers; and, as we proceeded down the valley for about three quarters of an hour, I saw many small grottoes in the rocks on both sides, hewn in the rudest manner, and without any regularity or symmetry: the greater part seemed to have been originally formed by nature, and afterward widened by human labour. Some of the largest, which were near the ruined city, had, perhaps, once served as habitations: the others were evidently sepulchres; but few of them were large enough to hold three corpses, and they were not more than three or four feet high. I found no traces of antiquity in any of them. At half an hour from the last date-trees of Feiran, I saw, to

of it but the ruins. And, after a journey of another half-hour, we came to another ruined place called Faran, situated likewise on our right hand. This was formerly a large city, containing many convents of the Greeks; for it was an episcopal city, under the jurisdiction of Mount Sinai, and formerly had the famous Theodorus for its bishop, who wrote against the Monotheliţes. But at present nothing remains, except heaps of ruins of this ancient city. In this place, no one is suffered to put pen to paper, by reason of a tradition they have, that here was formerly a river, and that when a European was going to write down a description of it, out of indignation it sunk under ground, and has disappeared ever since."—*Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai.*

the right of the wood, upon the side of the mountain, the ruins of a small town or village, the valley in the front of which is at present quite barren. It had been better built than the town above described, and contained one very good building of hewn stone with two stories, each having five oblong windows in front. The roof has fallen in. The style of architecture of the whole strongly resembles that seen in the ruins of St. Simon to the north of Aleppo, the mountains above which are also full of sepulchral grottoes, like those near Feiran.* The roofs of the houses appear to have been entirely of stone, like those in the ruined towns of the Haouran, but flat, and not arched. There were here about a hundred ruined houses.

" Feiran was formerly the seat of a bishopric. Theodosius (Theodorus) was bishop during the monothelite controversy. From documents of the fifteenth century still existing in the convent of Mount Sinai, there appears at that time to have been an inhabited convent at Feiran. Makrizi, the excellent historian and describer of Egypt, who wrote about the same time, gives the following account of Feiran, which he calls Faran.† ' It is one of the towns of the Amalekites, situated near the borders of the Sea of Kolzoum, upon a hill between two mountains, on each of which are numberless excavations full of corpses. It is one day's journey distant [in a straight line] from the Sea of Kolsoum, the shore of which is there called the shore of the sea of Faran; there it was that Pharaoh was drowned by the Almighty. Between the city of Faran and the Tyh it is two days' journey. It is said

* See Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. i. p. 333.

† It is so written by Niebuhr, and many of the Bedoweens pronounce it Fayran.

that Faran is the name of the mountains of Mekka, and that it is the name of other mountains in the Hedjaz, and that it is the place mentioned in the books of Moses. But the truth is, that Tor and Faran are two districts belonging to the southern part of Egypt, and that it is not the same as the Faran (Paran) mentioned in the books of Moses. It is stated, that the mountains of Mekka derive their name from Faran Ibn Amr Ibn Amalyk. Some call them the mountains of Faran; others, Fyran. The city of Faran was one of the cities which belonged to Midian, and remained so to the present times. There are plenty of palm-trees there, of the dates of which I have myself eaten. A large river flows by. The town is at present in ruins. Only Bedouins pass there.' Makrizi is certainly right," continues Burckhardt, "in supposing that the Faran (or Paran) mentioned in the Scriptures is not the same as Feiran; an opinion which has been entertained by Niebuhr and other travellers. From the passage in Num. xiii. 26, it is evident that Paran was situated in the desert of Kadesh, which was on the borders of the country of the Edomites, and which the Israelites reached after their departure from Mount Sinai, on their road towards the land of Edom. Paran must therefore be looked for in the desert west of Wady Mousa, and the tomb of Aaron, which is shewn there. At present, the people of Feiran bury their dead higher up in the valley than the ancient ruins. There is no rivulet, but, in winter time, the valley is completely flooded, and a large stream of water, collected from all the lateral valleys of Wady el Sheikh, empties itself through Wady Feiran into the Gulf of Suez." *

* Travels in Syria, pp. 616–618.

Having with some difficulty obtained a guide to the "lower heights of Serbal," Burckhardt now ascended the *Wady el Sheikh* for about three quarters of an hour, and then turned to the right up the narrow valley of *Wady Ertama.* After crossing a steep ascent at the further extremity, he fell in with *Wady Rymm*, where are ruins of a small village, the houses of which have been built of hewn stone in a very solid manner, and some remains of the foundations of a large edifice are traceable: a little lower down is a well surrounded with date-trees; but the whole country round is a rocky and barren wilderness. Early the next day, having filled his water-skins at *Ain Rymm*, our adventurous Traveller, with his companion Hamed and another Arab, began to ascend the mountain straight before him. "We walked," he says, "over sharp rocks without any path, till we came to the almost perpendicular sides of the upper Serbal, which we ascended in a narrow, difficult cleft. The day grew excessively hot; not a breath of wind was stirring; and it took us four hours to climb up to the lower summit of the mountain, where I arrived completely exhausted. Here is a small plain with some trees, and the ruins of a small stone reservoir. On several blocks of granite are inscriptions, but most of them are illegible. After reposing a little, I ascended the eastern peak, which was to our left hand, and reached its top in three quarters of an hour, after great exertions; for the rock is so smooth and slippery, as well as steep, that, even barefooted as I was, I was obliged frequently to crawl upon my belly to avoid being precipitated below; and had I not casually met with a few shrubs to grasp, I should probably have been obliged to abandon my attempt, or have rolled down the cliff. The summit of the

eastern peak consists of one enormous mass of granite, the smoothness of which is broken only by a few partial fissures, presenting an appearance not unlike the ice-covered peaks of the Alps. The sides of the peak, at a few paces below its top, are formed of large insulated blocks, twenty or thirty feet long, which appear as if just suspended, in the act of rushing down the steep. Near the top, I found steps regularly formed with large loose stones, which must have been brought from below, and so judiciously arranged along the declivity, that they have resisted the devastations of time, and may still serve for ascending. I was afterwards told, that these steps are the continuation of a regular path from the bottom of the mountain, which is in several parts cut through the rock with great labour. If we had had a guide, we should have ascended by this road, which turns along the southern and eastern side of Serbal. The mountain has in all five peaks: the two highest are, that to the east, which I ascended, and another immediately west of it. These rise like cones, and are distinguishable from a great distance, particularly on the road to Cairo.

"The eastern peak, which, from below, looks as sharp as a needle, has a platform on its summit of about fifty paces in circumference. Here is a heap of small loose stones, about two feet high, forming a circle about twelve paces in diameter. Just below the top, I found, on every granite block that presented a smooth surface, inscriptions, the far greater part of which are illegible. I copied three from different blocks: * the characters of the first are a foot long.

* These and some others are given in the printed volume. They are written from right to left, and closely resemble the inscriptions copied by Niebuhr.

There are small caverns large enough to shelter few persons, between some of the masses of stone. On the sides of these caverns are numerous inscriptions similar to those on the blocks. The fact of so many inscriptions being found upon the rocks near the summit of this mountain, and also in the valley which leads from its foot to Feiran, together with the existence of the road leading up to the peak, affords strong reasons for presuming that the Serbal was an ancient place of devotion. It will be recollected that *no inscriptions are found either on the mountain of Moses or on Mount St. Catherine;* and that those which are found in the Ledja valley at the foot of *Djebel Katerin*, are not to be traced above the rock from which the water is said to have issued, and appear only to be the work of pilgrims. From these circumstances, *I am persuaded that Mount Serbal was at one period the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula, and that it was then considered as the mountain where Moses received the tables of the Law;* though I am equally convinced, from a perusal of the Scriptures, that the Israelites encamped in the Upper Sinai, and that either *Djebel Mousa* or Mount St. Catherine is the real Horeb. It is not at all impossible, that the proximity of Serbal to Egypt may at one period have caused that mountain to be the Horeb of the pilgrims, and that the establishment of the convent in its present situation, which was probably chosen from motives of security, may have led to the transferring of that honour to *Djebel Mousa*. At present, neither the monks of Mount Sinai nor those of Cairo consider Mount Serbal as the scene of any of the events of sacred history; nor have the Bedouins any tradition respecting it; but it is possible, that if the Byzantine writers were thoroughly examined,

some mention might be found of this mountain, which I believe was never before visited by any European traveller.

"The direction of *Deir Sigillye* (qu. Cecilia?) was pointed out to me, — a ruined convent on the S.E. side of Serbal, near the road which leads up to the summit. It is said to be well built and spacious, and there is a copious well near it. It is four or five hours distant, by the shortest road, from Feiran, and lies in a very rocky district, at present uninhabited even by Bedouins.*

"I found great difficulty in descending. If I had had a plentiful supply of water, and either of us had known the road, we should have gone down by the steps; but our water was nearly exhausted, and in this hot season, even the hardy Bedouin is afraid to trust to the chance only of finding a path or a spring. I was therefore obliged to return by the same way which I had ascended; and by crawling, rather than walking, we reached the lower platform of Serbal just about noon, and reposed under the shade of a rock. I was afterwards informed, that in a cleft of the rock, not far from the stone tank, there is a small source which never dries up. We had yet a long journey to make. Hamed, therefore, volunteered to set out before me to fill the skin in the valley below, and to meet me with it at the foot of the cleft by which we had entered the mountain. He departed, leaping down the mountain like a gazelle, and, after prolonging my *siesta*, I leisurely followed him with the other Arab. When we arrived, at the end of two hours

* From the peak, Burckhardt took several bearings: Wady Feiran, N.W. by N.; Wady el Sheikh, where it appears broadest, E.N.E.; Nakb el Raha, E.S.E.; Mount St. Catherine, S.E. by E.; Om Shomar, S.E.

and a half, at the point agreed upon, we found Hamed waiting for us with the water, which he had brought from a well at least five miles distant. Instead of pursuing, from our second halting-place, the road by which we had ascended in the morning from *Ain Rymm*, we took a more western direction to the left of the former, and reached by a less rapid descent the *Wady Aleyat*, which leads to the lower parts of *Wady Feiran*. After a descent of an hour, we came to a less rocky country. At the end of an hour and a half, we reached the well, situated among date-plantations where he had filled the skins: its water is very good, much better than that of Feiran. This valley is inhabited by Bedouins during the date-harvest; and here are many huts, built of stones or of date-branches, which they then occupy. In the evening, we continued our route in the valley Aleyat, in the direction N.W. To our right was a mountain, upon the top of which is the tomb of a sheikh, held in great veneration by the Bedouins, who frequently visit it, and there sacrifice sheep. It is called *El Monadja*. The custom among the Bedouins of burying their saints upon the summits of mountains, accords with a similar practice of the Israelites. There are very few Bedouin tribes who have not one or more tombs of protecting saints (*makam*), in whose honour they offer sacrifices: the custom probably originated in their ancient idolatrous worship, and was in some measure retained by the sacrifices enjoined by Mohammed in the great festivals of the Islam. In many parts of this valley stand small buildings, ten or twelve feet square and five feet high, with very narrow entrances. They are built with loose stones, but so well put together, that the greater part are yet entire, notwithstanding the annual rains. They are all quite empty.

I at first supposed them to be magazines belonging to the Arabs, but my guides told me, that their countrymen never entered them, because they were *kobour el kofar*, tombs of infidels,—perhaps of the early Christians of the peninsula. I did not, however, meet with any similar structures in other parts, unless those in the upper part of *Wady Feiran* are of the same class. In the course of my descent from the foot of Mount Serbal through *Wady Aleyat*, I found numerous inscriptions on blocks by the side of the road. On many stones were drawings of goats and camels. This was once, probably, the main road to the top of Serbal, which continued along its foot, and turned by *Deir Sigillye* round its eastern side; thus passing the cleft and the road by which we ascended, and which no where bears traces of having ever been a regular and frequented route."

At sunset, Burckhardt reached *Wady Feiran*. The next day but one, he pursued his journey to Suez. The valley winds W.N.W. and N.W. "At two hours, for the length of about an hour, it bears the name of *Wady el Beka* (the valley of weeping)." At three hours and a half, the route passes *Wady Romman*, soon after which the granite formation is succeeded by sandstone. At six hours and a half, it enters *Wady Mokatteb*, which extends for three hours in a N.W. direction. The sandstone cliffs are thickly covered with inscriptions, which are continued, with intervals of a few hundred paces only, for at least two hours and a half. Similar inscriptions are found in the lower part of the valley. They all consist of short lines, written from right to left, and with the same singular character ( ) invariably at the beginning of each. Some of them are at a height of twelve or fifteen feet. Among them are many in Greek, containing, probably, Burckhardt conjectures, the names of pilgrims. Some of the latter, he says, contain Jewish names in Greek characters. There is also a vast number of drawings of mountain-goats and camels, the latter sometimes loaded, or with riders. Crosses are also seen in these inscriptions. The Mokatteb is a much easier and more frequented route than the upper road by Naszeb, and the cliffs are so situated as to afford a fine shade at mid-day. This was the route taken by Niebuhr.

There can be little doubt that these inscriptions, tombs, and ruins, are of a date anterior to the convent of St. Catherine; and Burckhardt's opinion has the highest degree of probability in its favour, that Mount Serbal was the original Mount Sinai of pilgrims. The monastery of St. Catherine, we have seen, was founded no further back than the beginning of the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian, by Greek monks. The names of *Djebel Mousa*, Mount Sinai, Mount Horeb, &c., indiscriminately applied to this mountain, cannot, as local designations, be traced further back. Mount Sinai is two or three times mentioned in the Koran, in connexion with a ridiculous legend;* but, in neither instance is there any reference to its geographical situation. The name of Sinai is of doubtful etymology. The words *senah* and *sinan*, from which it is supposed to be derived, signify a bush, coldness, and the dwarf palm. The manner in which Horeb and Sinai are used as convertible terms in the sacred writings, has led to the supposition that they must be twin summits of the same mountain; and this idea probably led to the fixing upon *Djebel*

Burckhardt halted at the end of nine hours and a quarter, near the lower extremity of the valley, there called *Seyh Szeder*. The next day, he went six hours, to Morkha, and thence followed the shore for three quarters of an hour, to *Birket Faraoun*. The third day, after a march of eleven hours, he reached Gharendel; the fourth day, he halted in the lower part of *Wady Szeder;* and on the fifth, reached Suez.

* "Call to mind also when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain of Sinai over you."—SALE's *Koran*, chap. ii. The Mohammedan tradition is, that the Israelites refusing to receive the law of Moses, God tore up the mountain by the roots, and shook it over their heads, to terrify them into compliance. In chap. xcv. entitled "The Fig," Mount Sinai is associated with the sacred territory of Mekka, "the fig" (supposed to denote a mountain near Damascus,) and "the olive" (*M. Olivet*).

Mousa and *Djebel Katerin* as Sinai and Horeb. For this opinion, however, there is no solid foundation. Horeb and Sinai were in some sense the same; but it may be questioned whether Horeb was the proper name of any summit: it was rather the name of the region, *i. e.* the desert country.* Whereas Sinai is always spoken of as the mount;† and it probably derived its name from the vegetation which covered it,—perhaps from the bush or thorny plant (acacia?) out of the midst of which the angel of the Lord appeared to Moses in a meteoric flame. The language of Scripture would lead us to suppose that Sinai was a detached mountain in the midst of a plain, and that Israel encamped around it. The double summit of the modern Sinai, formed by Mount Moses and Mount Catherine, makes against its identity. The wilderness of Mount Sinai was at some distance from the barren plain of Rephidim, in which Joshua obtained a victory over the Amalekites; yet, the rock was "in Horeb," from which, on being struck by the rod of Moses, in the sight of the elders who accompanied him thither, a stream gushed out sufficiently copious to supply the camp in Rephidim.‡ Horeb, therefore, was a rocky district which either bordered on both Rephidim and Sinai, or comprehended the latter; and it certainly included the plain in which the Israelites remained while Moses ascended Mount

* "The Lord made a covenant with us in Horeb." Deut. v. 2. "They made a calf in Horeb." Psalm cvi. 19. "The rock in Horeb." Exod. xvii. 6. See also Exod. iii. 1, where "the mount of God" may be rendered "the great mountain (of Horeb);" and 1 Kings xix. 8, where Horeb apparently denotes the country, and the mount of God, or the great mountain, the particular spot.

† Exod. xviii. 20. Acts vii. 30, 38. Gal. iv. 25. Josephus calls it Σινᾶιον ὄρος.

‡ Compare Exod. xvii. with xix. 1, 2, and Psalm lxxviii. 20.

Sinai, for it was "in Horeb" that they provoked the Almighty by the worship of the calf.* That which is specifically called the wilderness of Mount Sinai, must have been lower ground than the plain of Rephidim, if, as is generally supposed, the stream took its course in that direction, and "followed them,"† so as to afford a supply of water during the twelve months that they remained encamped in that district. The brook itself, perhaps, we can scarcely be warranted to look for as still in existence; and yet, it is more likely to remain as a monument of the Divine power, than either the manna or the palm-trees of Elim, as it evidently proceeded from a spring miraculously produced, and was not a mere torrent, but began to flow in the dry season, about the beginning of May. The immediate vicinity of Sinai afforded pasturage;‡ it would otherwise have been impossible for the Israelites to have remained so long in that place; and its name suggests that it abounded with some species of acacia. Josephus describes Sinai as an extremely pleasant place, and the Israelites appear to have lived here much at their ease. This ill corresponds to the neighbourhood of *Djebel Mousa*.‖

* Deut. ix. 8. Psalm cvi. 19.

† 1 Cor. x. 4. Deut. ix. 21. ‡ Exod. xxxiv. 3.

‖ The side of *Djebel Katerin*, however, affords excellent pasturage. Dr. Shaw terms Sinai "a beautiful plain, more than a league in breadth, and nearly three in length," closed to the southward by some of the lower eminences of Sinai. "In this direction, likewise," he adds, "the higher parts of it make such encroachments upon the plain, that they divide it into two, each of them capacious enough to receive the whole encampment of the Israelites. That which lieth to the eastward of the mount may be the desert of Sinai, properly so called." The other he supposes to be Rephidim. Compare with this Niebuhr's description, and it is hard to suppose the same place is referred to. "It will appear, then, that the mountain which the Greeks call Sinai, is not in a

Further, one would expect that the real Mount Sinai would be found to exhibit some traces of the stupendous phenomena which attended the manifestation of the Divine presence in the visible symbols of fire, and earthquake, and seemingly volcanic eruption. In no part, however, of the Upper Sinai could Burckhardt detect the slightest traces of a volcano or of any volcanic production. We do not, indeed, read of any actual discharge from the mountain; but, as it is expressly said to have "burned with fire," to have emitted smoke "like a furnace," and to have "quaked greatly," some marks of the convulsion and of the action of fire might yet be looked for on the site of this wonderful transaction.

It does not appear that Mount Serbal, any more than the supposititious Sinai, exhibits any appearances of this kind; and its five peaks, according to the view now taken of the subject, militate against the idea

great plain, as many people may have supposed. It does not follow, however, that the Sinai of the Greeks is not the true Sinai, for even our Arabs gave the name of *Djabbel Mousa* (the mountains of Moses) to the whole of this chain of mountains from the valley of Faran, and that of *Tour Sina* to the part on which the monastery is built. Moreover, some learned Europeans who have had an opportunity of examining this country with much exactness, are of opinion, that it is on this mountain that Moses received the law. Thus, although on that side, and close to Mount Sinai properly so called, there would not have been room for a camp so numerous as that of the Israelites, there are, perhaps, larger plains on the other side, or they may have encamped round *Djabbel Mousa*, and so partly even in the valley of Faran." He states the convent of St. Catherine to be two German miles and a half up the mountain, and says: "It is not easy to comprehend how such a multitude as accompanied Moses out of Egypt, could encamp in those narrow gulleys, amid frightful and precipitous rocks; but perhaps there are plains that we know not of on the other side of the mountain."—*Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 200. PINKERTON'S *Voy. and Trav.* vol. x p. 10.

that it is the Horeb of Scripture. That it was first selected as the representative of Sinai, was owing, probably, to its great elevation. Burckhardt had no means of taking measurement of the different elevations, but it appeared to him higher than all the peaks, including Mount St. Catherine.* It is altogether a gratuitous hypothesis, however, that Sinai was a pre-eminently high mountain. The authority on which Mount Serbal appears once to have been designated as the mount of God, though somewhat earlier, is not more to be depended upon than that of the monks in Justinian's time. The latter were Greeks; the monks of Serbal and Feiran were, perhaps, Syrian or Egyptian Christians of the fourth or fifth century. It is not impossible, indeed, that Mount Serbal may have been consecrated and made into a Sinai subsequently to the era of Justinian; that it was a rival establishment; or, that it was frequented at a time that access to *Djebel Mousa* was impracticable. But the absence of inscriptions on the latter mountain is a suspicious circumstance, and makes strongly against its prior claim. After all, Mount St. Catherine *may be* the real Sinai: there is every reason to believe that *Djebel Mousa* is not.

* Travels, p. 608. It is added, "and very little lower than *Djebel Mousa*." But this must be an error, since Mount St. Catherine is higher than the mountain of Moses, and Burckhardt elsewhere (p. 596) speaks of Mount Serbal, Mount St. Catherine, and Mount Shomar, as the three highest peaks in the peninsula. Mr. Fazakerley, from the top of *Djebel Katerin*, saw Sinai far below him. Yet, in Calmet's Dictionary, Sinai is said to be at least one-third part higher than "Horeb," and its ascent "more upright and difficult." On its summit, it is added, "is built a little chapel called St. Catherine's, where it is thought the body of this saint rested for 360 years, until it was removed into a church at the foot of the mountains." This shews that *Djebel Katerin* is meant, and looks as if that mountain was formerly taken for Sinai.

The design of these remarks has been, to assist future travellers in investigating these several localities afresh, and for themselves. Let them dismiss from their minds alike the legends of monks and the conflicting hypotheses of learned writers, taking the Scripture narrative as their best clew, and we may then hope to have at least some further light thrown upon this interesting geographical problem.*

* Supposing Elim to be at *El Waadi*, near Tor, the stations of the Israelites will require to be ascertained between that place and Sinai; and four hours, or about fifteen miles, will probably be as great a distance as can be assigned to a day's journey. From Elim, the children of Israel journeyed to the coast of the Red Sea, taking, probably, a southerly course, and encamped there. They then left the coast, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin, which is stated to be between Elim and Sinai, and which may possibly be *El Kaa*. On leaving the wilderness of Sin, they first encamped at Dophkah (in the Septuag. vers. Raphaka); next at Alush; and thence removed to Rephidim, "where was no water for the people to drink." On departing from Rephidim, they pitched in the wilderness of Sinai. Two circumstances would influence their line of march; — the necessity of finding water and pasture for the herds, and the character of the inhabitants of the territory. It was at Rephidim that they first encountered the opposition of a powerful tribe; but it does not appear that they had hitherto invaded the territory of Amalek. The same caution is observed by the Bedoweens still. We learn, moreover, from Burckhardt, that pilgrims who have been cut off from the caravan, and who are ignorant of the road across the desert to Cairo, "*sometimes make the tour of the whole peninsula by the sea-side*, as they are thus sure not to lose their way, and in winter time seldom fail to find pools of water." (*Travels in Syria*, p. 504.) Is not this likely to have been the very course adopted by Moses? Yet, all our travellers have first taken the situation of Sinai for granted, and then looked out for the shortest route as the course of the Israelites.

The situation of Elim, however, has not yet been satisfactorily verified. Mr. Fazakerley, describing the spot alluded to under the name of *El Waadi*, mentions two suspicious circumstances: first, there is an *hospitium* near the spot, belonging to the convent of Mount Sinai, — a bad omen; and secondly, the springs, he says, are of *hot salt water!* The Arabs told him that the waters had

Mention has been made, in the preceding paragraph, of the mountain called *Om Shomar*, as one of the

been *turned salt*, as the punishment incurred by an insult offered here to Moses. It appears, indeed, that they are not all hot. Dr. Shaw says: "The water of *Hammam Mousa*, among the wells of Elim, is moderately warm and sulphureous: but that of the wells is brackish, and of a crude digestion, creating those scrophulous tumours, that sallowness of complexion, and those obstructions in the bowels, which are too much complained of by the inhabitants of Tor who drink them." (*Travels*, p. 380.) Can this be Elim?

If *Djebel Katerin* be Mount Sinai, it will deserve consideration, whether the wilderness or plain of Sinai may not be the broad valley into which the *Ledja* opens? Can *Wady Rahaba* be Rephidim? Burckhardt mentions a secondary mountain, called *Senned*, between the Upper Sinai and Hadhra, bordering upon *Wady Sal*. The apparent approach of this name to Sinai, may deserve attention.

Lord Valentia has started an opinion which deserves some attention, respecting the route of the Israelites to the Red Sea. He supposes the province of Goshen or Ramesses, from which they set out, to have been situated in the isthmus of Suez, and Heroopolis, which was on the direct road from On or Heliopolis to Canaan, to have been in Goshen. Ptolemy places it on the confines of Arabia, and states that the canal of Trajan ran through it. "The course of that canal has been traced by the French engineers from long. 31° 52′ to 32° 20′, running nearly east and west in about N. lat. 30° 32′; it is, therefore, within this line only," remarks the noble Traveller, "that we can look for it; and I am inclined to admit the opinion of M. Aymé as well founded, that the ruins he discovered at Aboukechied, indicate the spot where Heroopolis stood; and where, consequently, the children of Israel resided.... The French engineers discovered, when in possession of Suez, that at a little distance to the north of that place are marshes which extend for about twenty-five miles, and which are actually lower than the sea, though they are not overflowed, in consequence of a large bar of sand which has been accumulated between them; nothing, therefore, can be more probable, than that, in times so far back, the sea extended to these marshes." This being once admitted to be the situation of Ramesses, it will appear improbable that the Israelites, in attempting to escape from Egypt, should turn southward, to the very banks of the holy river, round *Djebel Mokattem*, and so enter the valley which extends thence to the Red Sea. In

highest mountains in the peninsula. Burckhardt had been informed by both the Bedoweens and the monks, that a thundering noise, like repeated discharges of heavy artillery, is heard at times in the mountains in that direction; and the *ikonomos* of the convent told him, that he remembered to have heard the noise at four or five separate periods. Anxious to ascertain

Exod. xiii. 17, it is declared that "God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; but God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea." Now, adds his lordship, "both these observations are perfectly true, if they set off from the vicinity of Heroopolis, which was actually on the way to Canaan, but would be false, if they began their journey from opposite Memphis, whence it would be much nearer to reach the Red Sea than the land of the Philistines. By the supposition that the children of Israel resided nearer to the desert, we get rid of the difficulty of their having to march sixty miles in only three stages, which is the distance from the Nile to the Red Sea, and which seems almost impossible, encumbered as they were with children, cattle, baggage, and kneading-troughs; even supposing that their three marches were in a direct line east, which appears to have been by no means the case; for they were directed, after the second day's march, when they quitted Etham on the edge of the wilderness, to turn and encamp before Pihaheroth between Migdol and the sea." The noble Traveller inclines, therefore, to Niebuhr's opinion, that *Djebel Attakah* was "the southern boundary of their journey."

Dr. Shaw admits, that the distance from the neighbourhood of Cairo to the valley of Baideah, by the road which he supposes the Israelites to have taken, would be too great to be accomplished by the Israelites in three days, being not less than 30 hours, or 90 Roman miles. But he gets over the difficulty, by supposing that Josephus and those who have followed him, have been "too hasty in making the Israelites perform this journey in three days, by reckoning, as they do, a station for a day." Certainly there is no more reason to suppose that Succoth and Etham were but a day's journey apart, than that Elim was only that distance from Marah. If Dr. Shaw's supposition be inadmissible in the one case, then *El Waadi* cannot be Elim. If Lord Valentia's conjecture be adopted, the Israelites must be supposed to have crossed the Red Sea above Suez, and the wilderness of Etham (Num. xxxiv. 3) may possibly be the *El Ahtha* of Burckhardt. See p. 121.

the truth of this report, he resolved to visit the mountain itself. The route led him along *Wady Sebaye*, till, at the end of an hour and a half from the convent, he turned to the right from the road to Sherm, and entered *Wady Owasz* in a direction S. by W., where a small chain of white and red sandstone hills rises in the midst of the granite formation. At four hours and a half, after crossing several hills, he reached *Wady Rahaba*, one of the principal valleys on this side of the peninsula, and affording good pasturage. Here he halted under a granite rock in the middle of the valley, close by about a dozen small buildings, called by the Bedoweens *makhsen* (magazines), where they deposite provisions, clothes, money, and other articles which they do not require in their continual migrations. Almost every Bedoween in easy circumstances, we are told, has one of these magazines, which may be met with in clusters of ten or twenty in different parts of the mountains. "They are at most ten feet high, generally about ten or twelve feet square, constructed with loose stones, covered with the trunks of date-trees, and closed with a wooden door and lock. These buildings are altogether so slight, and the doors so insecure, that a stone would be sufficient to break them open. No watchmen are left to guard them, and they are in such solitary spots that they might easily be plundered in the night, without the thief being ever discovered. But such is the good faith of the Towara towards each other, that robberies of this kind are almost unheard of; and the Sheikh Szaleh, whose magazine is well known to contain fine dresses, shawls, and dollars, considers his property as safe there as it would be in the best secured building in a large town. The Towara are well entitled to pride

themselves on this trait in their character; for I found nothing similar to it among other Bedouins." *

Continuing his route along a side branch of the Rahaba, he ascended, at the end of five hours and a half, a rocky mountain; and soon after, the narrow passes became too rocky for the camel to traverse. Leaving it in the charge of one of his Arab guides, our Traveller now proceeded on foot. The winding defile of *Wady Zereigye* is thickly overgrown with fennel three or four feet high, the stalks of which are eaten by the Bedoweens, who believe that it cools the blood. In one part, he came to two copious springs, most picturesquely situated under the shade of large wild fig-trees, which abound in other parts of this district. At the end of eight hours, he arrived at the lower extremity of the *wady*, where it joins the narrow valley which extends along the foot of *Om Shomar*. The almost perpendicular cliffs of that mountain now rose before him, and the aspect of the country assumed a savage wildness. "The devastations of torrents are every where visible, the sides of the mountains being rent by them in numberless directions. The surface of the sharp rocks is blackened by the sun; all vegetation is dry and withered; and the whole scene presents nothing but utter desolation and hopeless barrenness." He ascended the valley towards the S.E., winding for about an hour round the foot of the mountain, till he reached the well of *Romhan*, distant nine hours from the convent. Here there is a fine spring, with several date-

* Burckhardt was shewn a rock in Wady Shebeyke, from which, some years before, a Towara Bedoween had precipitated his son, bound hands and feet, "because he had stolen corn out of a magazine belonging to a friend of the family."

trees and a gigantic fig-tree; high grass grows in the narrow pass near it; and on the side of the mountain, just above the well, is a ruined convent called *Deir Antous* (St. Anthony?). It was inhabited in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and, according to the monks, was the last convent abandoned by them. Burckhardt found it mentioned in records of the fifteenth century, in the library of the great convent. "It was then one of the principal settlements, and caravans of asses, laden with corn and other provisions, passed by this place regularly from the convent to Tor; for this is the nearest road to that harbour, though it is more difficult than the more western route, which is now usually followed. The convent consisted of a small, solid building, constructed with blocks of granite. I was told, that date-plantations are found higher up in the valley of Romhan, and that the monks formerly had their gardens there, of which some of the fruit-trees still remain."

Our Traveller rested at the well for the night, and early the next morning ascended the mountain. It took him an hour and a half to reach the first summit of Shomar, and he employed three hours in visiting, separately, all the surrounding heights. *Om Shomar* consists chiefly of granite; the lower stratum is red, but, towards the top, the large proportion of white feldspath, and the smallness of the particles of hornblende and mica, give it, he says, at a distance, the appearance of chalk. In the middle of the mountain, between the granite rocks, are broad strata of brittle, black slate, mixed with layers of quartz and feldspath, and with micaceous schistus. The quartz includes tion strata of mica of the most brilliant white, which is quite dazzling in the sunshine, and strikingly con-

trasts with the blackened surface of the slate and red granite. The highest peak of *Om Shomar* is apparently inaccessible: it rises to a point, and the sides are almost perpendicular, as well as so smooth as to afford no foot-hold. Burckhardt halted at about 200 feet below, where a beautiful view presented itself, opening upon the Gulf of Suez. Tor was distinctly visible, and the wide plain of *El Kaa* was seen extending itself immediately beneath, to the low chain of *Hemam*, which separates it from the sea.* The southern side of the mountain is very

* In this low chain, is the *Djebel Narkous*, or mountain of the bell, referred to at page 135, which Burckhardt states, upon hearsay, to be about five hours northward of Tor. It is, according to Mr. Fazakerley, just half that distance. The latter Traveller's account of the phenomenon so singularly differs from Sir F. Henniker's story, that it is hard to suppose they both describe the same place. "About an hour and a half from *El Waadi*," (distant a mile from Tor,) "keeping along the shore of the sea, we came to the foot of a high precipice, and a bank of fine white sand, which went in a rapid slope nearly to the top of it. It is pretended here, as at the ancient Memnon, that the noises are heard only when the sun is at a particular height; and the hour at which we got there, was fortunately favourable for the experiment. Elias crossed himself devoutly, looked a little frightened, and then scrambled up the bank. When he was about half the way up, he stopped, and began to slide down again: during which we distinctly heard a sound, *sometimes like one piece of metal struck against another*; sometimes the sound was more continued, and reminded us of the *musical glasses*. We then went up ourselves, and, as we were sliding down, the same sound was produced, louder or softer, as we pressed more or less against the sand. We felt too, very sensibly, a sort of quivering or vibration, proceeding, as it seemed, from something immediately under the surface of the sand, and this feeling always accompanied the sound. The sand on the surface is light and dry, and, digging as deep as I could with my hands and a dagger, I found only a bed of moister sand. Whether there is any cavity below, or from what causes the phenomenon may arise, I cannot pretend to guess; but I have attempted to set down correctly what we heard and felt. The Greeks and Arabs agree in calling it miraculous, and never expect to hear the sound

abrupt; and in this direction there is no secondary chain in the descent from Sinai to the coast. Burckhardt was unable to discover the slightest marks of volcanic action, to which he supposed the thundering noise might be attributable; nor did he observe any thing which could throw light on the alleged phenomenon. The direction from which a sound may seem to come is, however, a very uncertain guide; and the assertions of the Bedoweens on this subject must have some foundation. Volcanic rocks are found near Sherm.

Another excursion made by this enterprising Traveller, was from the Great Convent eastward to the Gulf of Akaba; a track previously unexplored by any modern traveller, and of which, in as compressed a form as possible, we shall give the topographical details.

Mr. Burckhardt left the convent early on the 4th of May (1816), but proceeded the first day only as far as the well of *Abou Szoueyr*, situated in a narrow inlet in the eastern chain, which leads into the *Wady el Sheikh*. From this place, he ascended a hilly country for half an hour, and then, after a short

until St. Catherine or Mahomet has been invoked. They have, of course, a crowd of legends about saints, and departed priests, and demons, and good and evil genii, who celebrate their respective mysteries under this incomprehensible bank of sand." (WALPOLE'S *Collect. of Travels in the East*, p. 382.) Here is no gap, no rumbling thunder, as in Sir F. Henniker's account: and, on the other hand, he heard no metallic sound such as is here described, and which has evidently given its name to the mountain. Burckhardt says, the Bedoweens believe that the bells belong to a convent buried under the sands. The sound is, doubtless, produced by the falling of the sand; but what it meets with in the cavity, it must be left for some future Belzoni to reveal. It were almost a pity, however, to spoil the legend.

descent, " which terminates the district of Sinai on this side," entered on a wide, open plain with low hills, called *Szoueyry;* direction N.E. by E. In an hour and a half, he entered a narrow and extremely barren valley, running between the lower ridges of the primitive mountains, called *Wady Sal.* He continued to pursue the windings of this valley E. by N. and E.N.E., descending slightly, till, at the end of seven hours, he issued from it into a small plain, which he crossed in half an hour. He then entered another similar valley, where the descent was very rapid, which, in nine hours and a half, led into a broader valley running southward, having for its soil a deep sand. In *Wady Sal*, the granite rocks had given place to porphyry, grünstein, and slate; in the lower valley, a gray, small-grained granite had reappeared; but now the sandstone formation begins. After a march of eleven hours, he alighted in the plain of *Haydar*, which appears to form the northern sandy boundary of the Lower Sinai chain. About six or eight miles to the left, runs a long and straight chain of mountains, supposed to be the continuation of *El Tyh.* Over this plain leads the direct road from the convent to Akaba, and thence to Hebron and Jerusalem. That which Burckhardt took, descends to the sea.

The route of the next day lay N.E. by N. over the gravelly plain, having an open country with low hills to the east, till, at one hour and a half, it descended a valley of deep sand contracting into a narrow defile. Mount St. Catherine here bore S.W. by W. The pass issued in a rough, rocky plain intersected by beds of torrents. About two miles up a side valley is the well *Hadhra*, which, Burckhardt suggests, may be Hazeroth. The main direction

was now E.N.E., till, at the end of four hours and three quarters, the winding defiles issued in the fine valley of *Wady Rahab*. Here there are many syale-trees, and the sands terminate. In three quarters of an hour more, our Traveller entered another valley, slightly descending through a sandstone formation alternating with granite. The barrenness of this district exceeded any thing he had yet witnessed, except some parts of the desert of El Tyh. "The Nubian valleys might be called pleasure-grounds in comparison. Not the smallest green leaf could be discovered, and the thorny mimosa, which retains its verdure in the tropical deserts of Nubia with very little supply of moisture, was here entirely withered, and so dry, that it caught fire from the lighted ashes which fell from our pipes as we passed." At six hours and a half, he entered *Wady Samghy*, coming from the S. and running N.E. At eight hours and a half, he turned eastward into a side valley called *Boszeyra*, where, a quarter of an hour further, he halted for the night.

The next day's route first crossed a short mountain ridge, and then descended the steep bed of a torrent called *Saada*, in an easterly direction, which, in an hour and a half, assumed the character of a majestic but very narrow pass, between high perpendicular grünstein rocks. In some places, the passage is only ten feet across. After proceeding for about a mile in this striking defile, our Traveller caught the first glimpse of the Gulf of Akaba. The valley now widens as it descends to the sea, and after two hours and a quarter, he alighted on a sandy beach, several hundred paces in breadth, near a well of brackish but drinkable water, and some groves of date-trees: the place is called *El Noweyba*.

The valley opens directly upon the sea, into which, in the rainy season, it empties its torrent. The grunstein and granite rocks reach all the way down; but, at the very foot of the mountain, a thin layer of chalk appears just above the surface. Following the coast in a N.N.E. direction, our Traveller halted, at the end of three hours and a quarter, at a spring of tolerable water and a grove of date-trees, intermixed with a few tamarisks, close by the sea: the place is called *Wasta*. Beyond this, the route skirted a small bay, where the sands bore the impression of the tracks of serpents crossing each other in many directions; and Burckhardt was told, that serpents are very common in these parts. The fishermen are much afraid of them, and extinguish their fires before they go to sleep, because the light is known to attract them.* At a distance were seen several gazelles, which are said to descend at mid-day to the sea to bathe. At one hour from Wasta, is another well with a grove of palm-trees, but the well was completely choked up by the sands. Every tree in these plantations has its acknowledged owner among some of the Towara tribes; but not the smallest attention is paid to them till the period of the date-harvest, when the owners encamp under them with their families for about a week while the fruit is gathered. The shrub *gharkad* was found growing here in large quantities. At three hours and three quarters, after skirting two more small bays, round which the rocks leave but a narrow path, our Traveller passed an opening in the mountain formed by *Wady Om Hash*, and, in another half hour, *Wady Mowaleh*. At the end of five hours and

* See Deut. viii. 15.

three quarters, he rested on the south side of the chalky promontory called *Abou Burko*, (*i. e.* he who wears a face-veil, from a white rock resembling the white *berkoa*, or face-veil of the Arab women,) which forms the northern point of the bay into which the above *wadys*, and several similar torrents, issue. On the opposite side of the gulf, which is here, on a rough measurement, about twelve miles across, the mountains appeared to come down to the sea.

The next day, they were an hour in doubling *Abou Burko*; at two hours they passed a few date-trees and a well of bad water at *Wady Zoara*, where the maritime plain is nearly two miles in breadth; then, skirting another bay, reached, at three hours and a half, its northern promontory, called *Ras Om Haye*, —a name derived from the great quantity of serpents found there, which are said to be venomous. "The whole coast of the Ælanitic Gulf," Burckhardt states, "from *Ras Abou Mohammed* to Akaba, consists of a succession of bays, separated from each other by such headlands. The *Ras Om Haye* forms the western extremity of the mountain *El Tyh*, whose straight and regular ridge runs quite across the peninsula, and is easily distinguished from the surrounding mountains." On the opposite side of the gulf, the mountains here recede, and leave at their feet a sloping plain: they are steep, and rise into peaks. No Arabs live on the western coast, owing to the scanty pasturage. During the summer months only, it is visited by fishermen and others who come to collect the herb *doeyny*, from which the soda ashes are obtained, or to cut wood and burn it into charcoal. The Bedoweens prefer the upper road, and this route is seldom taken, therefore, except by stragglers. The shore continues to run N.E. by N. To the north of

Om Haye is another bay, beyond which a bank of sand, several miles in breadth, runs out into the sea to a considerable distance; it is formed by the torrent of *Wady Mokabelat*, which, in the rainy season, spreads over a wide extent of ground, partly rocky and partly sandy, producing good pasturage. The view up this inlet is described as very singular. Its mouth is nearly two miles wide, and it narrows gradually upwards with perfect regularity, so that the eye can trace it for five or six miles, till it presents the appearance of only a perpendicular black line. The mountains northward of *Om Haye* decline considerably in height; but, at six hours and a half, after passing the promontory of *Djebel Sherafe*, they form high cliffs, which obstruct the road along the shore; and for two hours, Burckhardt, having turned inland, ascended and descended through several winding valleys. That which he first entered from the coast, called *Wady Mezeiryk*, affords excellent pasturage, and abounds with acacias and sweet-scented herbs; and here, for the first time since setting out from the convent, he discovered the traces of man in some rude drawings of camels and mountain-goats, but without any inscriptions, on a sandstone rock. These were the only drawings which he met with in the mountains to the eastward of the convent. For an hour after returning to the coast, the route followed a range of black basaltic cliffs, into which the sea has worked several creeks or lagoons. At ten hours and a quarter from *Abou Burko*, the Travellers rested under a palm-tree near a deep, brackish well, in a plain forming the extremity of *Wady Taba*.

This was the extent of Burckhardt's journey in this direction. They had passed, at *Wady Mokabelat*, the limits of the Towara Arabs, and had entered the

territory of the Heywat tribe, who have a bad character; the guide, therefore, durst advance no further. Akaba was not above five or six hours distant. "Before sunset," says our Traveller, "I could distinguish a black line in the plain, where my sharp-sighted guides clearly saw the date-trees surrounding the castle, which bore N.E. by E. Before us was a promontory called *Ras Koreye;* and behind this, as I was told, there is another, beyond which begins the plain of Akaba. The castle is situated at an hour and a half, or two hours, from the western chain, down which the *hadji* route leads, and about the same distance from the eastern chain, the lower continuation of *Tor Hesma.* The descent of the western mountain is very steep, and has probably given to the place its name of Akaba, which in Arabic means a cliff or a steep declivity: it is probably the Akabet Aila of the Arabian geographers. Makrizi says, that the village Besak stands upon its summit. In Num. xxxiv. 4, the ascent of Akrabbim is mentioned, which appears to correspond very accurately to this ascent of the western mountain from the plain of Akaba. Into this plain, which surrounds the castle on every side except the sea, issues the *Wady el Araba*, the broad, sandy valley which leads towards the Red Sea. At about two hours to the south of the castle, the eastern range of mountains approaches the sea. The plain of Akaba, which is from three to four hours in length from west to east, and, I believe, not much less in breadth northward, is very fertile in pasturage. To the distance of about one hour from the sea, it is strongly impregnated with salt, but, further north, sands prevail. The castle itself stands at a few hundred paces from the sea, and is surrounded with large groves of date-trees. It is a square build-

ing with strong walls, erected, as it now stands, by Sultan El Ghoury, of Egypt, in the sixteenth century. In its interior are many Arab huts. A market is held there, which is frequented by Hedjaz and Syrian Arabs, and small caravans arrive sometimes from Khalyl (Hebron). The castle has tolerably good water in deep wells. The Pasha of Egypt keeps here a garrison of about thirty soldiers, to guard the provisions deposited for the support of the Hadji, and for the use of the cavalry on their passage by this route to join the army in the Hedjaz. Cut off from Cairo, the soldiers of the garrison often turn rebellious. Three years ago (from 1816), an aga made himself independent, and whenever a corps of troops passed, he shut the gates of the castle, and prepared to defend it. He had married a daughter of the chief of the Omran, and thus secured the assistance of that tribe. Being at last attacked by some troops sent against him from Cairo, he fled to his wife's tribe, and escaped into Syria.

It appears that the Gulf extends very little further east than the castle; at one hour's distance from which, in a southern direction, and on the eastern shore of the Gulf, is a smaller and half-ruined castle, called *Kasser el Bedawy:* it is inhabited by Bedoweens. At about three quarters of an hour from this place, and the same distance from Akaba, Burckhardt was informed by some "French Mamelouks" whom he met at Cairo, that there are ruins in the sea, consisting of walls, houses, and columns, which are visible only at low water. If this be the case, the sea would appear to have gained in this direction, while it has been receding at Suez. These ruins, it is said, cannot easily be approached, on account of the shallows. He was informed too by his Arab guides,

that, opposite the promontory of *Ras Koreye*, there is a small island, on which are extensive ruins, the works of infidels, built of stone: they are called *El Deir* (the convent),—a name commonly applied by the Arabs to any ruined building in which they suppose that the priests of the infidels once resided.

To the north of Akaba, in the mountain leading up to *Tor Hesma*, is a valley called *Wady Ithem*, through which a road leads eastward towards Nedjed. This valley, Burckhardt was told, is closed in one part by an ancient wall, constructed, according to the tradition of the Arabs, by a king Hadeid, to prevent the *Beni Helal* of Nedjed from making incursions into the plain. The whole of the tract of country about Akaba and to the W. N. W. of it, is particularly deserving of investigation, as likely to throw light on the Jewish history.* The ridge of mountains which, under the modern names of *Djebel Shera* and *Djebel Hesma*, extends from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba, rising abruptly from the valleys *El Ghor* and *El Araba*, which are a prolongation of the valley of the Jordan,—may be pronounced, with little hesitation, to be the Mount Seir of Edom, which the Israelites are stated to have compassed many days before they again turned northward.† "The existence of the valley *El Araba*, the *Kadesh Barnea*, perhaps, of the Scriptures, appears," says Burckhardt, "to have been unknown both to ancient and modern geographers, although it forms a prominent feature in the topography of Syria and Arabia Petræa. It deserves to be thoroughly inves-

* M. Seetzen travelled from Hebron to Akaba, across the desert El Tyh, in 1806; but no detailed account of this route has been given to the public.

† Deut. ii. 1.

tigated; and travellers might proceed along it in winter time, accompanied by two or three Bedouin guides of the tribes of Howeytat and Terabein, who could be procured at Hebron. Akaba, or Eziongeber, might be reached in eight days by the same road by which the communication was anciently kept up between Jerusalem and her dependencies on the Red Sea; for this is both the nearest and the most commodious route, and it was by this valley that the treasures of Ophir were probably transported to the warehouses of Solomon."

There are two 'Akabas; *Akaba Esshamie*, or the Syrian Akaba, and *Akaba el Masri*, the Egyptian Akaba. There is a day's distance between them. The latter is the Akaba above referred to. The other lies in the great *hadji* route from Damascus to Mekka, and, like the Egyptian Akaba, appears to take its name from a steep acclivity. Here would seem to be a formidable pass. "From the foot of the castle walls, the Hadji descends a deep chasm, and it takes half an hour to reach the plain below. The pilgrims fear that passage, and repeat this prayer before they descend: 'May the Almighty God be merciful to them who descend into the belly of the dragon.' The mountain sinks gradually, and is lost at a great distance in the plain, which is very sandy."* The *Akaba el Masri* is the Aila of the Arabian geographers, which is thus described by Ibn Haukal: "Aila was formerly a small town, with some fruitful lands about it. It is the city of those Jews who were turned into hogs and monkeys."† It stands upon the coast of the

* Burckhardt, p. 658.

† The tradition alluded to is twice mentioned in the Koran, chap. ii. and vii. The circumstance is fabled to have occurred in the

Red Sea, pretty near the road of the Egyptian pilgrims who go to Mekka. It is now nothing but a tower, the residence of a governor, who depends upon him of Grand Cairo. There are now no longer any sown fields there. There was formerly a fort built in the sea,* but it is all gone to ruin; and the commander lives in the tower that we were just speaking of, which stands by the water side."† Makrizi, the Egyptian historian, thus speaks of Aila: "It is from hence that the Hedjaz begins. In former times, it was the frontier place of the Greeks. At one mile from it is a triumphal arch of the Cæsars. In the time of the Islam, it was a fine town, inhabited by the *Beni Omeya*. Ibn Ahmed Ibn Touloun (a sultan of Egypt) made a road over the Akaba or steep mountain before Aila. There were many mosques at Aila, and many Jews lived there. It was taken by the Franks during the Crusades, but, in (A. H.) 566, Salaheddyn transported ships upon camels from Cairo to this place, and recovered it from them. Near Aila, was formerly situated a large and handsome town called Aszyoun" —*Exiongeber*.‡

Foiled in his hope of visiting Akaba, Burckhardt resolved to follow the shore of the gulf southward, and retraced his footsteps to Noweyba. On the 10th

days of King David, as a punishment of some fishermen of Elath for catching fish on the sabbath.

* This is perhaps the "ruins in the sea" referred to by the "French Mamelouks."

† Cited in Calmet's Dict. art. *Eloth*.

‡ Burckhardt, p. 511. "After the decease of Alexander, and the wars consequent on his death, Ælana was subject to the kings of Egypt; afterwards to those of Syria; then to the Romans, who, in the days of Jerome, stationed here the tenth legion. In the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, there is mention of Beryllus, Bishop of Aila."—CALMET'S *Dictionary*.

of May, he rested at two hours and three quarters S.W. of that point, in a valley called *Wady Djercimele*. *Red* coral, he says, is very common on this part of the coast. In the Gulf of Suez, the white is chiefly to be seen. In the evening, Burckhardt "saw a great number of shell-fish leave the water, and crawl to one hundred or two hundred paces inland, where they passed the night, and at sun-rise returned to the sea." The next day, he passed at four hours the granite promontory of *Djebel Abou Ma*; at eight hours, *Ras Methna*, where granite and porphyry are seen crossing each other in irregular layers; and rested, three quarters of an hour further, in *Wady Methna*. On the eastern shore opposite this place, is a valley called Mekna, inhabited by the tribe of Omran, who cross the gulf in small boats, bringing over sheep and goats for sale, of which they have large flocks. The mountains behind Mekna recede from the sea, and, further to the south, take a more eastward direction, leaving a chain of hills between them and the shore, rising immediately from the coast. In an hour and a half S.S.W. of *Wady Methna*, our Traveller reached a place called *Dahab* ("probably the Dizahab mentioned Deut. i. 1."), where an extensive cluster of date-trees covers a tongue of land running out about two miles beyond the line of shore. "There are some low hummocks covered with sand close to the shore of the low promontory, probably occasioned by the ruins of buildings. The plantations are here enclosed by low walls, within many of which are wells of indifferent water; but, in one of them, about twenty-five feet deep, and fifty yards from the sea, we found the best water I had met with on any part of the coast in the immediate vicinity of the sea. About two miles to the south of the date-groves, are a number of shallow

ponds, into which the sea flows at high tide. Here the salt is made, which supplies all the peninsula, as well as the fishermen for curing the fish. The openings of the ponds being closed with sand, the water is left to evaporate, when a thick crust of salt is left. Dahab is a favourite resort of the fishermen, who catch the fish *boury* here in large quantities. In the midst of the small peninsula are about a dozen heaps of stones irregularly piled together, about five feet high, called *Kobour el Noszara* (the tombs of the Christians); and in crossing the tongue of land, Burckhardt observed the remains, apparently, of a causeway, beginning at the mountain and running out towards the point. To the S. of Dahab, the road along the shore is shut up by the cliffs which form the promontory of *El Shedjeir*. Our Traveller, therefore, now turned up the broad, sandy valley of *Wady Sal*, which empties itself into the sea. In the rocky sides of this valley, he observed about a dozen small grottoes, which he thinks must have been originally formed by man, but time had given them the appearance of natural cavities. His direction was now at first S.W. Leaving *Wady Sal*, he continued to ascend slightly through the windings of two broad, barren, sandy valleys, *Wady Beney* and *Wady Ghayb*, till, at the extremity of the latter, he reached in four hours the well of *Moayen el Kelab*.* On the top of a neighbouring part of the granite cliff, is a similar pool, with reeds growing in it: the water is excellent; and near it is a spacious cavern in a "beautiful granite rock," affording a delicious shade to the traveller. The interior is covered on all sides with rude figures of mountain-goats, drawn with charcoal, by the shep-

* Perhaps *Moyen el Kelb*, water of the dog.

herd boys and girls of the Towaras. At an hour and a half from the *Moayen el Kelab*, our Traveller rested near the head of a narrow, steep, and rocky valley, called *Wady Molahdje*. Its direction is S. by W.

Four hours' continual descent through the last-mentioned valley, brought our Traveller the next day into *Wady Orta*, which descends towards the sea. In two hours further, he turned to the right out of this valley, and entered a large plain called *Mofassel el Korfa*, bounded by *Djebel Tarfa*; a high chain extending from Sherm towards the centre of the peninsula. The plain is crossed by many torrents coming from the Tarfa, which collect and flow into the sea near *Wady Nabk*. After proceeding S.S.W. over the plain for three hours, the route approached the Tarfa, between which and the road are low hills called *Hodeybat el Ngszara*, *i. e.* the hump-backs of the Christians. Three hours further, Burckhardt halted in a valley, formed by the lowest range of the Tarfa and an insulated chain of low hills, called *Roweysat Nimr*, the little heads of the tiger. Descending among these hills, he reached in two hours, the next day, the harbour of Sherm.

This is the only harbour on the western coast of the Gulf of Akaba which affords safe anchorage for large ships. There are two deep bays, separated by high land, in both of which ships may lie in perfect safety. On the shore of the more southern bay, stands the tomb of a sheikh, held in high veneration both by the Bedoweens and by mariners, who sometimes light a few lamps which are suspended from the roof;—whether it may serve as a beacon, does not appear. On the shore of the northern bay are several deep, copious, but brackish wells. Sherm is between

four and five hours from *Ras Abou Mohammed*,* the extreme point of the peninsula, which bears from it S.W. by S. Bedoweens are always found at Sherm, waiting with their camels to transport travellers who come by sea from the Hedjaz, and proceed by land to Tor and Suez. A short distance beyond Sherm, Burckhardt saw, "for the first and only time in this peninsula, *volcanic rocks*. For a distance of about two miles, the hills presented perpendicular cliffs formed in high circles, none of them being more than from sixty to eighty feet in height: in other places, there was an appearance of volcanic craters. The rock is black, with sometimes a slight red appearance, full of cavities, and of a rough surface. The cliffs were covered with deep layers of sand, and the valleys at their feet were also overspread with it. Low sand-hills intervene between the volcanic rocks and the sea; and above them, towards the higher mountains, no traces of lava are found. It is possible, Burckhardt suggests, that other rocks of the same kind may occur towards *Ras Abou Mohammed*. If these be really volcanic rocks, as Burckhardt imagines, the circumstance is highly important, and deserves investigation.

Our Traveller now turned back towards the convent, in a direction N.E. by N., and after traversing a wide plain which extends as far as Nabk, rested, at six hours and a half from Sherm, in front of the uninhabited island of Tyran, lying about four miles off the shore in lat. 27° 43′ N., long. 34° 27′ 50″ E.† Half its length is a narrow promontory of sand, and

* Ras Mohammed is in lat. 27° 44′ N.—VALENTIA.

† Valentia.

its main part to the south consists of a barren mountain. There is no sweet water on the island. Lord Valentia describes it as rising to a point in the centre, and as having a small island at each end, which at a little distance appear as if attached to it. Bedoweens of Hetoym sometimes come here from the eastern coast, and remain for several weeks, to fish for pearls. The quantity obtained is very small, but they pick up a good deal of mother-of-pearl. At *Wady Nabk*, two hours further N. by E., the plain contracts, and the western chain begins to approach the shore. Here are large date-plantations and salt-pits, as at Dahab. Next to that place and Noweyba, Nabk is the principal station on the coast; but, except during the date-harvest, it is inhabited only by fishermen,—the poorest of their tribe, who throw their nets from shore; for there is not a single boat or raft to be found on the whole of this coast. The Bedoweens of the eastern coast, however, have a few boats. Burckhardt now turned up *Wady Nabk;* at three hours and a half, passed the *Mofassel el Korfa;* at four hours and a quarter, crossed *Wady el Orta;* and in another hour, halted in *Wady Rahab.* The next day, he entered, in four hours and a half, *Wady Kyd*, one of the most noted date-valleys of the Sinai Arabs; and, pursuing its windings, came, in another hour, to a small rivulet, two feet across and six inches in depth, which is lost immediately below, in the sands of the *wady.* "It drips down a granite rock which blocks up the valley, there only twenty paces in breadth, and forms, at the foot of the rock, a small pond, overshadowed by trees, with fine verdure on its banks. The rocks which overhang it on both sides, almost meet, and give to the whole the appearance of

a grotto, most delightful to the traveller after passing through these dreary valleys. It is, in fact," adds Burckhardt, "the most romantic spot I have seen in these mountains." The source of the rivulet is half an hour higher up the valley, the deep verdure of which forms a striking contrast with the glaring rocks, shewing that wherever water passes in these districts, vegetation invariably accompanies it. Beyond the spot where the rivulet oozes out of the ground, vegetation ceases, and the valley widens. Notwithstanding its verdure, however, *Wady Kyd* is an uncomfortable halting-place, on account of the great number of gnats and ticks with which it is infested. The route now descended in a W.N.W. direction, through winding defiles, passed over *Djebel Mordam*, and, beyond that mountain, another called *Mohala*, on the northern declivity of which Burckhardt halted, after a day's march of twelve hours and a quarter. The next day, he proceeded only three hours and a quarter, and rested at an Arab encampment in the plain called *Haxfet el Ras*. The day following, at the end of three hours and a half, he reached the great convent.

It is a little remarkable, that Dr. Shaw, in his map of the journeyings of the Israelites, (copied, probably, from older maps,) places Mount Sinai to the south-east of Elim, near the extremity of the peninsula, although he evidently intends *Djebel Mousa* under that name. And Ibn Haukal describes the Ælanitic Gulf as "bending southward as far as *Al Tour*, which is Mount Sinai, that by a very high cape, jutting out into the sea, divides it into two arms (or tongues)... The place where it parts the sea, is *Al Tour*, *i. e.* Mount Sinai, the longitude of which is almost the

same as that of Ailah."* This coincidence, together with the "volcanic rocks" of Sherm mentioned by Burckhardt, would almost tempt one to indulge the imagination, that Mount Sinai might after all be found in this direction, and that the bold promontory of *Ras Mohammed* might prove the sea-ward front of the mount of God, or at least a mountain of the same range.† It is evident, however, that the Arabian geographer speaks of the whole peninsula under the name of *Al Tour*, in the same manner as it is called by Burckhardt and others, the peninsula of Sinai. "*Al Tour*," it is added, "is joined to the continent on the north side, but it is encompassed by the sea on the other sides." No stress, therefore, can, we fear, be laid on the description above cited, with regard to the locality in question; but some future traveller may, perhaps, think it worth while to pursue the shadowy but magnificent idea, and explore the immediate vicinity of the southern cape which divides the gulfs of Suez and Akaba. Leaving this interesting tract, which has too long detained us, we must now descend the Red Sea, and prepare to visit the coast of Hedjaz.

* Calmet's Dict., art. *Eloth.*

† "We passed Mollah, and ran up into the Gulf of Akaba. We sailed, for many hours, over or among large and beautifully green shoals, and cast our anchor on the shore of Midian. It is a silent, unpeopled shore: the 'very great company' of early ages has with them passed away. Still, however, from the opposite side of the gulf, the rugged mountains of Arabia the Stony frown distinctly upon you. Sinai is one of this rude and lofty chain. I know not if its awful summit was seen by us; but, where we lay, the fisher in his bark, 'when the God of Israel, even our God, spake to his chosen people,' must have heard the thunder, and seen the lightning cloud."—*Scenes and Impressions in Egypt, &c.* 8vo. p. 63.

VOYAGE DOWN THE RED SEA TO DJIDDA.

In 1807, M. Badhia, a Spaniard who travelled under the name of Ali Bey, and was every where received as a complete Mussulman, succeeded in penetrating the sacred territory, and in exploring the mysteries of the Kaaba. He is the only European who is known to have reached Mekka since Joseph Pitts, who was taken captive by the Algerines towards the close of the seventeenth century, and who, through the cruelties practised upon him, turned Mohammedan, and accompanied his master on the pilgrimage to the sacred city. Of his ingenuous and interesting narrative, we shall have occasion to avail ourselves in following the route of the former traveller.

On the 23d of Dec., 1806, Ali Bey embarked at Suez in a *dao* or *dow*, to cross the Red Sea to Djidda. These dows are vessels of a singular construction, "their height being equal to a third of their length, which is increased, at the upper part, by a long projection at the head and stern, in the manner of the ancient Trojan galleys." The ropes are made of the bark of palm-trees; the sail, of extremely coarse cotton. They carry three sails of various sizes, and two little smack-sails, but never make use of more than one at a time. The crew consisted of fifteen sailors, "as thin and black as apes." * The navigation of the Red Sea, this Traveller says, "is dreadful."

* The vessel in which Niebuhr crossed the sea, was "large enough to have carried at least forty guns," and, "besides her own freight, towed after her three large shallops and one small; the three larger filled with passengers, horses, sheep, and even women of pleasure."

They sailed almost continually between banks and rocks, above and under water, so that four or five men were required to keep watch constantly on the prow, to give notice to the steersman of the shoals. Should they commit an error, or discover the shoal too late, or should the steersman misunderstand the cry, (which sometimes happens,) or not keep far enough off, or, in keeping too far, (for he cannot see them,) run the ship on a neighbouring bank, or should the wind and current be too strong to admit of his changing his direction in time,—the ship would be dashed in pieces. To guard against these dangers, these dows have a false keel, which lessens the shock a little, and, if the weather is not rough, saves the vessel. The fact is, that, not daring to venture into the open sea, the native pilots coast round the shores at the risk of being dashed in pieces upon jutting rocks, or stranded upon coral reefs. In smaller vessels, however, better adapted to the navigation, a voyage in the Red Sea is not without its attractions. A recent Traveller, who embarked at Mocha for Kosseir, in a large kind of boat called a *khanja*,* thus describes the voyage. "We were thirteen days running to Djidda. The navigation is intricate, the shoals of coral numerous, but the waters smooth and clear as pilot could desire. It was beautiful to look down into this brightly transparent sea, and mark the coral, here in large masses of honeycombed rock, there in light branches of a pale-red hue, and the beds of green sea-weed, and the golden

* "These boats, though very large, are without any deck, save a little on the bows and that of the front awning, under which is the cabin, open to the front, without ports or windows, but with a neat open-work at the side, superior to either for light, air, and cheerfulness."

sand, and the shells, and the fish sporting round your vessel, and making colours of a beauty to your eye, which is not their own. Twice or thrice we ran on after dark for an hour or two; and though we were all familiar with the 'sparkling of the sea round the boat of night,' never have I seen it, in other waters, so superlatively splendid. A rope dipped in it, and drawn forth, came up as a string of gems, but with a life, and light, and motion, the diamond does not know." * This luminous appearance, however, is probably confined to the spawning period, for all the travellers who mention it, visited the Red Sea between the latter end of December and the end of February.

It is customary for the vessels to touch both at Tor and at Yambo (written *Jenboa* by Ali Bey). At the latter, which is the port of Medinah, those pilgrims land who intend to take that city in their way to

* Scenes and Impressions, p. 35. Mr. Bruce's assertion has been noticed at p. 116, that he never saw a weed of any sort in the *Yam Suf*. The Writer above cited is not the only one whose testimony supplies a direct contradiction of that statement. Lord Valentia affirms, that the Red Sea abounds with sea-weed more than any other; and Mr. Dawson Turner, in his beautiful work on the Fuci, has given drawings of many of the specimens brought home by his lordship. Equally incorrect is the assertion of Sir F. Henniker, that the coral of the *Red* Sea is all *white*. With regard to the luminous appearance of the waters, Lord Valentia was astonished, when in twenty-two fathom, off the coast of Abyssinia, with the white appearance of breakers. "The captain immediately let go the anchor. The pilots declared that it was only fish, and so it proved; for, soon afterwards, they approached and passed under the vessel. It is singular, that the same circumstance should have been observed by D. Juan de Castro, and should have had the same effect, of inducing him to let go his anchor. He does not account for it, because it happened in the night; but he mentions that it cast flames like fire; which confirms the conjecture, that the brilliant appearance of the sea is owing to fish-spawn and animalculæ."—VALENTIA'S *Travels*, (8vo.) vol. ii. p. 246; iii. p. 334.

Mekka, and it is also a point of disembarkation for Moggrebin pilgrims. It is a walled town, but very small, and of a most wretched aspect: it has a safe harbour.* The governor's residence (for the Turks have a small garrison here) is washed by the sea. The people are poor and ill-clothed. Immediately outside the Medinah gate, the traveller finds himself in the sandy and cheerless desert. A small, poor, rude gateway of stone, "insignificant as that which would open on the court-yard of a rustic *auberge* in many parts of France," is dignified with the name of "the gate of Egypt." Near it is a crowded burial-ground, and, not far off, a windmill, said to have been erected by a *Nazarene* who died at Yambo, and whose grave is "*somewhere in the sand.*" This stands, however, as the Christian's monument: could there have been a more striking one?

On the 12th of January, Ali Bey arrived at "*Arabok*, which is the northern extremity of the *belled el haram*, or holy land. The ship ran upon the sand purposely to enable the pilgrims to perform the first duty of their pilgrimage, which is called *Jaharmo*. It consists in throwing themselves into the sea; in bathing, and making a general ablution with the water and sand; in saying a prayer while naked; in covering the body from the waist to the knees with a cloth without a seam, which they call *ihram*; and in taking some steps in the direction of Mekka, while uttering a prescribed invocation. They afterwards form some little heaps of sand with their hands, embark dressed as above mentioned, and repeat the same prayer during the remainder of their voyage." Arabok (Rabbock, Rabogh) is a permanent station of Bedoweens, on the southern side of Cape Wardan.

* Lat. 24° 7′ 6″ N. long. 37° 32′ 30″ E.—Ali Bey.

The *ihram*, or *hirrawem*, is the common dress of the Arabs of Hedjaz; and Mohammed's design was, to make all the pilgrims appear with due humility. The Turks, who are accustomed to warm clothing and furred cloaks, find it extremely uncomfortable to make the exchange, and, on the plea of indisposition, often resume, after performing these rites, their ordinary dress. Besides the body-cloth, the only garment which the *hadjis* are properly allowed to wear, is another large white wrapper thrown over the shoulders as a scarf; and they put on a pair of *gimgameea*, or sandals, which cover only the toes. "In this manner," says Pitts, "like humble penitents, they go from Rabbock, till they come to Mekkà, to approach the temple; many times enduring the scorching heat of the sun till their very skin is burned off their backs and arms, and their heads swollen to a very great degree. Yet, when any man's health is, by such austerities, like to be impaired, they may lawfully put on their clothes, on condition still, that, when they come to Mekka, they sacrifice a sheep, and give it to the poor. During the time of their wearing this mortifying habit, which is about the space of seven days, it is held unlawful for them so much as to cut their nails, or to kill a louse or a flea though sucking their blood; but yet, if they are so troublesome that they cannot well endure it any longer, it is lawful for them to remove them from one place of the body to another!" Moreover, from this moment, Ali Bey states, "they must not shave their heads until they have made the seven turns round the house of God, kissed the black stone, drunk of the water of the sacred well of Zemzem, and made the seven journeys between the sacred hills of Saffa and Meroua."

On the 13th, our Hadji anchored in the harbour of Djidda, situated, according to his observations, in lat. 21° 33′ 14″ N., long. 39° 6′ E. of Greenwich. He describes it as a pretty town: the streets are regular; the houses are two and three stories high, and some are spacious and handsome. There are five mosques, but they are all poor and ugly. The town is surrounded with a good wall, with irregular towers; and at ten paces distance outside, there is a ditch, about ten feet broad and twelve deep; but it is entirely useless, and, although of late construction, will not last long, as the sides are cut perpendicularly, without any lining. It is filled with dirt at the city gate, which serves as a passage instead of a drawbridge. "The houses in Djidda," Lord Valentia says, "are far superior to those of Mocha. They are built of large blocks of very fine madrapore. The doorways are handsomely arched and covered with fretwork ornaments, carved in the stone: the zig-zag, so prevalent in the Saxon arch, is the most common. The windows are numerous and large. I could not but be struck with the resemblance which exists between these arches and those in our cathedrals. Some were pointed, like the Gothic, including three semicircular windows. Others, particularly those over the doors, were flat like the Saxon, and retired one within another, till the inner one was sufficiently small to receive the door, which is never large. Djidda is a new town; but these excellent houses are probably formed after the model of the more ancient habitations of Mekka. If so, the architecture which we call Gothic, existed in Arabia long before it was known in Europe. The streets are very narrow, which is an advantage in a tropical country, as they are consequently shaded during most part of the day. The palace is very

pleasantly situated on the water's edge. The custom-house faces the sea, and is a handsome, lofty building. The ground rises from the sea, and gives the town a much better appearance than Mocha, though it is not so long. The sea also washes its walls at both ends, and is close to the houses in the middle: this adds greatly to the effect. The bazar was well filled, though it was Ramadan, with plenty of wheat, pulse, dates, figs, raisins, and bread; the latter in small cakes, and very good." Ali Bey says, the public markets are well supplied, but the prices are high. A fowl costs a Spanish piaster. The vegetables are brought from a distance, for there are no gardens at Djidda, there being neither river nor spring in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants drink rain water, which is collected in reservoirs among the hills, and brought by Arabs on the backs of camels. It is said to be excellent. Many of the poorer people earn a scanty livelihood by fishing. The population is stated by the last-mentioned Traveller at 5,000 souls. "There is a great deal of luxury," he adds, "in the costume and apartments of the rich; but, among the lower orders, there are many very poor, some almost naked and in the greatest misery. The garrison is composed of two hundred Turkish and Arab soldiers. But we must not imagine that they mount guard, or execute the least military duty. Their business is confined to passing both night and day in the coffee-houses, drinking, smoking, and playing at chess. There are no Europeans; but there are a few Christians, Copts, confined to a house, or barrack, contiguous to the landing-place. The most important person in the town is the principal merchant, Sidi Alarbi Djilauni: he is a man of talent, and very much attached to the English. I saw a prodigious number

of dogs in the streets, which are without masters, as in all the Mussulman towns. They appear to be regularly organised, or divided into tribes or families; for, when one of them has the misfortune or the boldness to leave his own quarter, they set up a terrible noise, and the intruder never escapes without receiving serious wounds. The cats, which resemble those of Europe, are nearly equal in number to the dogs. There are few flies, and no gnats or other insects."

"The harbour," Lord Valentia says, "is formed by innumerable reefs of madrapore, which extend to about four miles from the shore, leaving many narrow channels between, in which there is a good bottom at from six to twelve fathom, and where the sea is as smooth as glass, when it blows the heaviest gale. The entrance is, of course, difficult, but the rocks are visible when the sun is behind the vessel, and the native pilots unerringly steer in safety by the eye alone. Even large ships can enter; but for dows, it is a most excellent harbour, and the number that even now frequent it, is very great. Sir Home Popham has given an excellent plan of the harbour. The English formerly carried on a considerable trade with Djidda, but it gradually declined in consequence of the extortions of the shereef and his servants, under the name of presents; and, for many years before the expedition into the Red Sea, not a vessel had arrived, except the Surprise, Captain Gilmore, which the vizier immediately plundered, but which Admiral Blanket as quickly obliged him to restore. From that time till the arrival of the Olive (1806), the English flag had not been seen in Djidda."

The country round the town is a desert plain. The climate is very variable. Ali Bey observed the hygrometer pass in a very short time from great

drought to extreme moisture. "The north wind, traversing the deserts, arrives in such a state of dryness, that the skin is parched, paper cracks as if it were in the mouth of an oven, and the air is always loaded with sand. If the wind changes to the south, every thing is an opposite extreme: the air is damp, and every thing that you handle feels of a clammy wetness. This moisture relaxes the animal fibres, and is very disagreeable. The inhabitants, notwithstanding, assert that it is more salubrious than the aridity of the north wind. The greatest heat I observed during my stay, was 23° of Reaumur. When the south wind blew, I perceived the atmosphere to be loaded with a sort of fog."

Djidda owes its celebrity and its consequence to its being the sea-port nearest to Mekka, from which it is distant about forty miles. The holy city, being surrounded with a barren desert, has invariably depended on Africa for its supplies; and the Grand Seignior has availed himself of this circumstance to secure a share of the profits derived from the trade. "He used formerly, therefore, regularly to appoint a pasha, who lived in the citadel of Djidda with a Turkish guard, and divided the receipts of the custom-house with the shereef.* While the power of the Porte continued undiminished, its minister was treated with great

* According to Niebuhr, however, the authority of the pasha was little more than nominal, the supreme authority being shared between the shereef's vizier and the Turkish *kiaja*, the officer entrusted with the supervision of the customs, who was changed every year, and sometimes refused to obey the pasha himself. The customs were fixed at 10 *per cent*, but, being estimated arbitrarily, were often equal to 12 or 15 *per cent*. The English, however, paid only 8 *per cent*, which they were allowed to discharge in goods, while all others were required to produce money. An Englishman had at that time resided here several years.

respect, for any insult would have been punished by the powerful force which annually accompanied the caravan of pilgrims from Syria; but, when Egypt was torn by internal convulsions, when the pashas of Asia threw off, in a great degree, the control of the Porte; and when the Wahhabee power arose, and cut off the communication between Constantinople and Mekka, the shereef became disinclined to give half his receipts to a person whom he no longer feared, but considered as a useless incumbrance. Disputes naturally ensued, which at length ended in open hostilities; and Ghalib (the reigning shereef) actually attacked the pasha in the citadel, nearly destroyed it, and got rid of him by the more secret means of poison." At the time of Lord Valentia's travels in these parts (1805-6), no representative of the Protector of the Holy Places (so the Grand Seignior is styled) was to be found in Arabia; and the shereef of Mekka was shut up by the Wahhabees within his walled towns. In 1763, when Niebuhr visited Arabia, Hedjaz had, in Moosnud, an active, able, and victorious sovereign, and so rigid an administrator of justice, that it was said, a camel might go safely from one end of Hedjaz to the other. "During the nineteen years that his son has ruled," remarks Lord Valentia, "how totally has every thing been changed! The proud Arabs of Beni Koreish, the descendants of the Prophet, to whom the earth was given, are shut up in four wretched towns," (Mekka, Medinah, and their respective sea-ports,) "whence they behold their country devastated without the means of saving it; and instead of receiving that respect which for twelve centuries they have claimed throughout Asia, they are obliged to submit to the mandates of an Abyssinian slave, who has no real merit except valour, but

who is recommended to his master by a willingness to commit every crime."

The soldiers of the vizier at this time in Djidda, were about a thousand in number, all richly clothed, their matchlocks and *jambeas* highly ornamented with silver. When Lord Valentia landed to pay his respects to the vizier, several of his officers were in waiting at the landing-place, very handsomely dressed in scarlet English broad-cloth lined with yellow satin. A double line of soldiers reached to the door of the hall of audience, and the whole of the troops made a very respectable appearance. They must have undergone a considerable reduction, apparently, when Ali Bey was at Djidda the following year, as he states their number at only two hundred. The critical state of the country at that period, has already been described in the introductory sketch.* In 1823, Djidda had again received a Turkish governor, whose portrait is thus strikingly drawn by the graphic pen of the Author of "Scenes and Impressions in Egypt."

"Rustan Aga himself was a fine-looking, haughty, martial man, with mustachios, but no beard; he wore a robe of scarlet cloth. Hussein Aga, who sat on his left, had a good profile, a long grizzled beard, with a black ribbon bound over one eye, to conceal its loss. He wore a robe of pale blue. The other person, Araby Jellauny, was an aged and a very plain man. The attendants for the most part wore large dark-brown dresses, fashioned into the short Turkish vest or jacket, and the large full Turkish trowsers; their sashes were crimson, and the heavy ornamented buts of their pistols protruded from them; their crooked scimitars hung in silken cords before them; they had

white turbans, large mustachios, but the cheek and chin clearly shaven. Their complexions were in general very pale, as of men who pass their lives in confinement. They stood with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on us. I shall never forget them; there were a dozen or more. I saw nothing like this after, not even in Egypt; for Djidda is an excellent government, both on account of its port and its vicinity to Mekka; and Rustan Aga had a large establishment, and was something of a magnifico. He has the power of life and death. A word, a sign from him, and these men who stand before you in attitude so respectful, with an aspect so calm, so pale, would smile and slay you. We know that the name of Englishman is a tower of strength, — that he may sit among these despotic lords, fearless, proud, and cheerful. So, indeed, may all Europeans whose countries are strong enough to protect their subjects. But we have to do with the manners of these people; and we know, that not fourteen years have passed since Ali Pasha, whom I have heard *laugh*, as the assembled beys of the mamelukes passed from the hall of audience, whither he had invited them, gave the signal for a general massacre of them and their brave followers :—such is the Turk.

"What most gratified me was the sight of the Turkish soldiery. There was a large body in garrison here, — a division of that army which had been sent from Egypt against the Hedjaz, two or three years before. Scattered in groupes through the bazar, and reclining or squatted on the benches of the coffee-houses, these men were every where to be seen; some in turbans and vests covered with tarnished embroidery; others only in waistcoats, with the small red cap, the red stocking, the bare knee, the white kilt, the loose

shirt sleeve, which, with many, was tucked up to the very shoulder, and shewed a nervous, hairy arm: all had pistols in their red girdles. Their complexions and features were various; but very many among them had eyes of the lightest colours, and the hair on their upper lips, of a sun-scorched brown, or of a dirty yellow. They have a look at once indolent and ferocious, such as the tiger would have basking in the sun; and they are not less savage. The Turkish soldier would sit, smoke, and sleep for a year or years together: he hates exertion, scorns discipline, but has within him a capability of great efforts, and an undaunted spirit. He will rise from his long rest to give the 'wild halloo,' and rush fearless to the battle. Such are the men who shed the blood of the peaceful Greek families in the gardens of Scio; and such are the men (let it not be forgotten) who, a short century ago, encamped under the walls of Vienna."

Ali Bey rested a week at Djidda, to recover from the effects of fatigue and indisposition. At length, on the 21st of January, he set out at three o'clock P.M. for Mekka, and at half-past eight arrived at the foot of the mountains. He travelled in a sort of sofa, roofed with boughs, and placed on the back of a camel: he calls it a *shevria*. In his weak state, he found the camel's motion almost insupportable. About eight leagues E. of Djidda, they rested at a small *douar* (village or station) in a sandy valley, enclosed by mountains of porphyry, where a few conical huts have been set up for the accommodation of caravans, round a well of brinish water. The place is called *El Hadda*. The huts are about seven feet high, and seven or eight in diameter, formed of sticks like a cage, and covered with palm-leaves; the whole was enclosed with a hedge. There was a little vegetation

in the neighbourhood, and it was interesting, says our Traveller, to see the camels eat. "The driver placed a circular mat upon the ground, and on this he laid a pile of brambles and herbs cut very small; he then permitted the camels to approach, when they immediately squatted themselves down upon the ground all round at regular distances, and began to eat with a sort of politeness and order. They each ate the herbs before them by a little at a time, and if either of them left his place, his companion appeared gently to reprove him, which made the other feel his fault, and return to it again. In a word, the camel's table is a faithful copy of that of their masters." At half-past three on the following day, our Traveller again set forward by a fine, broad, and straight road. As he advanced, he began to see several *little* woods; and after sunset, "passed some volcanic mountains covered with black lava." At eleven at night, having climbed over some small hills, the route led into a deep and narrow defile, in which the road is cut in steps through the different windings. This defile would make a strong military position. At midnight, our Hadji arrived at the first houses of the city of

MEKKA.

HERE, several Mogrebins were waiting his arrival, with little pitchers filled with water from the well of Zemzem, which they presented to him. Others were also lying in wait in the hope of securing him as a lodger, for the lodgings are the principal speculations of the inhabitants; but their disputes were soon cut short by the person whom Ali Bey had charged with providing every thing for him during his stay, by whom he was conducted to the house prepared for him near the temple. Pilgrims ought to enter the

city on foot; but, in consequence of his illness, our Hadji remained on his camel till he reached his lodging.

His first duty was to perform a general ablution; after which he was conducted in procession towards the temple, with all his people, the *dilleel*, or guide, reciting prayers all the way. On arriving at the *Bab-es-salem* (gate of peace or welcome), at the northern angle of the temple, the pilgrim takes off his sandals; and on his entering the great square in which the Kaaba stands, the *dilleel* suddenly makes a stand, and pointing to it with his finger, exclaims, *Shouf, shouf, el Beit-Allah el Haram!* Look, look, the house of God, the Holy! "The crowd that surrounded me," says Ali Bey, "the portico of columns half-hidden from view, the immense size of the temple, the Kaaba or house of God, covered with the black cloth from top to bottom, and surrounded with a circle of lamps or lanterns, the hour, the silence of the night, and this man's solemn tone,—all served to form an imposing picture, which will never be effaced from my memory."

The following are the ceremonies observed on this occasion, such as they were performed by Ali Bey himself: "The pilgrims go seven times round the Kaaba, beginning at the black stone or the eastern angle, and passing the principal front, in which is the door; thence turning to the west and south, outside of the stones of Ismael. Being arrived at the southern angle, they stretch out the right arm; when, having touched the angular marble with the hand, taking great care that the lower part of their garment does not touch the uncovered base, they pass it over the face and beard, saying, 'In the name of God, the greatest God, praises be to God;' and they con-

tinue to walk towards the north-east, saying, 'Oh great God! be with me! Give me the good things of this world, and those of the next!' Being returned to the eastern angle, they raise their hands as at the beginning of the canonical prayer, and cry, 'In the name of God, the greatest God.' They afterwards say, with their hands down, 'Praises be to God!' and kiss the black stone. Thus terminates the first tour. The second is like the first, except that the prayers are different from the angle of the black stone to that of the south; but they are the same from the latter to the former, and are repeated with the same forms during the seven rounds. At the end of the seventh, and after having kissed the black stone, they recite in common a short prayer, standing near the door of the Kaaba, from whence they go to a sort of chapel, called *Makam Ibrahim*, or the place of Abraham, situated between the Kaaba and the arch *Bab-es-salem*, when they recite a common prayer. They then go to the well Zemzem, and draw buckets of water, of which they drink as much as they can swallow. After this, they leave the temple by the gate of Saffa, from whence they go up a small street facing, which forms what is called *Djebel Saffa*, the hill of Saffa. At the end of this street, which is terminated by a portico, composed of three arches upon columns, ascended by steps, is the sacred place called Saffa. When the pilgrims have arrived there, they turn their faces towards the gate of the temple, and recite a short prayer standing. The procession then directs its course through the principal street, and passes a part of *Djebel Meroua* (the hill of Meroua), the pilgrims reciting some prayers at the end of the street, which is terminated by a great wall. They then ascend some steps, and, turning their faces towards

the temple, the view of which is interrupted by the intervening houses, recite a short prayer standing, and continue to go from the one hill to the other seven times, repeating prayers in a loud voice as they proceed, and short ones at the two sacred places, which constitute the seven journeys between the two hills. These being completed, there are a number of barbers in waiting to shave the pilgrims' heads, which they do very quickly, at the same time saying prayers in a loud tone, which the former repeat after them, word for word. This operation terminates the first ceremonies of the pilgrimage to Mekka. It is generally known, that almost all Mussulmans let a tuft of hair grow upon the crown of their head. The reformer Abd-ul Wahhab declared this to be a sin; and as the Wahhabites govern the country, every body is obliged to shave his head. In consequence of this, my long tuft was swept away by the inexorable barber."

The Temple of Mekka, known to all true Mussulmans under the name of *El Haram*, the holy place, is situated nearly in the middle of the city, which is built in a narrow valley, having a considerable slope from north to south. In order to form a level area for the great court of the temple, the ground has evidently been hollowed out, subsequently to the erection of the Kaaba, which is the only ancient edifice in the temple; so that, on entering it in any direction, you descend several steps; and the oval surface paved with marble that immediately surrounds the Kaaba, upon which the pilgrims perform their rounds, is the lowest part. The door of the Kaaba, and the floor of the interior, are considerably above the pavement of the court; but it is easy to perceive, Ali Bey says, that they were originally on a level with the streets that surround the temple, and that there was then no

occasion for a staircase to enter it. The great court forms a parallelogram of about 536 feet by 356, surrounded with a double piazza;* the fronts of the two longer sides presenting thirty-six, and the two shorter sides twenty-four arches, slightly pointed, supported by columns of greyish marble, of different proportions. Each side is composed of two naves, formed by a triple row of arches, so that there may be counted more than five hundred columns and pilasters. Instead of a column, between every fourth arch, there is an octangular pilaster of hewn stone, about three feet in diameter. The capitals of the columns which front the court are "very fine, although they do not belong to either of the five orders of architecture;" but the capitals of the interior columns are stated to be all of either the Corinthian or the Composite: some are exquisitely carved. The pedestals are of various form and proportion: "some have, by an extravagant whim of the architect, a Corinthian capital reversed." The arches that front the court, are all crowned with little conical cupolas: the interior ones have low spherical vaults. The four fronts are also surmounted with stone ornaments, very much resembling *fleurs-de-lys*. All the galleries, as well as the paths crossing the area to the Kaaba, are paved with hewn stones of quartz rock, of which also the walls of the temple are built. Like the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, *El Haram* is partially surrounded with houses which join the walls, so that it presents no external front; and some of the houses have windows that overlook the interior. The eastern angle of the temple is rounded off, to conform to the line of the

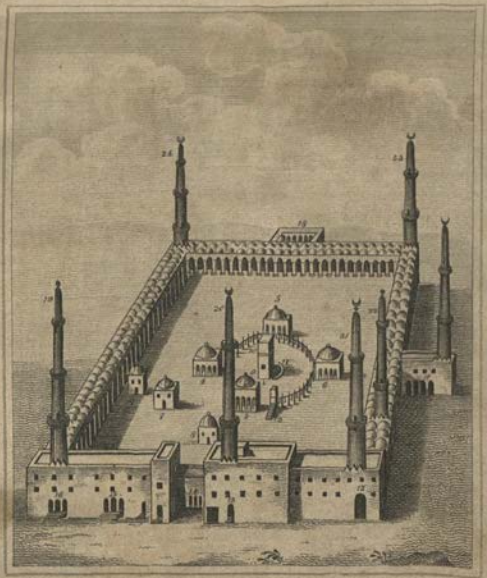
* "The form of it," says Pitts, "is much resembling that of the Royal Exchange in London, but, I believe, it is near ten times bigger."

principal street, so that the gallery is narrowed at that angle, hardly allowing space enough to pass between the wall and the column. In the south-eastern gallery, there is, for a short distance, a fourth row of arches. The temple has nineteen gates, with thirty-eight arches.* The *Bab Saffa* is the only one that has an ornamented front: all the rest are very plain. There are seven minarets; one at each angle of the temple; one between the *Bab Ziada* and the *Bab Douriba*, on the north-western side; and two which are detached from the body of the building, and stand among the houses adjoining the north-eastern wing: they are all octangular, and of three stages, but vary in size. The other parts of the temple consist, according to Ali Bey, of the Kaaba, the well of Zemzem, the *Makam Ibrahim* (place of Abraham), the places of the four orthodox sects,† two *kobbas* or chapels, the arch called *Bab-es-salem*, *el monbar* (the tribune), and *el daureh*, the wooden staircase by which access is obtained to the Kaaba.‡

* Pitts says: "It hath about forty-two doors to enter into it, not so much, I think, for necessity as figure; for, in some places, they are close by one another." He probably mistook every arch with its false door for a separate entrance.

† For an account of the founders of the four sects of Hanifites, Malekites, Shafeites, and Hanbalites, see Mod. Trav., Palestine, p. 116. Each has in like manner its separate place of prayer in the *Haram Shereef* at Jerusalem.

‡ The annexed plate is copied from one given by Niebuhr, on the authority of a Turkish original. The figures should be explained as follows: 1. The Kaaba. 2. *El Monbar*. 3. *El Makam Ibrahim* (the place of the Shafeites). 4. *El Makam Hhanbeli* (place of the Hanbalites). 5. *El Makam Maleki* (place of the Malekites). 6. *El Makam Hhaneffi* (place of the Hanifites). 7. The well Zemzem. 8. *El Kobbataïva*, buildings in which they keep the lamps, oil, &c. 9. The position of the Black Stone. 10. The belt embroidered with letters of gold. 11. *El Hajar Ismaël*. 12. *Bab es Salam*. 13. *Bab Keid Bey*. 14. *Bab-en-Nebbi*. 15. *Bab Ali*. 16. *Bab*



THE GREAT MOSQUES AT

MECCA AND MEDINA.

The greatest curiosity, and the only part which lays claim to high antiquity, is the Kaaba itself, otherwise called *Beit Allah*, the House of God. It is described by Ali Bey as a quadrilateral tower, the sides and angles of which are unequal, so that its plan forms a true trapezium. The size of the edifice, and the black cloth which covers it, make this irregularity disappear, and give it the figure of a perfect square. It is built of square-hewn but unpolished stones of quartz, schorl, and mica, brought from the neighbouring mountains. Its height is thirty-four feet four inches, and the sides vary from twenty-nine to thirty-eight feet in length. The black stone is built or "incrusted" in the angle formed by the N.E. and S.E. sides, and is believed to face exactly the East. It is raised forty-two inches above the pavement, and is bordered all round with a large plate of silver about a foot broad. This miraculous block, which they call *Hhajera el Assouad*, the heavenly stone, is believed by all true Moslems to have been originally a transparent hyacinth presented to Abraham by the angel Gabriel, who brought it from heaven; but, being touched by an impure woman, it became black and opaque.* It is, in fact, Ali Bey says, "a fragment of volcanic basalt, sprinkled throughout its circumference with small, pointed, coloured crystals, and varied with red feldspath upon a dark black ground like coal, except one of its protuberances, which is a little reddish.

Saffa. 17. *Bab Essiade.* 18. *Bab Ibrahim.* 19. *Minaret Ali.* 20. *Minaret Keid Bey.* 21. *Minaret Abbassioun.* 22. *Minaret Udda.* 23. *Minaret Kalaoun.* 24. *Minaret Bab Omra.* Neither *Bab Keid Bey*, *Bab Essiade*, nor *Bab Omra*, are mentioned by Ali Bey under those names; and, if Niebuhr's authority be correct, his enumeration of the gates is in other respects inaccurate.

* Pitts writes it *haggar esswaed*, (see note at p. 44); and ascribes its black colour to the sins of the multitudes who kiss it.

The continual kisses and touchings of the faithful have worn the surface uneven, so that it has now a muscular appearance, with one deep hollow." It is discovered through an opening in the black cloth, which covers the whole of the building except the base, called *Tob el Kaaba* (the shirt of the Kaaba). A new *Tob* is brought every year from Cairo, and put on Easter day; but, instead of being spread out at first, like the old one, it is fastened up in drapery, to keep it from the hands of the pilgrims. A new curtain also is annually sent to cover the door, which is truly magnificent, being entirely embroidered with gold and silver. At about two-thirds of its height, the *Tob* is embroidered with a band of gold two feet broad, with inscriptions from the Koran, which are repeated on all the four sides: it is called *el hazem*, the belt. The belt and the curtain are the perquisite of the sultan-shereef, except when the first day of Easter falls on a Friday: they are then sent to the Grand Seignior, to whom the water of Zemzem is sent every year. The old *Tob* is cut up and sold at five francs a cubit, but, being covered with inscriptions, it is not a very marketable article.* On the N.W. side of the Kaaba, there is a sort of parapet, above

* The demand for it seems to have declined. Pitts says: "The *hagges* care not almost how much they give for a piece of it. They being so eager after these shreds, a piece of the bigness of a sheet of paper will cost a *sultane*, *i. e.* nine or ten shillings. Yea, the very cotton rope to which the lower part of the covering was fastened, is also cut in pieces, untwisted, and sold. Many buy a piece of the covering on purpose to have it laid on their breast when they are dead, and be buried with them: this they carry always with them, esteeming it as an excellent amulet to preserve them from all manner of danger. I am apt to believe that the sultan-shirreef makes as much money of the old covering as the new may cost, although, they say, that the work that is in it, is alone the employment of many people for a whole year."

five feet high and three wide, enclosing a semicircular place paved with very fine marbles, (some of them of a fine green,) called *El Hajar Ismaël*, the stones of Ismael. Between this parapet and the body of the Kaaba is a space of about six feet, leaving a passage on either side. "It is thought that Ismael was buried in this place." The basement of the building is of marble, twenty inches high, and projecting ten inches. There are large bronze rings fixed in it at regular distances all round, to which is fastened by strings, the lower border of the black cloth that covers the walls. The threshold of the entrance is about six feet above the pavement, — Pitts says, "as high as a man can reach." There are folding doors of wood plated over with silver, and fastened with an enormous silver padlock. Except in extraordinary cases, this door is opened only twice a year: it is then entered by a sort of ladder-staircase, about eight feet wide, and consisting of ten steps, with rails on each side, mounted on six large rollers.

The interior of the Kaaba consists simply of a room or hall, with two wooden pillars, of less than two feet diameter, in the middle, to support the roof. Both the columns and the walls, to within five feet of the floor, as well as the roof, are covered with a magnificent cloth of rose-coloured silk, sprinkled with flowers embroidered in silver, and lined with white silk. Every sultan of Constantinople is obliged to send a new one when he mounts the throne; and this is the only occasion on which it is ever changed. "As the columns were beginning to decay at the bottom, where they are not covered with the rich cloth, they have covered them with bands of wood, one or two inches in breadth, placed perpendicularly, and fastened together by bronze nails gilded. The lower part of

the walls, which is also left uncovered, is inlaid with fine marbles, some plain, others with flowers in arabesque or relief, or with inscriptions. The floor is paved also with the finest marble. There are bars that go from one column to the other, and from both columns to the wall, which are said to be of silver; and an infinite number of gold lamps are suspended from it, one over another. At the northern angle of the hall is a staircase by which persons ascend to the roof: it is covered by a partition, the door of which is shut. The roof is flat above, and has only one very large gutter upon the north-west side, by which the rain runs off into the stones of Ismael: it is said to be of gold; it appeared to me, however, to be only of gilt bronze."*

El Makam Ibrahim is a parallelogram facing the door of the Kaaba, at the distance of thirty-four feet: it is twelve feet nine inches long, and seven feet eight inches wide. The roof is supported by six pilasters, rather more than six feet high. The half of the enclosure nearest the Kaaba is surrounded with a fine railing of bronze, the door of which is always kept fastened with a silver padlock. This railing encloses a sort of sarcophagus, hung with a black cloth magnificently embroidered with gold and silver, and having large golden acorns attached to it. This sar-

* "I profess," says Pitts, "I found nothing worth seeing in it; only two wooden pillars in the midst, to keep up the roof, and a bar of iron fastened to them, on which hung *three or four* silver lamps, which are, I suppose, but seldom if ever lighted. In one corner of the *Beit* is an iron or brass chain, (I cannot tell which, for I made no use of it,) the pilgrims just clap it about their necks in token of repentance. The floor is of marble. The walls, though of marble on the inside, are hung all over with silk, which is pulled off before the hajjis enter." The lamps seem to have multiplied since Pitts was at Mekka.

cophagus, we are told, " is nothing else than a large stone that served Abraham for a footstool to construct the Kaaba, and increased in height as the building advanced, to facilitate his labours; at the same time that the stones came out miraculously, already squared, from the spot where the footstool now stands, and passed into Ismaël's hands, and thence into his father's."* A small cupola surmounts this part of the building.

El Bir Zemzem (the well Zemzem) is enclosed in a small building, comprising the room of the well, another smaller apartment in which the pitchers are kept, and a staircase leading to the terrace-roof, which is surrounded with a railing, and divided into two parts: one encloses two large horizontal marble sundials, to mark the hours of prayer; the other, which is crowned with a pretty cupola supported by eight pilasters, is a *makam* of the shafeites. The staircase has a separate entrance. The room of the well is rather more than seventeen feet square; it is lined and paved with marble, and lighted by eight windows, three to the west, three to the north, two with the door, to the east, and three niches towards the store-room. The outside has a small façade of fine white marble. The number of pitchers is immense, occupying not only the room adjoining that of the well, but the two *kobbas*, and several other rooms ranged round the court. They are of unglazed earth, so porous that the water filters through; are fifteen inches in length, with a long cylindrical throat, and a body terminating in a point, so that they cannot stand upright. The well itself is about seven feet and a half in diameter, and fifty-six feet deep to the

See page 48, *note*.

surface of the water. The brim is of fine white marble, five feet high, and is intended to keep off the pilgrims from helping themselves to the water. Three leather buckets, attached to pulleys, serve to draw up the water, which is very limpid, but brackish and heavy. "Notwithstanding the depth of the well and the heat of the climate, it is hotter, when first drawn up, than the air. It resembles warm water, which proves that there is at the bottom a particular cause of vehement heat. It is wholesome, nevertheless, and so abundant, that, at the period of the pilgrimage, though there were thousands of pitchers-full drawn, its level was not sensibly diminished.

"As soon as a distinguished pilgrim arrives at Mekka, they inscribe his name in the book of the chief of the Zemzem, who orders one of his servants to furnish and to carry water to the house of the pilgrim. The pitchers are marked with the name of the person in black wax; and some mystical inscriptions are usually added. Besides the pitchers which are furnished to the pilgrims, the water-carriers of Zemzem walk continually in the temple, to sell and distribute the water. It is also common, in the evening, for them to spread a very great number of long, narrow mats in the court of the temple, and to place before the mats a row of pitchers half full of water, which are placed obliquely; so that the persons who come to sit upon the mats find each a pitcher before them, which is very agreeable in a warm country, and draws a large concourse of people to the temple before the hour of prayer of *moagreb*, or sunset. It is a period of social union, during which they recite prayers, or talk pleasantly in company until that hour approaches."

The chief of the Zemzem is a personage of no small

consequence. "As he possesses the entire confidence of the shereef, he fills the most important place. His title is, *the poisoner!* This dangerous man," says Ali Bey, "was known to me the first time I went to the well of Zemzem, when he made his court assiduously to me. He gave me a magnificent dinner, and sent me every day two small pitchers of the water of the miraculous well. He even watched the moments when I went to the temple, and ran with the most winning grace and sweetness to present me a handsome cup filled with the same water, which I drank to the last drop, because it would have been considered as a sort of crime or impiety to refuse it. This wretch observes the same conduct to all pashas and important personages who come here. Upon the slightest suspicion, or the least caprice that may arise in the mind of the shereef, he orders, the other obeys, and the unhappy stranger ceases to exist. As it is reckoned impious not to accept the sacred water presented by the chief of the well, this man is arbiter of the lives of every one, and has already sacrificed many victims. For this reason, the Mogrebins, or Arabs of the West, who are entirely devoted to me, hastened to warn me to be upon my guard, on my arrival in the city. I myself treated this traitor with the greatest marks of confidence. I accepted his water and his entertainments with an unalterable serenity and coolness. I took the precaution, however, to keep always in my pocket three doses of vitriolated zinc, (a much more active emetic than tartar-emetic,) to take the instant I should perceive the least indication of treason." This official assassin is described as a young man, about twenty-two or twenty-four years of age, extremely handsome, with fine eyes: "he dresses remarkably well, is very

polished, has an air of sweetness which is seducing, and appears to be endowed with all the qualities that render a person amiable." "From time immemorial," we are told, "the sultan-shereefs of Mekka have had a poisoner at their court; and it is remarkable that they do not try to conceal it, since it is well known in Egypt and at Constantinople, that the divan has several times sent to Mekka pashas, or other persons, to be sacrificed in this manner." The well of Zemzem is believed by the Moslems to have been the one miraculously opened by the angel of the Lord for Hagar, when nearly perishing from thirst in the desert with her son Ishmael.* Whoever owned the well originally, the devil would seem to be its proprietor now.

El Bab-es-salem is an insulated arch, of hewn stone, nineteen feet and a half in breadth, and fifteen feet and a half high, terminating in a point: it stands between the *Makam Ibrahim* and the Kaaba. *El Monbar*, the tribune of the imaum on Fridays, is the most highly finished and precious monument of the temple. It stands on one side of the *Makam Ibrahim*, in front of the northern angle of the Kaaba. Its form is that of a staircase, about three feet wide, terminating at a small platform, surmounted by an octangular pyramidal cupola, of gilt bronze, which rests on four small columns united by arches. The steps are of very fine white marble. The exterior sides, the railing, the base, and the bronze gate at the entrance, are all of beautiful workmanship. Here, as in all the mosques, the imaum does not ascend to the platform, but remains upon the last step

* Gen. xxi. 19. The well to which Hagar was directed, was in the wilderness of Beersheba.

but one, with his back towards the Kaaba. There is a dress peculiar to the imaum of the temple, consisting of a large *kaftan* of white wool tissue, and a shawl equally light and white, which covers his head, passing once round the neck, and falling with the ends before.

. The Kaaba is nearly, but not exactly, in the centre of the temple. The ground for about forty feet round it is paved with fine marble, on which the pilgrims perform the *towoaf*, or circuit. Outside of this is a stone pavement about a foot higher, between which and the place of *towoaf*, there are thirty-one pillars of brass, with gilt capitals terminating in a crescent: they are about three inches in diameter, and seven feet six inches high, resting on a stone base about a foot in height and in diameter.* To these pillars are fastened iron bars, from which are suspended a number of lamps of thick green glass, disposed without order or regularity, which are lighted every evening. Upon the outer pavement are the four *makams* or praying-places of the four orthodox sects. Since the reform of the Wahhabees, however, the order of things has been changed: the imaums of Hanifi and Hanbali say prayers at the foot of the Kaaba, facing the door; the imaum of Shafei at the *makam Ibrahim*; and the imaum of Maleki at his proper place. The morning prayer is conducted by the imaum of Hanbali; those of noon and sunset, by the imaum of Hanifi; the afternoon, by the imaum of Shafei; and that of night, by the imaum of Maleki.† The

* "About fifteen feet high, and twenty feet distant from each other."—PITTS.

† The Hanifees, according to Pitts, seem the most serious and devout: they are chiefly Turks. The Arabians follow the ritual of Shafei. The Moggrebins, or occidentals, are Malekees. The

two *Kobbas* are opposite the door of the Zemzem: they are about eighteen feet square, and are surmounted with cupolas. That part of the court which is not paved, is of coarse sand. Here are to be seen thousands of blue pigeons, or doves, so tame that they come and feed out of the hands of the *hadjis*, who never fail to buy corn for the purpose; it being a very acceptable offering, Ali Bey says, in the eyes of the Deity *and* those of the shereef. Women and children beset the pilgrim with rush dishes full of corn, which they sell at a *para* each, begging him to bestow something on the *hammamet metta Nebbi*, the pigeons of the prophet.

The door of the Kaaba, as has already been mentioned, is opened only on three days: on the first, all the male pilgrims enter; on the day following, the women go to perform their devotions; and five days after this, a day is set apart to washing and purifying it, in which the sultan assists in person. Ali Bey has given us a description of this strange scene.

"Two hours after sunrise, the sultan-shereef went to the temple, accompanied by about thirty persons, and twelve Negro and Arabian guards. The door of the Kaaba was already open, and surrounded with an immense number of people. The staircase was not placed. The sultan-shereef got upon the shoulders and heads of the multitude, and entered with the principal sheikhs of the tribes. Those below wished to do the same; but the guards prevented them, by beating them with their sticks. I staid at a distance from the door, to avoid the crowd, and in a short time received an order from the shereef of the well to

Hanbalees are distinguished by rejecting Ali from the number of the apostles of Mohammed: in other respects, they differ little from the Hanifees. They are few in number.

advance to the door, where he stood, making signs to me. But how could I get through the crowd that stood between us?

"All the water-carriers in Mecca were advancing with their vessels full of water, which they passed from hand to hand, until they reached the guards at the door. They also passed a great number of very small brooms, made of the leaves of palm-trees, in the same manner. The negroes began to throw the water upon the marble pavement of the Kaaba: they also cast rose-water upon it, which, flowing out at a hole under the door, was caught with great avidity by the faithful. But as it did not run out fast enough to satisfy the wants of those at a distance, who were desirous to obtain it, they cried out for some of it to drink, and to wash themselves with: the negroes, with cups, and with their hands, threw it in quantities over them. They were civil enough to pass a small pitcher and a cup full of it to me, of which I drank as much as possible, and poured the rest over myself; for, although this water is very dirty, it is a benediction of God, and is besides much perfumed with rose-water.

"I at last made an effort to approach: several persons raised me up; and, after walking upon the heads of several others, I arrived at the door, where the negro guards helped me to get in. I was prepared for the operation; for I had on only my shirt, a caschaba, or a shirt of white wool without sleeves, my turban, and the hhaik that covered me.

"The sultan-shereef swept the hall himself. Immediately after I entered, the guards took off my hhaik, and presented me a bundle of small brooms, some of which I took in each hand; and at the instant they threw a great deal of water upon the

pavement, I began my duty by sweeping with both hands, with an ardent faith, although the floor was quite clean, and polished like glass. During this operation, the shereef, who had finished, began to pray. They gave me afterwards a silver cup, filled with a paste made of the saw-dust of sandal wood, kneaded with the essence of roses; and I spread it upon the lower part of the wall, that is incrusted with marble, under the tapestry which covered the walls and the roof; and also a large piece of aloe wood, which I burned in a large chafing-dish, to perfume the hall. After I had finished all these things, the sultan-shereef proclaimed me *Hhaddem Beit Allah el Haram*, or Servant of the Holy House of God; and I received the congratulations of all the assistants. I recited my prayers in the first three corners, as upon my first entering; and thus entirely completed my duties, whilst I attended to this pious work. The sultan withdrew a short time after.

"A great number of women, who were in the court at some distance from the door of the Kaaba, uttered from time to time shrill cries of rejoicing. They gave me a small quantity of the sandal wood paste, and two of the small brooms, as interesting relics, which I kept most carefully. The negroes helped me down upon the people, who also assisted me to reach the ground, and addressed compliments of felicitation to me. I then went to the Makam Ibrahim to say a prayer. They returned me my hhaik; and I went home completely wet."

Five days after this, they cut that part of the black cloth that surrounded the door and bottom of the building, and distributed it among the pilgrims; and thus was completed the *iaharmo el Beit Allah*, the purification of the House of God. On the same day,

Ali Bey had the good fortune to see a part of the Wahhabee army enter Mekka, to fulfil the duties of pilgrimage. "But what men!" he exclaims. "You must imagine a crowd of individuals, thronged together, without any other covering than a small piece of cloth round their waist, except some few who had a napkin placed upon the left shoulder, that passed under the right arm; being naked in every other respect, with their matchlocks upon their shoulders, and their khanjears or large knives hung to their girdles. All the people fled at the sight of this torrent of men, and left them the whole street to themselves. I determined to keep my post, not being in the least alarmed; and I mounted upon a heap of rubbish to observe them better. I saw a column of them defile, which appeared to be composed of 5 or 6,000 men, so pressed together in the whole width of the street, that it would not have been possible to move a hand. The column was preceded by three or four horsemen, armed with a lance twelve feet long, and followed by fifteen or twenty men mounted upon horses, camels, and dromedaries, with lances like the others; but they had neither flags, drums, nor any other instrument or military trophy during their march. Some uttered cries of holy joy, others recited prayers in a confused and loud voice. They marched in this manner to the upper part of the town, where they began to file off in parties, to enter the temple by the gate *Bab-es-salem.*

"A great number of children belonging to the city, who generally serve as guides to strangers, came to meet them, and presented themselves successively to the different parties, to assist them as guides in the sacred ceremonies. I remarked, that among these benevolent guides there was not one man. Already

had the first parties begun their turns round the Kaaba, and were pressing towards the black stone to kiss it, when the others, impatient no doubt at being kept waiting, advanced in a tumult, mixing among the first; and confusion being soon at its height, prevented them from hearing the voices of their young guides. Tumult succeeded to confusion. All wishing to kiss the stone, precipitated themselves upon the spot; and many of them made their way with their sticks in their hands. In vain did their chiefs mount the base near the stone, with a view to enforce order: their cries and signs were useless; for the holy zeal for the house of God which devoured them, would not permit them to listen to reason, nor to the voice of their chiefs. The movement of the circle increased by mutual impulse. They resembled at last a swarm of bees, which flutter confusedly round their hive, circulating rapidly and without order round the Kaaba, and, by their tumultuous pressure, breaking all the lamps which surrounded it, with their guns which they carried upon their shoulders.

"After the different ceremonies round the house of God, every party ought to have drunk and sprinkled themselves with the water of the miraculous well; but they rushed to it in such crowds, and with so much precipitation, that in a few moments the ropes, the buckets, and pulleys were ruined. The chief and those employed at the Zemzem abandoned their post; the Wahhabites alone remained masters of the well; and, giving each other their hands, formed a chain to descend to the bottom, and obtained the water how they could.

"The well required alms, the house of God offerings, the guides demanded their pay, but the greater

part of the Wahhabites had not brought any money with them. They acquitted themselves of this obligation of conscience, by giving twenty or thirty grains of a very coarse powder, small pieces of lead, or some grains of coffee.

"These ceremonies being finished, they commenced shaving their heads; for they all had hair an inch long. This operation took place in the street; and they paid the barbers in the same coin that they had paid the guides, the officers of the temple, &c.

"These Wahhabites, who are from Draaïya, the principal place of the reformers, are of a copper colour. They are in general well made, and very well proportioned, but of a short stature. I particularly remarked some of their heads, which were so handsome, that they might have been compared with those of Apollo, Antinous, or the Gladiator. They have very lively eyes, the nose and mouth well formed, fine teeth, and very expressive countenances.

"When we represent to ourselves a crowd of naked, armed men, without any idea of civilisation, and speaking a barbarous language, the picture terrifies the imagination, and appears disgusting; but if we overcome this first impression, we find in them some commendable qualities. They never rob either by force or stratagem, except when they know the object belongs to an enemy or an infidel. They pay with their money all their purchases and every service that is rendered them. Being blindly subservient to their chiefs, they support in silence every fatigue, and would allow themselves to be led to the opposite side of the globe. In short, it may be perceived that they are men the most disposed to civilisation, if they were to receive proper instruction.

"Having returned home, I found that fresh

bodies of Wahhabites were continually arriving, to fulfil the duties of their pilgrimage. But what was the conduct of the sultan-shereef during this period? Being unable to resist these forces, he hid himself, fearing an attack from them. The fortresses were provisioned and prepared for defence; the Arabian, Turkish, Mogrebin, and Negro soldiers were at their posts; I saw several guards and sentinels upon the forts; several gates were walled up; all was ready, in short, in case of aggression; but the moderation of the Wahhabites, and the negotiations of the shereef, rendered these precautions useless."

The city of Mekka, the capital of Hedjaz, and the centre of Islam, is situated in a very narrow valley, winding irregularly between mountains from the N.E. to the S.W., the mean breadth of which is supposed by Ali Bey to be about 155 toises, or between 900 and 1,000 feet. It stands in lat. 21° 28′ 9″ N., long. 40° 15′ E. of Greenwich. On account of its position, it is impossible to gain a good view of the city. "If I went out at either end," says Ali Bey, "the mountains allowed me to discover only a few houses; and if I went out at the sides, I found myself upon the side of the mountains, whence I could perceive nothing but an irregular surface of flat roofs without any perspective.* In short, it may be considered as an assemblage of a great number of houses, grouped to the north of the temple, prolonging themselves in the form of a crescent from the N.E. to the S.W. by S. It covers a line of 900 toises in length and 266 in breadth at its centre, which extends from east to west. The principal streets are regular enough:

* The view of Mekka given by M. Ohsson in the "Picture of the Ottoman Empire," is pronounced to be "no longer like that city," if it is not rather a picture of the imagination.

they may even be called handsome, on account of the pretty fronts of the houses. They are sanded, level, and very convenient. I had been so long accustomed to live in the indifferent towns of Africa, that I was quite surprised at the fine appearance of the buildings of Mekka.* I think they approach the Indian or Persian taste, which introduced itself during the time of the siege by the Khalif of Bagdadt. They have two rows of windows, as at Cyprus, with balconies covered with blinds. There are even several large windows quite open, as in Europe; but the greater number are covered with a curtain like a Venetian blind, made of palm-tree. They are extremely light, and screen the apartments from the sun, without interrupting the passage of the air. They fold up at pleasure at the upper part. The houses are solidly built with stone: they are three and four stories high, and sometimes even more. The fronts are ornamented with bases, mouldings, and paintings, which give them a very graceful appearance. It is very rare to find a door that has not a base with steps and small seats on both sides. The blinds of the balconies are not very close; and holes are cut besides in different parts of them. The roofs form terraces, surrounded with a wall about seven feet high, open at certain spaces, which are occupied by a railing of red and white bricks placed symmetrically, leaving holes for the circulation of the air. All the staircases are narrow,

* Pitts speaks of the buildings, however, in terms of depreciation. "It is a place," he says, "of no force, wanting both walls and gates. Its buildings are very ordinary, insomuch that it would be a place of no tolerable entertainment, were it not for the anniversary resort of so many thousand *hajjes* or pilgrims, on whose coming the whole dependence of the town in a manner is; for many shops are scarcely open all the year besides."

dark, and steep. The rooms are well proportioned, long, broad, and lofty, and have, besides the large windows and balconies, a second row of smaller windows. The beauty of the houses may be considered as the remains of the ancient splendour of Mekka. Every inhabitant has an interest in preserving his dwelling, to invite and excite the pilgrims to lodge with him; because it is one of his principal resources, on account of the terms demanded, and other additional benefits.

"Mekka is an open city without walls upon any of its sides. It has a fortress upon *Djebel Djiad*, which, in regard to the tactics of this people, might be looked upon as a second Gibraltar. It presents, however, nothing but a monstrous assemblage of walls and towers, and appears to have been constructed at different periods, without order, and after an incoherent plan. It is the principal fortress of the shereef, who has also two others, very ancient, which are flat, and of the form of a parallelogram, with a tower at each angle: they are situated upon the northern and southern mountains. The barracks of the Mogrebin and Negro soldiers of the shereef, situated without the city upon the road to Arafat, are also flanked by towers; but their position, at the bottom of a valley, and at the foot of a mountain, renders them incapable of defence. There are several insulated towers in the windings of the valley, which are capable of containing a small guard only. The centre of the city may be said to be circumscribed and surrounded by four principal mountains; viz. *Djebel Kubis* to the east, *Djebel Djiad* to the south, *Djebel Omar* to the west, and *Djebel Hindi* to the north. These mountains are not very high. They are composed of quartz with a small portion of hornblende,

The sand is quartz pulverised; and although there are some veins of hornblende, feldspath, mica, and schorl to be found among the mountains, yet, quartz forms in general the principal mass. There are some veins of sulphur which they work." "The climate of Mekka is torrid, not only on account of its geographical latitude, but particularly its topographical position in the middle of mountains. The greatest heat I observed during my stay, was 23° 30′ of Reaumur, on the 5th of February at sunset, and the least, 16°, on the 16th of the same month, at seven o'clock in the morning. During the time that I was at Mekka, the sky was alternately serene and cloudy, as in temperate climates; but I did not remark the abrupt and terrible changes in the temperature, from dry to humid, which I witnessed at Djidda. The climate appears wholesome, for there are not many sick of chronical complaints there; but, to compensate for this, there are not many old men to be seen; few, at least, of a very advanced age. Some are blind, but none with the ophthalmia, so common in Egypt. It may be imagined how great must be the heat of summer, when, in the month of January, with the windows open, I could scarcely endure the sheet of the bed upon me; and the butter, at the same period, was always liquid like water. Situated at the bottom of a sandy valley, surrounded on all sides by naked mountains, without river, brook, or any running water, without trees, plants, or any vegetation, an idea may be formed of the heat which reigns during summer. The aridity of the country is said to be such, that there is hardly a plant to be seen near the city or upon the neighbouring mountains. The markets are well supplied with provisions, but they all are brought from a distance, and are proportionably dear. Flour

is imported from Egypt, vegetables and rice from India, herbs, &c. from Tayif. All the productions of India and Persia, natural as well as artificial, may be bought here." But "we must not expect to find at Mekka any thing like a meadow, still less a garden. They do not sow grain, for the too ungrateful soil would not produce any plant to the cultivator. There are but three or four trees upon the spot where formerly stood the house of Abu Taleb, and six or eight others, scattered here and there. These trees are prickly, and produce a small fruit similar to that of the *jujube* or nebbek." "I never saw but one flower," says Ali Bey, "during the whole of my stay at Mekka, which was upon the way to Arafat. I ordered my servant to cut it and bring it to me; but he was perceived by the pilgrims, who ran immediately to him, saying, that it was a sin to pluck up or cut any plant during the pilgrimage to that place. I was therefore obliged to renounce the idea of obtaining the only flower I had seen."

The rain water which is brought from the neighbouring mountains, is good: the price is two Turkish piasters per camel-load. The well water, though a little heavy and brackish, is drinkable, and the lower class never drink any other. All the wells are of the same depth, and the water is so precisely of the same temperature, taste, and clearness as that of the Zemzem, that Ali Bey expresses his conviction, that the water which supplies them all is one sheet, about fifty-five feet below the surface, the quantity of which is owing to the filtration of rain water, and the brackish taste derived from the decomposition of the saline particles mixed with the soil. Hence, he observes, with more than Mohammedan *naïveté*, "as they have the same qualities, and spring from the same source as

the water of Zemzem, they have the same virtue in drawing down the Divine favour and blessing as the miraculous well."

There are few dogs, we are told, and few insects in the holy city, — a remarkable circumstance in a Mohammedan town, under a tropical latitude. Nay, Ali Bey affirms, that "bugs and fleas are scarce," although he was sure to catch certain other vermin on those days when there were great assemblages at the temple. He perceived but very few gnats, but there are a great many common flies, and he saw, in the court of the temple, one very large scorpion. The number of pigeons is immense, and that of mice, of the European kind, equally great. He never saw, he says, any mice so bold as those of Mekka. They danced and leaped upon him in his bed every night, would stare him in the face, and once, when he had neglected to wash some balm of juniper off his hand, bit his fingers severely while he slept. There are cats here of the European species, only a little smaller: whether their number is too inconsiderable to keep the mice under, or whether they are in league with the vermin, we are not informed. Notwithstanding the heat of the climate, and the scarcity of water, sheep, goats, oxen, and cows are brought to Mekka. Ali Bey saw a very fine species of cow, without horns and with a hump on its back, which, he was told, travels with celerity, and gives a great deal of milk. There is a very large and pretty species of goat, with horns more than twenty-four inches in length.

"Mekka not being situated," observes Ali Bey, "in the route to any country of consequence, nature has not designed it as a place of commerce, placed as it is in the middle of an extremely barren desert, which prevents its inhabitants from being either

husbandmen or shepherds. What resources then remain to them for subsistence? The force of arms, to oblige other countries to give them a part of their productions, or religious enthusiasm, to induce strangers to come and bring money to them, with which they may procure the necessaries of life.

"In the time of the khalifs, these two causes united, rendered Mekka an opulent city; but before and since that glorious period, it has had no other resource for its support than the religious enthusiasm of the pilgrims, which unfortunately begins to cool from day to day, through the effects of time, distance of place, and revolutions, that reduce this place to a mean and precarious existence. Such is its state at this moment, and such was it before the mission of the Prophet.

"Mekka has always been the centre of the religious enthusiasm of different nations. The origin of pilgrimages, and the first foundation of its temple, are lost in the obscurity of ages, since they appear to be anterior to the period of history. The Prophet pulled down the idols which profaned the house of God. The Koran confirmed the pilgrimage; and it is in this manner that the devotion of other nations has been in all times the basis of the subsistence of the inhabitants of Mekka. But, as this could not alone suffice, they were very poor before the coming of the Prophet; and now, after a short reign of glory and riches acquired by arms, it has relapsed into poverty. How then can we hope to see the arts and sciences flourish? Separated by its situation from all commercial intercourse, it remains immersed in the most profound ignorance of all news, discoveries, revolutions, and the actions of other men. Hence it is that the people of Mekka will remain in stupidity and the grossest dark-

ness, notwithstanding the concourse of strangers, who only remain there during the time absolutely necessary to fulfil the duties of their pilgrimage, to make some few commercial exchanges, and then prepare for their return to their own country. Thus, Mekka is so poor by nature, that if the house of God ceased to exist, it would be inevitably deserted in two years, or at least reduced to a simple *douar* or hamlet; for the inhabitants in general subsist for the rest of the year upon what they accumulate during the time of the pilgrimage. At that period, the place puts on a lively appearance, commerce is animated, and half of the people are transformed into hosts, merchants, porters, servants, &c.; and the other, attached entirely to the service of the temple, live upon the alms and gifts of the pilgrims. Such are their resources. Deplorable opulence! which has stamped upon their countenances the mark of the extreme misery that surrounds them.

"An Arab is by nature generally thin; but those of Mekka, and, above all, those that serve in the temple, seem absolutely walking skeletons, clothed with a parchment that covers their bones. I must own, I was struck with astonishment when I saw them for the first time upon my arrival. What I have advanced may be perhaps considered as an exaggeration; but I protest to the truth of my assertions; and may also add, that it is impossible, without seeing them, to form an idea of an assemblage of such lean and scraggy-looking men as all of them are, with the exception of the chief of Zemzem, who is the only person that is at all lusty, and two or three eunuchs, a little less thin than the others. It appears even impossible that these skeletons, or shadows, should be able to stand so long as they do, when we reflect upon their

large, sunken eyes, slender noses, cheeks hollow to the bones, legs and arms absolutely shrivelled up, ribs, veins, and nerves, in no better state; and the whole of their frame so wasted, that they might be mistaken for true anatomical models.* Such is the frightful appearance of these unhappy creatures, that it is painful to be obliged to look at them. This is the existence which these servants of the temple enjoy; but the pleasures which await them in paradise, are preferable to all the riches of the earth.

"There are no people more dull and melancholy than these. I never once heard the sound of a musical instrument or song during the whole of my stay, that was executed by a man; but my ears were struck once or twice by the songs of some women, which I set to music. Plunged in a continual melancholy, the least contradiction irritates them; and the few slaves they have, are the most unhappy and wretched of all the Mussulman slaves, in consequence of the bad treatment they experience. I heard, in the house I lived in, a master beat his slave with a bastinado during a quarter of an hour. He stopped every three or four minutes to allow his arm to rest, and then recommenced with new force.

"It may be deduced from these observations, that the population of Mekka diminishes sensibly. This city, which is known to have contained more than 100,000 souls, does not at present shelter more than from 16 to 18,000. There are some quarters of the suburbs entirely abandoned and in ruins; nearly two-thirds of the houses that remain are empty; and the greater part of those that are inhabited, are decaying

* "The people here," says Pitts, "are a poor sort of people, very thin, lean, and swarthy."

within, notwithstanding the solidity of their construction, the fronts alone being kept in good order, to attract the pilgrims. In consequence of the inattention that is paid to repairs, the houses are falling down; and if there are no new ones erected, (and I saw only one that was advancing slowly in the whole town,) it will be reduced, in the course of a century, to the tenth part of the size it now is."

The little commerce that now exists at Mekka, is confined to the caravans that arrive at the time of the pilgrimage. Formerly, besides the grand Syrian hadji, the Egyptian, and the Mogrebin, another caravan came from Bagdadt, attended by a great number of Persian pilgrims, a smaller one was made up of pilgrims from Lachsa, Bahhrein, and Nedjed, a sixth came from Oman, a seventh from Yemen, and numbers of pilgrims arrived by sea from Persia, Hindostan, Java, Sumatra, and the Arabian colonies on the African coast. But all these have greatly declined; and the consumption of the city constantly diminishes, owing to the diminution in the funds which are supplied by the arrival of the pilgrims. "Formerly," says Ali Bey, "the numerous caravans which arrived from all quarters of the globe where the religion of Islamism was practised, provided for all the wants of the city, by the abundance of alms which they left; but now that the number is diminished, and the pilgrims are not in a state to contribute to the expenses, the number of persons employed being always the same, devotion and the practice of religion are become very dear, because those employed attach themselves to the pilgrim whom they believe to be rich; so that he cannot quit without leaving 1,500 or 2,000 francs in alms and remuneration to them and the temple. There are not any of the

pilgrims, even the poorest, who undertake the journey at the expense of public charity, or who beg their way, that are not obliged to leave some crowns.

"The caravans also brought large gifts from their respective countries on the part of their countrymen, but there comes hardly any thing now. The chief of the country, too, used to contribute a part of their subsistence, but, being now impoverished by the revolution of the Wahhabees, far from giving, he takes all that he can get."

The moral state of the population corresponds to that of other holy cities. As the Christians at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth are said to be worse than other Christians, so are the Mohammedans of Mekka worse than other Moslems. "Though this place," says Pitts, "is esteemed so very holy, yet, it comes short of none for lewdness and debauchery. As for uncleanness, it is equal to Grand Cairo; and they will steal even in the temple itself." Ali Bey gives a similar account of the state of things.

"The women enjoy more liberty at Mekka than in any other Mussulman city. Perhaps the great concourse of strangers who arrived when the city was in its greatest opulence, contributed to change their manners; and their misery and natural dullness have tended to plunge them into an almost total indifference in this respect. It is an indubitable fact, that opulence and poverty are extremes equally opposite to the preservation of manners.

"The women cover their faces, as in Egypt, with a piece of cloth, in which there are two holes worked for the eyes, which are so large that half their face may be seen; and a few shew nearly the whole. They all wear a sort of cloak, made of blue and white striped linen, as at Alexandria, which is put

on with much grace; but, when a sight of their faces is obtained, the illusion is soon dispelled; for they are in general very ugly, with lemon-coloured complexions, like the men. Their faces and their hands, which are daubed all over with black, blue, and yellow, present a frightful picture to strangers; but custom has made them consider this painting as a sign of beauty. I saw some who had a ring passed through the cartilage of the nose, which hung down upon their upper lip.

"Their freedom is such, in comparison with Mussulman manners in general, that I may almost call it effrontery. I saw several of those that lived in the neighbouring houses present themselves continually at the windows, and some of them entirely undressed. A lady who occupied the upper story of the house in which I lived, used to make me a thousand courtesies and compliments, with her face completely uncovered, every time I went upon the terrace to make my astronomical observations; and I began to suspect that the women themselves might perhaps be a branch of the speculation of their poor husbands.

"All the women I saw, had a great deal of grace, and very fine eyes; but their hollow cheeks, painted of a greenish yellow, gave them the appearance of having the jaundice. Their noses are regular, but they have large mouths. They speak very well, and express themselves with great feeling. They engrave indelible drawings upon their skin, and stain their eyelids black, their teeth yellow, and their lips, feet, and hands, of a red tile colour, like the Egyptians, and with the same materials.

"Their dress consists of an immense pantaloon, that descends into their slippers, or half boots, of yellow leather, and is composed of Indian striped

cotton. The poorer sort wear them of blue cloth. They have, besides, a shift of a size and form the most extravagant. It is composed of two square cloths, six feet long and five broad, which are united at the upper part, except an opening in the middle, to pass the head through. The lower corners are cut out about seven inches, like the segment of a circle; so that what was before an angle becomes a hollow slope. These slopes are both sewed; but the lower part and the sides remain open from top to bottom. The rich wear these shifts made of slight, striped silk tissue, as fine as gauze, which comes from Egypt, and gather them in plaits on each side upon the shoulders, binding them round the waist with a belt. Above these they wear a caftan of India cotton. I never saw them wear any other ornament upon the head than a handkerchief; but they put rings and bracelets upon their hands, arms, legs, and feet, like the women in other Mussulman countries.

"The Bedouin women, or those that live in the interior of the country, and appear to be of the highest rank, have for their only costume, a large shift of blue stuff; a cloth of a coquelicot colour upon their faces; a very large cloak, or black veil, of wool; some rings, bracelets, and a few other jewels.

"The costume of the men at Mekka is, as in Egypt, composed of a benish, or exterior caftan, bound with a belt, a shirt, drawers, and babouches, or slippers; but this is the dress of persons in place, merchants, and those employed about the temple, &c. The lower people have hardly ever more than a shirt and drawers.

"The Bedouin Arab wears commonly a large cloak without sleeves over his tunic, made of a tissue of coarse wool, or of a slight cloth, both sides of

which are alike, and commonly with alternate stripes of brown and white, each a foot broad.

"The inhabitants of the city wear red caps and turbans; but the Bedouins do not: they cover their heads with a handkerchief, striped yellow, red, and black, folded diagonally in the form of a triangle, and simply thrown upon the head; so that two of the angular points fall before the shoulders, and the other behind the neck upon the back. Those that are rich wear a piece of muslin twisted round the head, above the handkerchief, in the form of a turban; but the poor go almost naked.

"With the exception of those employed about the temple, and a small number of merchants, the people go always armed. The arms that are most common are, the large curved knife, halbert, lance, mace, and some few guns. The knives have sheaths of a most singular form; for, independent of the space occupied by the blade, it is prolonged about a foot, in a semicircular form, and terminated by a ball, or some other ornament, more or less carved. It is hung obliquely before the body, the handle towards the left side, with the point upwards; so that the movement of the right arm is greatly impeded by this position, which is maintained by force of custom. So true is it, that men of all ranks and countries are subject to the caprices of fashion.

"The halberts are composed of a stick, from four feet and a half to five feet long, armed at the top with an iron point, and very commonly with a smaller one at the bottom. The upper one is always more than a foot long, and is differently formed; sometimes broad and narrow; at other times, like a lance or bayonet. The handles are often ornamented with small nails and rings of brass from top to

bottom. The mace is formed of a stick two feet long, and about fifteen lines in diameter, terminated by a ball or globe of the same wood, about thirty lines in diameter. Some maces are of iron. Of the guns there are but few, and the greater part are heavy matchlocks, rudely formed. There are some, however, that are well made and very elegant. I have one inlaid with ivory, which cost 120 francs.

"Some Arabs carry axes, nearly two feet long; and others go armed with a stick, five feet long and two inches thick, with an iron point at the bottom of it.

"The horsemen carry a lance ten feet and a half long, ornamented with a tuft of black feathers at the jointing of iron, the other end being also armed with a small point, which the bearer sticks perpendicularly in the ground when he alights.

"I saw some Arabs of Yemen armed with a sword and shield: the former was straight and broad; the latter of metal, hard wood, or the skin of the hippopotamus, (those of the latter substance were the best,) and all were ornamented with carvings. They were about a foot broad.

"The people of the country assured me, that the ceremonies of marriages and births were not accompanied by any feasts or rejoicings, as in other countries; and I myself did not see any celebrated. Interments take place without any ceremony. They carry the body to the foot of the Kaaba, where the faithful who are present repeat a short prayer for the deceased after the ordinary canonical prayer; and they carry away the corpse to bury it in a ditch outside the town. There are a number of hand-barrows for this purpose before one of the doors of the temple, in the public path; one of which is engaged by the

family of the deceased, who place the body upon it, dressed in its ordinary habit, without the least ornament, or even the covering of a pall. After the interment, they bring the barrow to the place from whence they took it.

" I remarked, that in all Arabia, it is customary to make three perpendicular incisions upon each cheek; in consequence of which, the greater part of the men are adorned with this fine mark, that is to say, six large scars. Having inquired of many persons the object of this custom, I was informed by some, that it was to make themselves bleed, and by others, that it was a mark by which they declared themselves slaves of the house of God. But the truth is, that it is fashion which recommends this sacrifice; and they look upon it as a beauty, equal to the blue, red, and black paintings, or the nose-rings of the women, or their own knives, which impede all their movements. Such is man!

" I believe there is no Mussulman city where the arts are so little known as at Mekka. There is not a man to be found that is capable of making a lock or forging a key. All the doors are locked with large wooden keys, and the trunks and cases with padlocks brought from Europe: I, therefore, was unable to replace the key of a trunk, and that of my telescope-box, which were stolen at Mina.

" The slippers and sandals are brought from Constantinople and Egypt; for they know not how to make them at Mekka, except, indeed, those of wood or untanned leather, which are very bad.

" There is not a single man to be found who knows how to engrave an inscription, or any kind of design upon a hewn stone, as formerly; nor a single gunsmith or cutler able to make a screw, or to replace

a piece of the lock of a European gun; those of the country being able to manufacture only their rude matchlocks, their bent knives, lances, and halberds. Wherever they go, their shop is fitted up in a moment: all that is wanted for this purpose is, a hole made in the ground, which serves as a furnace; one or two goat-skins, which one of them waves before the fire, serve them for bellows; two or three palm-leaves and four sticks form the walls and the roof of the work-shop, the situation of which they change whenever occasion requires.

"There is no want of braziers for vessels in copper, but the original article comes from foreign manufactories. There are also tinmen, who make a kind of vase, which the pilgrims use to carry away some of the water of Zemzem. I discovered also a bad engraver of brass seals.

"The sciences are found in the same state of perfection as the arts at Mekka. The whole knowledge of the inhabitants is confined to reading the Koran, and to writing very badly. They learn from their infancy the prayers and the ceremonies of the pilgrimage to the house of God, to Saffa, and to Meroua, in order to be able at an early age to gain money by officiating as guides to the pilgrims. Children of five or six years old are to be seen fulfilling these functions, carried upon the arms or shoulders of the pilgrims, who repeat, word for word, the prayers which the children recite at the same time that they follow the path pointed out by them to the different places.

"I wished to obtain a Koran written at Mekka, but copies are not numerous; and they are so badly written and so full of errors, that they cannot be of any use. There are no regular schools, if we except those

where they learn to read and write. In short, there are only a few *talbes*, or doctors, who, through caprice, vanity, or covetousness of obtaining something from their auditors, go and sit under the porticoes of the temple, where they begin to read in a loud voice. This draws a crowd of persons, who generally assemble pretty quickly, and arrange themselves round the doctor, who explains, reads, or preaches, whichever he can do, and they go away or stay as they please. Such is the education of the people of this holy city, who are the most ignorant of mortals. It is true that their geographical situation contributes to it in a great measure.

"Mekka and Medinah are the cradles of the Arabic language; but this, in consequence of the general ignorance, is degraded and changed, even in the pronunciation, to such a degree, that it is written without vowels, and has a great number of aspirations, which every one varies according to his pleasure. This arises from a want of a national prosody and of the means to preserve and perpetuate the primitive sounds; so that, far from increasing in excellence, it is corrupted every day by the vicious expressions peculiar to each tribe, and by their intercourse with strangers."

Such is Mekka; and the time can hardly be very distant when it must be said, such Mekka was! Islamism has received a wound at its very core and centre, from which it will never recover. The fanaticism of the Wahhabees has for the present saved the Kaaba from destruction; but some of the most attractive objects of pilgrimage no longer exist. The house where the Prophet was born; the house of his uncle Abu Taleb, where he passed part of his life; the chapels, or sepulchres, of Fatima, Mohammed's

daughter, and other "saints;" the chapel on the top of the mountain of light;* and other sacred places, no longer exist. "The Wahhabees have abolished all, and the pilgrims are consequently deprived," says Ali Bey, "of the spiritual merit which they would have acquired by making their pious visits to these holy places; and the good inhabitants of the holy city have lost the temporal wealth which resulted from these acts of devotion."

There is, however, another principal object of pilgrimage which remains to be mentioned,—Mount Arafat, upon which Adam met his wife after a separation of two hundred years, and where he built the chapel now standing, before he left Hedjaz, and retired with Eve into the island of Ceylon.† "Several doctors assert," says Ali Bey, "that if the *Beit-Allah* ceased to exist, the pilgrimage to Mount Arafat would be completely meritorious, and would produce *the same* degree of satisfaction: this is *my* opinion likewise."

The 17th of February was the day fixed for this pilgrimage, and at two o'clock on the preceding day, our Hadji left the city in his *shevria*, placed on a camel. About four o'clock, having passed through the long,

* The summit of *El Djebel Nor* (the mountain of light) is fabled to have been the spot on which Mohammed received the first chapter of the Koran from the hands of the angel Gabriel. It rises above the neighbouring mountains in the shape of a sugar-loaf, and was formerly ascended by steps cut in the mountain, till Abdul Wahhab destroyed the chapel, and placed a guard at the foot of the mountain to prevent its being visited, declaring it to be a superstitious practice!

† See Sale's Koran, c. ii. and notes. Ali Bey says, the mountain was on this account named by Adam, Arafat, *i. e.* gratitude. That Adam spoke Arabic, who can disprove? But other Mohammedan authorities interpret the word as signifying knowledge.

straggling town of Mina (or Muna), he encamped on the eastern side. This town is composed of a single street, so long that it occupied twenty minutes to pass through it. There are several handsome houses in it, but the greater number are without roofs and in ruins. There are several stone huts, about five feet high, which they let to pilgrims during Easter. The first thing which the traveller sees on entering the town, is a fountain, "in front of which is an ancient edifice said to have been built by the devil." The town lies in a valley, enclosed by bare granite mountains. Here Ali Bey was soon followed by a detachment of Wahhabees, mounted upon dromedaries, who encamped also before the doors of the mosque. They were soon joined by others, and in a short time the plain was covered. About sunset, Sâoud himself, the Wahhabite sultan, arrived, and his tents were pitched at a short distance. The caravan from Damascus had been intercepted and turned back by the Wahhabees, for violating the prohibition issued by Sâoud against bringing the mahmal;* but a caravan from Tripoli in Barbary, another from Yemen, a great number of Negro pilgrims from Soudan and Abyssinia, several hundred Turks from Suez, a great many Mogrebins who had come by sea, Arabs from Upper and Lower Egypt, a caravan from Bassora, others from the East, and the Wahhabees, — were all now assembled in this little plain, where the pilgrims are obliged to encamp, because tradition relates, that Mohammed always encamped here in his way to Arafat. At six o'clock the next morning, the whole camp set out in a direction S.E. by E., and after traversing two valleys, connected by a narrow defile, arrived by nine at the

* See p. 100.

foot of the mount. *Djebel Arafat* (or *El Orfat*) is a hill of granite rock, about 150 feet high, situated at the foot of a higher mountain to the E.S.E., in a plain about three quarters of a league in diameter, enclosed by barren mountains. Its base is encompassed with a wall, and on its summit is (if not destroyed by the Wahhabees) a chapel, or small building covered with a cupola. It is ascended by steps, partly cut in the rock and partly composed of masonry. Ali Bey did not ascend the top, but, according to the ritual of the Maleki, recited his prayers half-way up. Near the mountain are fourteen large basins, or cisterns, furnishing abundance of good water, which serves the pilgrims both for drink and for bathing with. According to the representation of the mount given by Ali Bey, it has very much the appearance of being an artificial eminence, or of having at least received its shape from art; and its general character forcibly recalls the pyramid of Cholula in Mexico. There can be no doubt that this pilgrimage is the relic of a superstition of far higher antiquity than the foundation of Mohammedism, and the origin of which is now lost. The manner in which it is adverted to in the Koran, clearly indicates that it was an observance of long standing. "It is here," says Ali Bey, "that the grand spectacle of the pilgrimage of the Moslems must be seen,—an innumerable crowd of men from all nations, and of all colours, coming from the extremities of the earth, through a thousand dangers, and encountering fatigues of every description, to adore together the same God. The native of Circassia here presents his hand in a friendly manner to the Ethiopian or the Negro of Guinea; the Indian and the Persian embrace, the inhabitant of Barbary and Morocco; all looking upon each other as brothers or individuals of

the same family, united by the bands of religion, and the greater part speaking or understanding, more or less, the same language, the language of Arabia.* The ritual commands, that after having repeated the afternoon prayer, which we did in our tents, we should repair to the foot of the mountain, and wait there the setting of the sun. The Wahhabites, who were encamped at great distances, with a view to obey this precept, began to approach, having at their head the Sultan Sâaoud, and Abounocta their second chief; and in a short time I saw an army of 45,000 men pass before me, almost all of whom were mounted upon camels and dromedaries, with a thousand camels carrying water, tents, fire-wood, and dry grass for the camels of their chiefs. A body of 200 men on horseback carried colours of different kinds, fixed upon lances. This cavalry, I was informed, belonged to Abounocta. There were also eight or ten colours

* "I do confess," says Pitts, describing this remarkable scene, "the number of *hagges* I saw at this mountain, was very great; nevertheless I cannot think they could amount to so many as 70,000." The belief of the Moslems is, that if any short of that number were assembled on this occasion, God would make up the deficiency by angels! "It was a sight, indeed," he adds, "able to pierce one's heart, to behold so many thousands in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and cheeks watered with tears, and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins, promising newness of life, using a form of penitential expressions; and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours, *viz.* until the time of *Akcham-nomas*, which is to be performed about half an hour after sunset. It is matter of sorrowful reflection, to compare the indifference of many Christians with this zeal of those poor blind Mohammedans, who will, 'tis to be feared, rise up in judgement against them, and condemn them. After their solemn performance of their devotions thus at the Djibbel, they all at once receive that honourable title of *hagge* from the Emaum or Imam, and are so styled to their dying day. Immediately upon their receiving this name, the trumpet is sounded, and they leave the hill, and return for Mekka."

among the camels, but without any other customary appendage. All this body of men, entirely naked, marched in the same order that I have formerly remarked.

" It was impossible for me exactly to distinguish the Sultan and the second chief, for they were naked as well as the rest. However, I believe that a venerable old man, with a long white beard, who was preceded by the royal standard, was Sâaoud. This standard was green, and had, as a mark of distinction, the profession of his faith, *La illahà ila Allah*, ' There is no other god but God,' embroidered upon it in large white characters.

" I distinguished perfectly one of Sâaoud's sons, a boy about seven or eight years old, with long and floating hair. He was brown like the rest, and dressed in a large white shirt. He was mounted on a superb white horse, upon a sort of pannel, without stirrups, according to their custom, for they are not acquainted with any other kind of saddle, and was escorted by a chosen troop. The pannel was covered with a red cloth richly embroidered, and spangled with gold stars.

" The mountain and its environs were soon covered with Wahhabites. The caravans and detached pilgrims afterwards approached it. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of my people, I penetrated among the Wahhabites to their centre, to be able to obtain a nearer view of the Sultan; but several of them with whom I conversed, assured me that this was impossible, since the apprehension of a similar death to that which occurred to the unfortunate Abdelaaziz, who was assassinated, had occasioned Sâaoud to multiply the number of his guard.

" I must allow that I discerned much reason and

moderation among the Wahhabites to whom I spoke, and from whom I obtained the greater part of the information which I have given concerning their nation. However, notwithstanding this moderation, neither the natives of the country nor the pilgrims could hear their name pronounced without trembling, and never pronounced it themselves but in murmurs. Thus they flee from them as much as possible, and shun conversation with them; in consequence of which, I had to encounter and overcome the different scruples of my people, who surrounded me whenever I wished to converse with any of them.

"The sultan-shereef had sent, according to annual custom, a part of his troops, with four small pieces of artillery. It was reported even that he would come in person, but I did not see him. It is customary also, that an imaum of the shereef should come every year and preach a sermon upon the mountain. The one that came this day, was sent back by Sâaoud before he commenced, and one of his own imaums preached in his stead; but I was too far off to be able to hear any thing. The sermon being over, I observed the Wahhabites make signs of approbation; and they cried outrageously.

"I could easily have found means to introduce myself to the Sultan Sâaoud, which I very much desired, so that I might have known him perfectly; but, as it would have compromised me with the sultan-shereef, who would have attributed this simple action of curiosity to some political motive, I abstained from effecting it.

"We waited upon the mountain for the period of the sun's setting. The instant it occurred, what a tremendous noise! Let us imagine an assemblage of

80,000 men, 2,000 women, and 1,000 little children, 60 or 70,000 camels, asses, and horses, which, at the commencement of night, began to move at a quick pace along a narrow valley, according to the ritual, marching one after the other, in a cloud of sand, and delayed by a forest of lances, guns, swords, &c.; in short, forcing their passage as they could. Pressed and hurried on by those behind, we took only an hour and a half to return to Mosdelifa, notwithstanding it had taken us more than two hours to arrive in the morning. The motive of this precipitation, ordered by the ritual, is, that the prayer of the setting sun, or Moagreb, ought not to be said at Arafat, but at Mosdelifa, at the same time as the night prayer, or *aksha*, which ought to be said at the last moment of twilight, that is, an hour and a half after sunset. These prayers are repeated by each groupe or family privately. We hastened so say them upon our arrival, before we pitched our tents; and the day was terminated by mutual felicitations upon the happiness of our sanctification by the pilgrimage to the mount.

"We set out the next day, Wednesday, 18th February, 10th of the month Doulhajea, and the first day of Easter, at five o'clock in the morning, to go to encamp at Mina.

"We alighted immediately after our arrival, and went precipitately to the house of the devil, which is facing the fountain. We had each seven small stones of the size of grey peas, which we had picked up expressly, the evening before at Mosdelifa, to throw against the house of the devil. Mussulmans of the rite of Maleki, like myself, throw them one after the other, pronouncing after every one these words, *Bism illah Allahu ak'bar*; which, interpreted, are, 'In

the name of God, the very great God.' As the devil has had the malice to build his house in a very narrow place, not above thirty-four feet broad, occupied also in part by rocks, which it was requisite to climb to make sure of our aim when we threw the stones over the wall that surrounded it, and as the pilgrims all desired to perform this ceremony immediately upon their arrival, there was a most terrible confusion. However, I soon succeeded in accomplishing this holy duty, through the aid of my people; but I came off with two wounds in my left leg. I retired afterwards to my tent, to repose myself after these fatigues. The Wahhabites came and threw their little stones also, because the Prophet used to do so. We offered up the Paschal sacrifice this day.

" I must praise the moderation and good order which reigned amidst this number of individuals, belonging to different nations. Two thousand women who were among them, did not occasion the least disorder; and though there were more than 40 or 50,000 guns, there was only one let off, which happened near me. At the same instant, one of the chiefs ran to the man who had fired, and reprimanded him, saying, ' Why did you do this? are we going to make war here?' "

Mina is the place where Abraham is said to have gone to offer up his son Isaac, and here, therefore, the Moslems sacrifice their sheep. A stone or rock was shewn to Joseph Pitts, cloven in the middle, the effect, as he was told, of the stroke intended by Abraham for his son, but which was miraculously warded off! Here the pilgrims are required to spend the time of *Kurbaen byram*, viz. three days; although Mohammed appears to have introduced

a relaxation of this law.* Pitts gives the following account of the ceremonies here practised. "As soon as their tents are pitched, and all things orderly disposed, every individual *hagge*, the first day, goes and throws seven of the small stones, which they had gathered, against a small pillar, or little square stone building: which action of theirs is intended to testify their defiance of the devil and his deeds; for they at the same time pronounce the following words, viz. *Erzum le Shetane wazbehe*, *i. e.* Stone the devil and them that please him. And there are two other of the like pillars, which are situated near one another; at each of which (I mean all three), the second day, they throw seven stones; and the same they do the third day. As I was going to perform this ceremony of throwing the stones, a facetious *hagge* met me; saith he, 'You may save your labour at present, if you please, for I have hit out the devil's eyes already.'

"You must observe, that after they have thrown the seven stones on the first day, (the country people having brought great flocks of sheep to be sold,) every one buys a sheep and sacrifices it; some of which they give to their friends, some to the poor which come out of Mekka and the country adjacent, very ragged poor, and the rest they eat themselves; after which, they shave their heads, throw off *hirrawem*, and put on other clothes, and then salute one another with a kiss, saying, *Byram Mabarick Ela*, *i. e.* The feast be a blessing to you.

"These three days of Byram they spend festivally,

* "Remember God the appointed number of days; but if any haste to depart from the valley of Mina in two days, it shall be no crime in him."—Chap. ii.

rejoicing, with abundance of illuminations all night, shooting of guns, and fireworks flying in the air; for they reckon that all their sins are now done away, and they shall, when they die, go directly to heaven, if they do not apostatise; and that for the future, if they keep their vow and do well, God will set down for every good action ten; but if they do ill, God will likewise reckon every evil action ten: and any person who, after having received the title of *hagge*, shall fall back to a vicious course of life, is esteemed to be very vile and infamous by them.

"During their three days' stay at Mina, scarcely any *hagge* (unless impotent) but thinks it his duty to pay his visit, once at least, to the temple at Mekka: they scarcely cease running all the way thitherward, shewing their vehement desire to have a fresh sight of the *Beit-Allah*; which as soon as ever they come in sight of, they burst into tears for joy; and after having performed *towoaf* for a while, and a few *erkaets*, they return again to Mina. And when the three days of Byram are expired, they all with their tents, &c. come back again to Mekka.

"They say, that after the *hagges* are gone from Mina to Mekka, God doth usually send a good shower of rain to wash away the filth and dung of the sacrifices there slain; and also, that those vast numbers of little stones, which I told you the *hagges* throw in defiance of the devil, are all carried away by the angels before the year comes about again. But I am sure I saw vast numbers of them that were thrown the year before, lie upon the ground. After they are returned to Mekka, they can tarry there no longer than the stated time, which is about ten or twelve days; during which time there is a great fair held, where are sold all manner of East India goods,

and abundance of fine stones for rings and bracelets, &c. brought from Yemen; also, of china-ware and musk, and variety of other curiosities. Now is the time in which the *hagges* are busily employed in buying, for they do not think it lawful to buy any thing till they have received the title of *hagge*. Every one almost now buys a *caffin*, or shroud, of fine linen, to be buried in, (for they never use coffins for that purpose,) which might have been procured at Algiers, or their other respective homes, at a much cheaper rate; but they choose to buy it here, because they have the advantage of dipping it in the holy water of Zemzem. They are very careful to carry the said *caffin* with them wherever they travel, whether by sea or land, that they may be sure to be buried therein.

"The evening before they leave Mekka, every one must go to take their solemn leave of the *Beit*, entering in at the gate called *Bab el Salem*, *i. e.* welcome gate; and having continued at *towoaf* as long as they please, which many do till they are quite tired, and it being the last time of their paying their devotions to it, they do it with floods of tears, as being extremely unwilling to part and bid farewell; and having drunk their fill of the water of Zemzem, they go to one side of the *Beit*, their backs being towards the door called by the name of *Bab el Weedoh*, *i. e.* the farewell door, which is opposite to the welcome door; where having performed two or three *erkaets*, they get upon their legs, and hold up their hands towards the *Beit*, making earnest petitions, and then keep going backward till they come to the above-said farewell gate, being guided by some one or other; for they account it a very irreverent thing to turn their backs towards the *Beit* when they take leave of it. All the

way as they retreat, they continue petitioning, holding up their hands, with their eyes fixed upon the *Beit*, till they are out of sight of it; and so go to their lodgings weeping."

Ali Bey, on the 19th, did not fail to throw his seven stones at each of the little stone pillars erected by the Principle of Evil. On the day following, he availed himself of the Prophet's permission to return to Mekka. There he renewed his processions round the Kaaba, his draughts of the water of Zemzem, and his visits to Saffa and Meroua; till at length, every ceremony being perfectly accomplished which the Wahhabees tolerate, he quitted Mekka, on the 2d of March, for Djidda, which journey his camels accomplished in twenty-three hours. From Djidda he sailed for Yambo, whence, in defiance of the express prohibition of the Sultan Sâoud, he attempted, in company with several Turkish and Arab pilgrims, to reach Medinah; but when he was within fourteen leagues of that city, he was met by some Wahhabite soldiers, plundered, and sent back to the port. According to the description furnished by Pitts, however, he did not lose much by being deprived of the sight of the Prophet's tomb. The Barbary hadji took Medinah in their way home. Those Mohammedans who live to the southward of Mekka and in Hindostan, are not bound, it seems, to visit that city; but such as come from Turkey, Tartary, Egypt, and Africa, consider themselves as obliged to do so. The route taken by the caravan to which Pitts was attached, was overland; and he thus describes the order of march.

"The first day we set out from Mekka, it was without any order at all, all hurly-burly; but the next day every one laboured to get forward; and in order

to it, there was many times much quarrelling and fighting: but after every one had taken his place in the caravan, they orderly and peaceably kept the same place till they came to Grand Cairo. They travel four camels in a breast, which are all tied one after the other, like as in teams. The whole body is called a caravan, which is divided into several *cottors*, or companies, each of which hath its name, and consists, it may be, of several thousand camels; and they move, one *cottor* after another, like distinct troops. At the head of each *cottor* is some great gentleman or officer, who is carried in a thing like a horse-litter, borne by two camels, one before and the other behind, which is covered all over with sere-cloth, and over that again with green broad-cloth, and set forth very handsomely. If the said great person hath a wife with him, she is carried in another of the same. At the head of every *cottor* there goes likewise a sumpter-camel, which carries his treasure, &c. This camel hath two bells, about the bigness of our market bells, hanging one on each side, the sound of which may be heard a great way off. Some other of the camels have bells round about their necks, some about their legs, like those which our carriers put about their fore-horse's neck; which, together with the servants, (who belong to the camels, and travel on foot,) singing all night, make a pleasant noise, and the journey passes away delightfully. They say, this music makes the camels brisk and lively. Thus they travel in good order every day till they come to Grand Cairo; and were it not for this order, you may guess what confusion would be amongst such a vast multitude.

"They have lights by night, (which is the chief time of travelling, because of the exceeding heat of the sun by day,) which are carried on the top of high

poles, to direct the *hagges* in their march. They are somewhat like iron stoves, into which they put short dry wood, which some of the camels are loaded with: it is carried in great sacks, which have a hole near the bottom, where the servants take it out as they see the fires need a recruit. Every *cottor* hath one of these poles belonging to it, some of which have ten, some twelve of these lights on their tops, or more or less; and they are likewise of different figures as well as numbers; one, perhaps, oval way, like a gate, another triangular, or like an N or M, &c. so that every one knows by them his respective *cottor*. They are carried in the front, and set up in the place where the caravan is to pitch, before that comes up, at some distance from one another. They are also carried by day, not lighted; but yet, by the figure and number of them, the *hagges* are directed to what *cottor* they belong, as soldiers are, by their colours, where to rendezvous: and, without such directions, it would be impossible to avoid confusion in such a vast number of people.

"Every day, viz. in the morning, they pitch their tents, and rest several hours. When the camels are unloaded, the owners drive them to water, and give them their provender, &c. so that we had nothing to do with them, besides helping to load them.

"As soon as our tents were pitched, my business was to make a little fire, and get a pot of coffee. When we had eaten some small matter, and drunk the coffee, we lay down to sleep. Between eleven and twelve we boiled something for dinner, and, having dined, lay down again till about four in the afternoon; when the trumpet was sounded, which gave notice to every one to take down their tents, pack up their things, and load their camels, in order to proceed

in their journey. It takes up about two hours' time ere they are all in their places again. At the time of *Aksham-nomas*, and also *Gega-nomas*, they make a halt, and perform their *sallah*, (so punctual are they in their worship,) and then they travel till next morning. If water be scarce, what I call an imaginary *abues* will do. As for ancient men, it being very troublesome for such to alight off the camels and get up again, it is lawful for them to defer these two times of *nomas* till the next day; but they will be sure to perform it then.

"As for provisions, we bring enough out of Egypt to suffice us till we return thither again. At Mekka, we compute how much will serve us for one day, and consequently for the forty days' journey to Egypt; and if we find we have more than we may well guess will suffice us for so long a time, we sell the overplus at Mekka. There is a charity maintained by the Grand Seignior for water to refresh the poor who travel on foot all the way; for there are many such who undertake this journey (or pilgrimage) without any money, relying on the charity of the *hagges* for subsistence, knowing that they largely extend it at such a time. Every *hagge* carries his provisions, water, bedding, &c. with him, and usually three or four diet together, and sometimes discharge a poor man's expenses the whole journey for his attendance on them."

About the tenth easy day's journey, they entered the capital of the undivided khalifate.

MEDINAH*

Is described by Pitts as "but a little town, and poor; yet, it is walled round, and hath in it a great mosque, but nothing near so big as the temple at Mekka. In one corner of the mosque is built a place about fourteen or fifteen paces square. About this place are great windows fenced with brass grates. In the inside, it is decked with some lamps and ornaments. It is arched all over head. (I find some relate, that there are no fewer than three thousand lamps about Mohammed's tomb; but it is a mistake, for there are not, as I verily believe, a hundred: and I speak what I know, and have been an eye-witness of.)† In the middle of this place is the tomb of Mohammed, where the corpse of that bloody impostor is laid, which hath silk curtains all around it like a bed; which curtains are not costly nor beautiful. There is nothing of his tomb to be seen by any, by reason of the curtains round it; nor are any of the *hagges* permitted to enter there: none go in but the eunuchs, who keep watch over it, and they only to light the lamps which burn there by night, and to sweep and cleanse the place. All the privilege the *hagges* have, is only to thrust in their hands at the windows between the brass grates, and to petition the dead *juggler*, which they do with a wonderful deal of reverence, affection, and zeal."†

"On the outside of this place, where Mohammed's

* Its ancient name was Yathreb. It was called *Medinet en Nebbi*, the city of the Prophet, in honour of Mohammed, from the period of the hejira.

† The ridiculous story, that the coffin of Mohammed is suspended by the power of a loadstone, is disowned by the Moslems.

tomb is, are some sepulchres of their reputed saints; among which is one prepared for Christ Jesus, when he shall come again personally into the world; for they hold that Christ will come again in the flesh, forty years before the end of the world, to confirm the Mohammedan faith; and say, likewise, that our Saviour was not crucified in person, but in effigy, or one like him."

It is thirty-seven days' journey, according to this Writer, from Mekka to Cairo; "and in all this way, there is scarcely any green thing to be met with, nor beast or fowl to be seen or heard,—nothing but sand-stones," excepting one place which he passed by night, where were some trees, and, as he thought, gardens. "About ten days before we got to Cairo," he says, "we came to a very long, steep hill, called *Ackaba*, which the *hagges* are usually much afraid how they shall be able to get up.* Those who can, will walk it. The poor camels, having no hoofs, find it very hard work, and many drop here. They were all untied, and we dealt gently with them, moving very slowly, and often halting. Before we came to this hill, I observed no descent; and when we were at the top, there was none, but all plain as before."

Medinah, though comprised within the Hedjaz, or "the land of pilgrimage," is, according to Ali Bey, without the *belled el haram*, or holy land. That territory "is comprehended between the Red Sea and an irregular line which, commencing at Arabok, about twenty-one leagues to the N. of Djidda, forms a bend from the N.E. to the S.E. in passing by Yelemlem, two days' journey to the N.E. of Mekka:

* See page 211.

from thence it continues to Karna, about twenty-one leagues to the E. of the same place, and eight leagues westward of Tayif, which is without the holy land; then, turning to the W.S.W., it passes by Dzataerk, and terminates at Mehherma upon the coast, at the port named Almarsa Ibrahim, nearly thirty-two leagues S.E. of Djidda." It appears, therefore, that the holy land of Islam is fifty-seven leagues in length and twenty-eight in breadth. The whole of this tract is a real desert, containing no river, and only a few inconsiderable springs, no arable land, and scarcely a garden throughout the territory. Mekka and Djidda are the only towns: the other inhabited spots are little else than miserable villages, composed of barracks and tents established near a well or spring. Medinah and Tayif are represented as situated "on a bountiful land, with plenty of water, and covered with gardens and plantations;"* and it is from the territory of Medinah, Ali Bey was informed, that the celebrated balsam of Mekka (called *belsan*) is chiefly obtained. Pitts, however, mentions no gardens at Medinah, but says, the town draws its supply of corn and necessaries from Abyssinia. According to the former Traveller, the Hedjaz is traversed by a double range of mountains. The loftier range of the two, he supposes to commence near Tayif, which is thirty leagues from the coast, and, bordering the

* Tayif, Niebuhr says, "is situate upon a lofty mountain, in so agreeable a country, that the Arabs compare its environs to those of Damascus and Sanaa. This city supplies Djidda and Mekka with excellent fruits, particularly raisins, and carries on a considerable trade in almonds, which grow in great plenty in its territory." He was told, also, of "a charming valley," called *Wady Fatima*, somewhere between Mekka and Medinah, which Mohammed is said to have bestowed as a dowry on his daughter Fatima. It occurs in the western hadji route, one day's journey from Mekka.

belled el haram, to extend as far as *Djebel Mohhar*, in the neighbourhood of the isles* of Hamara. In these mountains water is found. Tayif, Medinah, Djideida, El Hamara, and Yenboa en Nahal (or of the palm-trees, so called to distinguish it from Yenboa el Bahar, or of the sea), are situated within this range. The second range, in which Mekka is situated, contains hardly any water, but is believed by Ali Bey to be rich in minerals: it is composed of schistus, porphyry, and hornblende. Pitts, describing the appearance of Mekka, says: "The town is surrounded for several miles with many thousands of little hills, which are very near one to the other. I have been on the top of some of them near Mekka, where I could see some miles about, but yet was not able to see the furthest of the hills. They are all stony rock, and blackish, and pretty near of a bigness, appearing at a distance like cocks of hay, but all pointing towards Mekka. Some of them are half a mile in circumference, but all nearly of one height. Between these hills is good and plain travelling, though they stand near to one another."

In travelling from Yenboa (or Yambo) towards Medinah, after traversing the barren sandy plain which extends to the coast, and riding for some leagues between low, bare mountains or hills, Ali Bey arrived at a valley of a singular appearance, which he supposes to be between sixteen and eighteen leagues from Yenboa. "The mountains on the south side are composed of loose sand, perfectly white; those upon the north side, of rocks of porphyry, hornstone, and schistus. The valley is at most 600 feet broad.

* There are three of these islands; Omelmelek, lat. 25° 15′ 24″; Moard, lat. 25° 27′; and Sheikh Morgob, lat. 25° 45′ 47″.

When I saw these mountains of sand," adds Ali Bey, "as high as those of the rocks, I could not forbear admiring the force which heaped them up, and which binds this accumulation of moving sand, so that the winds do not carry a single atom to those on the north. The bottom of the valley is composed of a variety of rocks and sand. There are several fine plants to be seen.* The mountains on the north, contain a fine collection of porphyries of every colour and grain. In the hornstone rocks, every shade of green may be perceived; and there is also to be found schistus of every species." A few hours beyond this valley, the road lay between "several groupes of volcanic mountains, entirely black, presenting various resemblances of very picturesque ruins." The ground is here covered with thorny bushes.

Djideida, through which lies the direct route to Medinah across the desert, is very dismally situated at the bottom of a valley, but has a spring of excellent water; there are also some gardens and plantations of palm-trees. The houses are low, constructed of stone without cement. Ali Bey calculated it to be about twenty-eight leagues E.S.E. of Yenboa, and was told that it was sixteen leagues W. of Medinah. The geographical position of the latter place he considers to be 2° 40′ E. of Yenboa, under almost the same parallel of latitude.† The thermometer, in the desert, was 28° of Reamur at noon in the shade. There is another road, which passes by Yenboa en Nahal, a town situated in the midst of the mountains, a day's journey E.N.E. of Yenboa el Bahar. It is

* The Author gathered in this neighbourhood "a superb species of solanum with large flowers."

† Yenboa (Yambo), according to the observations of Ali Bey, is in lat. 24° 7′ 6″ N., long. 37° 32′ 30″ E. of Greenwich.

said to have plenty of water, fine gardens, and a considerable number of palm-trees, from which it takes its name. The inhabitants are all shereefs, or descendants of the Prophet.

In taking our departure from the *belled el haram*, the forbidden ground which none but Moslem feet have been for so many ages allowed to tread, one cannot help feeling astonishment that such a tract of country should have been originally fixed upon as the land of pilgrimage; that in its very centre should have been placed the metropolis of the old Arabian idolatry. If we suppose that Mekka owes its foundation, as is probable, to the Kaaba, the pantheon of the ancient pagans of the peninsula, it still remains as a subject of speculation, how that edifice came to be erected within the recesses of these barren mountains, and how Mount Saffa and Mount Meroua, and the valley of Mina, became consecrated by local traditions in the remote times to which history refers the origin of the existing rites.* Can we suppose that the region always presented the same arid and sterile aspect which it now exhibits? If so, how shall we account for its being early peopled by various tribes, who, whether they subsisted by hunting† or led a pastoral life, must have required a very different sort of country to enable them to obtain the means of subsistence? In those remote times, the inhabitants could not have been indebted to the precarious supplies of foreign commerce for the necessaries of life. Yet, Mekka is now absolutely dependent on distant countries for supplies of every kind; and its sandy, waterless valleys seem never to have been susceptible of cultivation.

* See p. 47.

† As Ishmael, Gen. xxi. 20; and Esau, xxv. 27; xxvii. 3.

It is, however, impossible, we think, to avoid the conclusion, that the whole country must have undergone a physical transformation; slow, perhaps, in the beginning, but constantly accelerating in its progress. Originally, the springs which abound in the loftier mountains, fed, perhaps, by more copious rains, might send their streams through the valleys which descend towards the *Tehama* or sandy belt, extending from the foot of the hills to the shores of the Red Sea. Wherever water flowed, vegetation would clothe the soil; and it is far from improbable, that the palm-tree, which is now thinly scattered over the desert, once bordered the coast, and clothed the valleys, providing at once shade and sustenance in these burning regions. The small plants and flowering shrubs which Ali Bey found in a valley destitute of water in the way to Djideida, and the flower which he saw on the way to Arafat, afford intimations that even this barren soil had once its indigenous productions. The effect of these in imparting moisture to the atmosphere, in lessening the rapidity of evaporation, and in preserving the soil from becoming pulverised, it is impossible to calculate. When we consider the changes which have been effected, within the times of authentic history, in the Valley of Mexico and other parts of the New World, in consequence, chiefly, of laying bare the soil to the action of a tropical sun,* we shall not find it difficult to imagine, that even *Arabia Deserta* once exhibited a very different appearance,—that the gazelle, the rock-goat, and the wild ass found sustenance among its hills; that the acacia, the tamarisk, the balsam-tree, and the palm flourished in its plains;

* See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. i. p. 263; Colombia, p. 90. Humboldt remarks, that wherever trees are destroyed, the springs are either entirely dried up, or become less abundant.

and that its inhabitants pitched their tents in the midst of flocks and herds who wandered over a pastoral wilderness. To two leading causes we may with probability ascribe the change, — the devastations of war, laying bare the country of its vegetation and filling up the wells, together, perhaps, with the destruction or retreat of the wild animals, — and the constant action of the winds blowing the sands from the eastern deserts, which, when unobstructed by vegetation, instead of forming a barrier of sand hills, would spread over the plains, choke up the wells and fountains, and aid the process by which the quartz and sandstone rocks are being ground down to impalpable powder, such as loads the poisonous blasts of the semoum.

Should Mekka ever be laid open to the inspection of enlightened Europeans, while the Kaaba is standing, the alleged antiquity of the structure will entitle it to examination. There is some room for suspicion, whether this may be the original edifice, or a modern erection on the same site. The Black Stone is probably the same that has been kissed and adored by Moslems or Pagans for these three thousand years, notwithstanding its *hejira* in the ninth century, when it was carried off by Abu Thaher. It is remarkable, that the Temple of Mekka and the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, has each its *Bætulion*,* or heavenly stone. That to which the latter owes both its name of *El Sakhara* and its existence, is a large, irregular, oblong mass of compact limestone, which occupies the centre of the mosque.† This stone (*hadjar el sakhara*) is also fabled to have fallen from heaven, like the Black

* In the Βαιτυλιον of the Greeks, and the *Beit-Allah* of the Arabs, we have evidently the Beth El of the Hebrews.

† See Mod. Trav., Palestine, p. 106.

Stone of Mekka; and a ridiculous legend is attached to it. But it is apparently a mere clumsy imitation of the Arabian idol, and shews only the notions of those who thought that a mosque, even at Jerusalem, and on the site of the Temple of Solomon, required this miraculous block to consecrate it in the eyes of the Moslems! One might have supposed that the Mekka stone was possibly of meteoric origin, did not the description of it given by Ali Bey oppose the conjecture. The "abomination" which stands in the once holy place at Jerusalem, bears an evident affinity to the limestone of the adjacent mountains.

We must now again spread sail to the southward, and, in company with Niebuhr, the learned Danish Traveller, descend the Arabian Gulf.

FROM DJIDDA TO LOHEIA.

THE vessel in which he embarked, was "more like a hogshead than a ship, being only seven fathoms long by three in breadth, without a deck, the planks extremely thin, and not pitched." The sailors, nine in number, besides the captain, were all black slaves from Africa or Malabar. The voyage was, however, safe and pleasant. The banks of coral are less numerous in the southern part of the gulf. Some flying fishes were observed, which, Niebuhr says, the Arabs call *Djerâd el bahar*, sea-locusts. After seven days' sailing, (the captain cast anchor every night,) they anchored near Ghunfude, a considerable town, but consisting merely of huts: it belongs to the Shereef of Mekka, and is governed by one of his officers, who lives in a small isle at some distance from the city. It is situated in lat. 19° 7′ N. All the ships employed in carrying coffee to Djidda, are obliged to anchor

here, and pay a duty to the shereef. The next day, they passed within sight of Hali, a frontier town of the Hedjaz, where the Shereef of Mekka keeps a garrison.* The following day, they cast anchor "near a mountain called *Kolembel*, situated in the middle of the sea, and said by the Arabs to have been a volcano. It may possibly," adds the learned Traveller, "be the burning island which is placed by Ptolemy and Arrian in these latitudes." On the sixteenth day from Djidda, they anchored in the harbour of Loheia.†

The town of Loheia, like several others in these parts, owes its foundation to a Mohammedan saint, who built a hut on the shore where the town now stands, which has gradually risen up round his tomb. In the time of Niebuhr, it had been standing for only three centuries. Before then, the governor of the district resided at Marabea, a little port a mile to the north; but the harbour of that town became filled up, and the place was gradually abandoned for Loheia. This port, however, is a very indifferent one, even the smallest vessels being obliged to anchor at a distance from the town, and, at low water, even laden boats cannot approach it. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, a considerable trade in coffee is carried on here with Cairo through Djidda. Loheia is the most northern port in the dominions of the Imaum of Sanaa: it stands in lat. 15° 42′ N. Its territory is

* All the petty territories southward of *Râs Hâli* (lat. 18° 36′) are considered as forming part of Yemen. Between Hali and Attûed, the frontier of the Shereef of Abu Arisch, the country is possessed by independent tribes.

† For the minute details of this voyage, not being of general interest, the reader is referred to the *Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 228.

arid and barren. The town is without walls, but is defended by twelve towers, built at equal distances round it, and resembling those in some of the imperial cities in Germany. Only one of these, however, admits of being defended by cannon: the rest are so ill built as to be utterly despicable. There are a few houses of stone, but the greater part are mere mud huts thatched with grass, with a straw mat for a door, and rarely any windows: such huts are common throughout the Tehama. Lime is prepared in the neighbourhood by the calcination of coral. Mineral salt is found in a hill within two leagues of the city. The water here is bad. The well which supplies the common people is a league distant from the town, and the best water, which is not good, comes from two leagues and a half. Niebuhr found the inhabitants very inquisitive, intelligent, and hospitable, and polished, in comparison with the Arabs nearer Egypt. The emir, or *dowlah*, of the place was an African, entirely black, who had risen from being a slave, to occupy one of the highest offices in the service of the Imaum. He had been well educated, and discovered an upright and enlightened mind. He was much delighted with the present of an English telescope.

In Yemen, the usual mode of travelling is on asses. Christians are not prohibited here, however, the use of horses, and the place is far pleasanter. Niebuhr and his companions, therefore, hired camels for their baggage, and horses for themselves. Travelling is as little exposed to danger in the Tehama, he says, as in Europe; so that there was no occasion to wait for a caravan in setting off to explore the interior.

FROM LOHEIA TO BEIT EL FAKIH AND MOCHA.

FROM Loheia, Niebuhr proceeded southward across the Tehama to the inland town of *Beit el Fakih*. The first day, he travelled through a parched and barren tract, along an arm of the sea, which runs a considerable way inland, and halted at a *mokeija*, or traveller's hut, near the village of Okem. These *mokeijas* are a sort of coffee-houses, intended to answer the purpose of inns; the accommodations are, however, of the humblest description, consisting of a long seat of straw ropes, and, for refreshment, coffee served out in coarse earthen cups. The proprietor generally resides in some neighbouring village, whence he comes every day to wait for passengers. At midnight, our Travellers reached the large village of Djâlie, the residence of a sub-*dowlah*. Throughout the whole country they found the water scarce and bad, but the villages were less distant from one another, than could have been expected in so barren a region. At the large village of Meneyre, through which they passed the next day, they found a *mansale*, that is, a house in which travellers are entertained *gratis* for a certain number of days. On hearing of the arrival of European guests, the master of this *mansale* attended in person, to see that his servants treated them properly. He caused some wheaten bread to be baked, which in the Tehama is rare, ordered some cow's milk, when he saw them nauseate the viscidity of the camel's milk, and was going to kill a sheep, had they staid longer. The Arabian servants gave the Travellers to understand, that any compensation for this hospitality would be ill received by their master; but the attendant took an opportunity,

when unobserved, of soliciting a small gratuity for himself. At Dahhi, which they reached the second night, there is a mosque, a saint's tomb, and a few stone houses, and, near the village, a tannery, a manufactory of earthen-ware, and one of indigo. This place lies in the route from Loheia to Sanaa. It is situated in lat. 15° 13′ N. The direct road to *Beit el Fakih* now passes along an arid tract with scarcely any water, and almost uninhabited. Niebuhr preferred a longer route, nearer the mountains, in which he met with several small woods and a number of villages skirted with bushes: there are also many wells, from a hundred and sixty to a hundred and seventy feet deep, but dug in sloping ground. He passed, in this day's journey, two valleys which, in the rainy season, are filled with water, *Wady Shab el Hadjar* and *Shab Defin*. In the evening, he rested at the large village of Ghannemie, situated in lat. 14° 58′. The fifth day, he passed a village called Kataja, where there is a *mansale*, another valley called *Wady Sham*, and, about half-way between Ghannemie and *Beit el Fakih*, the valley of *El Helle*. He passed the night in a wretched coffee-house, and early on the sixth day, reached the end of his journey.

The town of *Beit el Fakih* (that is, the house of the sage) owes its origin and its name to the famous saint Achmed Ibn Mousa, whose sepulchre is shewn in a pretty mosque, situated on a sandy hill, near the town. Like Loheia, it has risen in consequence of the neighbouring port of Ghalefka becoming choked up. It is the residence of a *dowlah*, and has a citadel. Its situation is very favourable for trade, being only half a day's journey from the hills where the coffee is grown, four days from Mocha, about

six from Sanaa, four and a half from Loheia, and one and a half from Hodeida. It is situated in lat. 14° 31′. The coffee-trade attracts to the place, merchants from Hedjaz, Egypt, Barbary, Syria, Persia, India, and even Europe. Here, also, as in all the large towns of Yemen, are found a number of Banians,—a singular caste, to whom there will be occasion to make repeated reference. Though allowed the free exercise of their religion, they dare not bring their women here, nor are they permitted to burn their dead; as soon, therefore, as they have accumulated a little property, they are eager to return to their native country. The town, which contains many houses of stone, is situated in a plain far from fertile, but carefully cultivated: the dwellings are all detached, and the greater part are, like those of Loheia, mere huts. The place is much infested by a species of ant called *ard*, which is equally destructive in the house and in the garden, consuming clothes, fruits, and provisions of every description. Niebuhr copied here an ancient Kufic inscription.

Ghalefka, distant five leagues W.S.W. from Beit el Fakih, and about the same distance from Zebid, was once a flourishing town, but is now reduced to about a score wretched huts, scattered among date-trees. The harbour is so completely filled up, that no vessel of the smallest burden can enter. Not only has the sea receded, and the coral reefs increased, but the winds have formed a considerable sand-hill. There is a spring of excellent water here, which is ascribed to the prayers of a certain Seid Ali, the patron saint of the place, to whom was dedicated the mosque that is now in ruins. In the burying-place were found two stones bearing Kufic inscriptions. The harbour of Hodeida, six leagues N. of Ghalefka, is somewhat

better than that of Loheia, but large vessels cannot enter it. It is the residence of a dowlah, and has its citadel, custom-house, and patron saint, a few stone houses, and a great many huts.

Zebid, before the harbour of Hodeida was choked up, was the principal town and most commercial place in all Tehama. It is situated between five and six leagues S.S.W. of Beit el Fakih, near the largest and most fertile *wady* in the country. This was now dry, but, in the rainy season, a large river flows through it, which, filling the canals, waters all the adjacent lands. "Viewed from a distance," says Niebuhr, "the town appears to some advantage, by means of the mosques and *kubbets*, of which it is full. Several of these mosques were erected by different pashas who resided here during the short period that this part of Arabia was in possession of the Ottoman Porte. But Zebid pays dear for its exterior magnificence. Its inhabitants are impoverished by the numerous clergy belonging to those pious foundations, by whom the wealth of this place is almost wholly engrossed. I was told, as a matter of certainty, that if the whole revenue of the territory be considered as divided into five parts, the clergy receive three of these; the imaum, one for the taxes; and the inhabitants have only one-fifth remaining for their maintenance.

"The Turks have left here one useful monument of their power,—an aqueduct which conveyed water from the hills into the city. But this work has been so neglected, that only its ruins now remain, and the inhabitants are obliged to content themselves with water from their draw-wells, which, fortunately, is not bad, and in such plenty as to water many fine

gardens that are to be seen in the neighbourhood of the city.

"Abulfeda ascribes eight gates to Zebid; but, of these, five only are now standing, and the river is gradually breaking down a part of them. The walls of the old city are demolished, and the very ruins are sold by poor people, who gather out the stones, and sell them for building new houses. The present buildings occupy about one-half of the ancient extent of the city. Zebid is still distinguished for an academy, in which the youth of Tehama, and of a part of Yemen, study such sciences as are cultivated among the Mussulmans. This is, besides, the seat of a dowlah, a mufti, and a kadi of the sect of Shaffei, and of two other kadis, of the sect of Zeidi, to which the imaum and the greater part of his subjects profess to belong."

Much indigo is grown here; and where the vale has not been encroached upon and ravaged by the torrents, the fields have a rich and beautiful appearance. Between *Wady Zebid* and *Beit el Fakih*, there is another beautiful valley, in which formerly stood a considerable town called El Mahad; and which still contains some populous villages. It receives the waters of Mount Rema, and discharges them into the sea near Shurem.

Niebuhr made an excursion from *Beit el Fakih* to Bulgosa, in the coffee-mountains, distant half a day's journey. The roads are very bad: neither asses nor mules can be used, for the hills are to be climbed only by steep and narrow paths. Compared with the parched plains of the Tehama, the scenery is delightful. The mountains are of basalt, and detached rocks, composed almost entirely of basaltic columns, form a

grand and picturesque feature in the landscape.* In some instances, cascades are seen to rush from the summits, having the appearance of flowing over rows of artificial pillars. These columns, being easily separated, are shaped into steps where the ascent is most difficult, and into terraces to support the coffee-plantations, which rise in the form of an amphitheatre. The coffee-trees were at this period (March) in flower, and exhaled an exquisite perfume. The air at Bulgosa is much fresher and cooler than in the plain, and the women have a fairer complexion; yet here, the Travellers had climbed scarcely half the ascent to Kusma, where the dowlah of the district dwells, upon the loftiest peak of this range of mountains.

Another excursion was, from *Beit el Fakih* to Udden and Djobla. The first day's journey lay in a S.S.E. direction across the plain, passing through several villages, to Robo, where there is a weekly *suk* or market, — a distance of about seven leagues. The next day, in about a league, they entered upon the mountains. Here, near the village of Meschal, the learned Traveller saw, for the first time in Yemen, running water. The channel of the river, which is called *Wady Zebid* till it enters the Tehama, is very broad at this place, but the stream was not above twenty-four feet in width: as soon as it reaches the burning plains, it spreads into a shallow lake, and is lost among the sands. At the end of eight hours and a quarter, they halted at Machsa, a miserable village, although it is the residence of a sub-dowlah, and has a weekly fair. The huts are still more wretched here, than those in the Tehama. They have no walls, consisting merely of a few poles laid together and covered with reeds, and are so small, that two persons lying on the floor, occupy almost the whole area. The in-

habitants sit and sleep on the bare ground; and for bedding, these mountaineers get into a large sack, which keeps them warm by confining the natural perspiration. Coarse millet bread and camel's milk were all that these villages afforded, but the water every where in the mountains is delicious.

The next day, they passed, by winding roads, into a district where the lands begin to appear more fertile and better cultivated, and came to a high hill called *Nakil*, which, from the glistering micaceous sand at its foot, is supposed by the natives to contain gold. They rested in a hut near a village which is inhabited only on a market day. The fourth day, they crossed several rivulets, and rejoined Wady Zebid, and in the evening, reached the town of Udden. This is a small place, containing not above 300 houses, but all solidly built of stone. The governor is an hereditary sheikh. The coffee-trees of this district are esteemed to yield the very best coffee of all Yemen. The country, which had hitherto appeared thinly peopled, now assumed a more populous aspect. The road from Udden to Djobla lies over a steep mountain, and has formerly been paved, but was now out of repair. "On this mountain," says Niebuhr, "I saw a new instance of the care with which the Arabians provide for the accommodation of travellers. Here, for the first time, we found a *madjil* or reservoir of excellent water for the use of passengers. These reservoirs are of masonry, of a conical figure, and a vase always stands ready for drawing the water. Through all the fertile parts of Yemen, we found many of these *madjils* by the side of the highways. As storms are pretty frequent among these mountains, some small vaulted houses have been built upon that over which we passed, to shelter travellers when surprised by any sudden blast

As we advanced, we saw several villages situated in a cultivated tract. The sides of the hills were covered with rye, and had an agreeable aspect. This part of the country, though in other respects very fertile, produces no coffee."

Djobla is the head town of a district, and the residence of a dowlah. It stands upon the brink of a steep precipice, and contains about 600 houses of a tolerable height and appearance. Its streets are paved, an uncommon circumstance in Yemen. There are Jews here, who, as in all other towns where they reside, have a separate quarter. The town has neither castle nor walls, nor ancient remains.* The tomb of a Turkish pasha at some distance, shews, however, that the conquests of the Ottoman have been extended over these mountainous regions.

From Djobla, the learned Traveller proceeded three hours in a direction S.E. by S., over an undulating country, and slept in a large *simsera* (the name here given to a khan or karavanserai), situated two-thirds of the way up the southern side of a very high mountain named *Mharras*. The next morning, they were an hour in ascending a still higher summit called *Choddra*, on which are ruins of a considerable building of hewn stone, the walls of which have been flanked by towers, and two reservoirs of masonry. The whole structure appears to be of high antiquity, but is in complete ruin. Niebuhr could discover no inscriptions. The Arabs ascribe the building of this castle, and of another on Mount Takel near Djobla, to a certain Assâne Jahheli, the word *Jahhel* (ignorant) being the term they apply to their pagan forefathers. From this elevation, there is a noble prospect of a considerable tract of country studded with villages. Mount Mharras is descended by a paved road

which winds round the steep declivity, this being the high road between Mocha and Sanaa. Our Traveller now turned to the S.S.W., and pursued the road to Mocha as far as Taas; he then left the great road, and proceeded westward, traversing the territory of Ibn Aklan, an independent sheikh, to the small town of Haas, situated in the Tehama. He crossed several times, towards the latter part of this journey, a considerably large and rapid river, called *Wady Suradji*, and passed through several small streams which appear to empty themselves into one large river. Haas is the residence of a dowlah, who lives in a small fortress: its district is of narrow extent, but fertile in corn and dates. It is bounded on one side by Zebid, on the other, by Ibn Aklan. The town is small and ill built: a considerable quantity of coarse earthenware is manufactured there. The distance from Taas is about seventeen leagues. Near the confines of the Tehama, M. Forskal (Niebuhr's companion) discovered the shrub which produces the real balm of Mekka: it was in flower. The Arabs call it *Abu sham*, the sweet-smelling tree, but know of no other use for it than burning the wood as a perfume. On leaving the mountains, the heat became most oppressive. In the way to Zebid, the Travellers crossed, without wetting their feet, the river Suradji which they had seen so large among the hills. From Zebid, they returned to Beit el Fakih.

After remaining here for some time to recruit their health, Niebuhr and his companions again set forward for Mocha. The road lay through the beautiful valley of the Zebid, where the peasants were busily employed in cultivating their fields, and raising dykes for the purpose of irrigation. From these fields to Mocha, there occur very few villages, and the whole

intervening country is arid and sandy, but covered with bushes and coarse grass. Four leagues and a half from Zebid is the village of Sherdje, supposed to be the *Alsharjia* of Abulfeda, who describes it as a port; but, if it was ever situated on the coast, the waters of the gulf must have receded very considerably. It stands in lat. 13° 59′. On the fourth day, after a disagreeable and fatiguing journey, they entered the town of Mocha. For the description of this place, however, we shall turn to the pages of two more recent travellers.

MOCHA.

THE Author of "Scenes and Impressions," sailed from Bombay, in Dec. 1822, in an Arab vessel, "rude and ancient in her construction as those which, in former and successive ages, carried the rich freights of India for the Ptolemies, the Roman prefects, and the Arabian khalifs of Egypt." At early dawn on the twelfth day, they made the high land of Arabia the Happy. "The rising sun soon shewed the savage coast

'Barren and bare; unsightly, unadorned.'

No grass of the rock, no flower of the heath, no shrub, no bird, no look of life. Cape Morbat was the point we first made, and we coasted it thence to the Bay of Aden, making, in succession, the land of Fartakh, Siout, Bogashoua, and Maculla. Near the last spot, we did see a boat or two stealing along the shore; but the features of the coast were uniform — dark, waste, wild; the rocks not very lofty, black, and scorched at their summits; here, craggy and broken, with the waves dashing at their feet; there, smoother, with brown and arid sides, and with beds or belts of yellow

sand below. Such is the aspect of Araby the Blest; and for 1,800 miles from the point we first made, to the shores of Midian, in the Gulf of Akaba, there is little, very little variety. Like the rough and russet coat of the Persian pomegranate, which gives little promise of the rich and crimson pulp within, so Arabia, all-forbidding as she looks, can boast of Yemen and her sparkling springs, of her frankincense and precious gums, her spices and coffee-berries, her luscious dates, and her honey of the rock. But the streams which descend from those fertile regions, never reach the sea; they are drunk up by the sands; and the long line of coast, excepting three or four spots where the merchant and the mariner have found a haven, or where some pastoral tribe has dug a well, is but a burning solitude.

"For half a day, we dropped anchor in the back bay of Aden, but, as we were six miles from the town, our *nakhoda* did not wish us to go on shore. The scenery of this bay is of a very wild and savage character; the rocks black and ragged. It blew fresh too, and was cloudy, and the whole picture was darkly beautiful." Cape Aden is a very lofty and steep rock, and is discovered between fifteen and twenty leagues off at sea. From the summit, on which are some ruined towers, you command an extent of ten leagues inland. The road is described as the best in all Arabia. In the account of a Voyage to Arabia, performed by the French in 1708-10, edited by M. La Roque,* Aden is thus described:—

"This city is situated at the foot of high mountains, which surround it almost on every side; according to Abulfeda, in long. 70°, lat. 12°. There are

* The English translation is in 12mo. London, 1726.

five or six forts at the top of these mountains, with curtains, and many other fortifications in the narrow passes. The water is thence conveyed by a handsome aqueduct, to a large reservoir about a quarter of a league from the city, which furnishes all the inhabitants with very good water, there being no other to be had at Aden; and I know not by what authority our geographers make a river pass through that city. This place is enclosed with walls, which are now in a very bad condition, especially on the sea-side, where, however, there are some platforms at certain intervals, with five or six batteries of brass cannon, some of them carrying sixty-pound balls. It is believed that they are part of the artillery which Solyman II. left behind him upon taking the city, and conquering almost all the country, which the Turks have since been obliged to abandon to the Arabian princes. There is but one way to approach Aden on the land-side, and that is by a very narrow causeway, running out into the sea in the manner of a peninsula. The head of this causeway is commanded by a fort, with guards set at particular distances; and within a cannon-shot further, there is another fort of an oval figure, with forty pieces of great cannon, mounted on several batteries, and a garrison; so that it would be impossible to attempt a descent on that side; and on the way of communication between the city and this place, there is still another fort, with twelve guns and a garrison. Toward the sea, by which this town is indeed accessible, there is a bay, eight or nine leagues wide at the opening, divided into two roads; one of which is very large, and pretty far from the city; the other, less and nearer, which is called the harbour. This latter is about a league broad, taking

the breadth from the citadel, which commands it with fifty guns, to the point where the ports which I have been describing lie. You may anchor all over it, in from eighteen to twenty and twenty-two fathom.

"The city is considerably large, and one may still see several handsome houses, two stories high, and flat-roofed, as also abundance of rubbish and ruins. It may be easily judged from what remains, and from so advantageous a situation, that Aden was once a famous city, and of great importance, a strong place, and the principal bulwark of Arabia Felix. The territory around, though rather confined, is very pleasant, with a great deal of vegetation growing along the sides of the mountains.

"It must be owned, that nothing can be finer in its kind than the baths here: they are all lined with marble or jasper, and covered with a handsome dome, having a hole at the top to let in the light, adorned on the inside with galleries, supported by magnificent pillars. The whole building is very conveniently divided into chambers, closets, and other vaulted rooms, which all join to the principal hall, where the baths are covered by the dome. From hence, in our way to our lodging, we had to pass through the market-place, where we saw store of meat, fish, and other things that seemed to us very good in their several kinds."

Aden has been celebrated from the remotest periods for its commerce and its excellent harbour. In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, it maintained an extensive intercourse with India and China, and was the *entrepôt* of the riches of the East. But it was devastated in the wars between the Turks

and Portuguese, and its commerce has been transferred to Mocha.*

"It was a bright, a laughingly bright day," continues the picturesque Writer whose voyage we are pursuing, "when, with a fine, fair breeze, we sailed through the Gate of Tears (*Bab al Mondoub*); for so did the ancient Arabs name those narrow straits at the mouth of the Red Sea, regarded by their early navigators as so perilous, and so often, indeed, fatal to their inexperience.† We had a sail in company here, and loud and joyous was the greeting between the crews, as we both cast anchor in a little bay, just within the lesser Bab, by which we entered. From this anchorage, and, indeed, all the morning, while making for, and passing the straits, we had the black, lofty shore of Africa in view, with its Cape of Burials;—for, to the fancy of the ancient Arab, 'the shrill spirit of the storm sat dim' upon the rocky brow of Cape Guadafui, and 'enjoyed the death of the mariner.'

"We ran down upon Mocha with a full sail on the following morning. The town looks white and cheerful, the houses lofty, and have a square, solid appear-

* "Aden is so much better situated for trade with Berbera, in consequence of both monsoons being favourable for passing and repassing, that the greater part of the myrrh and gum-arabic is carried to that place, where the Banians of Mocha have each a partner established to conduct their business. The frankincense is chiefly cultivated near to Cape Gardafui, and is exported from a harbour of the Samaulies, called *Bunder Cassim*, near *Djebel Feel* (Cape Felix). The Samaulies, who inhabit the coast from the Straits to Cape Gardafui, have a kind of navigation-act, by which they exclude the Arab vessels from their ports, and bring the produce of their country either to Aden or Mocha in their own dows." VALENTIA'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 354.

† The Straits, according to Lord Valentia, are not above three miles wide.

ance; the roadstead is almost open, being only protected by two narrow spits of sand, on one of which is a round castle, and on the other an insignificant fort. A date-grove adjoins the city, and extends nearly two miles along the southern beach; a pleasing object for the eye to repose upon, which is fatigued, if you gaze in any other direction, by one unvarying picture of brown and desolate sterility.

"So far from the sea-ports of Arabia and India resembling each other, to the commonly observant eye, the contrast is striking. You have turbans and loose garments, but they are different both in fashion and materials. You have brown and black complexions; you have the clothed and the naked; but they differ, both in feature, form, and gesture, from those whom you have left behind. Under the coarse awnings of its narrow bazars, you meet the well-dressed merchants in robes of woollen cloth, and from above the folds of the snow-white turban, you see a red woollen cap, with a tassel of purple silk. At every step, you meet the black, the half-naked Abyssinian, straight as the young areca, with a nose sufficiently prominent to give expression to his features, and having his curled woolly hair died with a reddish yellow, the foppery of his country. Then there is the stout Arab porter, in his coarse brown garment, bowing under a heavy load of dates, the matting all oozing, and clammy with the luscious burden. Lastly, you have the Bedouin, with the hue of the desert on his cheek, the sinewy limb, the eye dark and fiery. He hath a small turban, a close-bodied vest, a coarse sash, all of dull colours; the arm, the leg, are bare; the brown bosom open to the sun and wind; sandals on his feet; a broad, *straight*, two-edged sword in his hand; a long and ready poinard in his girdle. For

the cold night-wind he has a cloak of goat's hair, or black, or white, or made in long broad stripes of both colours. He walks erect, and moves directly to his front, giving place to none. Though every where surrounded by Turkish or Persian despots, nay, though there be towns, and imaums, and dowlahs in Arabia itself, he looks, and he can boast, that he is personally free. Ideal is the happiness of savage life; but it is impossible to look, without admiring wonder, on men who contentedly proclaim the sandy plain and naked rock their patrimony, have no dwelling but the tent, no intrenchment but the sword, no law but the traditionary song of their bards, no government but the aged sheikh of their tribe. When I contrast this, their noble preference of a solitary and savage independence, to the life led by those who slumber under Turkish masters in cities, always polluted by crime, and often disturbed by terror, with much to pity in their condition, and much to condemn in their conduct, I find every thing to admire in their choice.

"Other objects in these bazars attract your gaze. Long strings of camels and asses, the large coarse sheep of Abyssinia, the small, thin species of Arabia, the tall brown goats; the shops of the armourers, with their long, polished sword-blades, daggers, spears, matchlocks, and here and there the half-worn shield of other days; then there are the cook-shops, with their hot cakes of bread, and their large coppers with portions of meat and fowls, swimming in ghee, and ready for the traveller; and, a step further, the caravanserais and coffee-houses, with groupes of townsmen and traders reclining on couches of the date leaf, smoking their small hookahs, sipping their kishu, and perpetually stroking their long beards."

The most full and minute description of the town is given by Lord Valentia, who visited it repeatedly during his examination of the shores of the Red Sea. Its appearance from the sea is, he says, tolerably handsome, as all the buildings are white-washed, and the minarets of the three mosques rise to a considerable height. The uniform line of the flat-roofed houses is also broken by several circular domes of *kobbas*, or chapels. "On landing at a pier, which has been constructed for the convenience of trade, the effect is improved by the battlements of the walls, and a lofty tower on which cannon are mounted, which advances before the town, and is meant to protect the sea gate. The moment, however, that the traveller passes the gates, these pleasing ideas are put to flight by the filth that abounds in every street, and more particularly in the open spaces which are left within the walls, by the gradual decay of the deserted habitations which once filled them. The principal building in the town is the residence of the dola, which is large and lofty, having one front to the sea, and another to a square, where, on a Friday, he and his chief officers amuse themselves in throwing the *jerid* in the manner described by Niebuhr. Another side of the square, which is the only regular place in the town, is filled up by the official residence of the *bas kateb*, or secretary of state, and an extensive serai, built by the Turkish pacha during the time that Mocha was tributary to the Grand Seignior. These buildings externally have no pretensions to architectural elegance, yet are by no means ugly objects, from their turretted tops, and fantastic ornaments in white stucco.* The windows are in general small, stuck into the wall in an irregular manner, closed with lattices, and sometimes opening into a wooden, carved-work

balcony. In the upper apartments, there is generally a range of circular windows above the others, filled with thin strata of a transparent stone, which is found in veins in a mountain near Sanaa. None of these can be opened, and only a few of the lower ones, in consequence of which, a thorough air is rare in their houses; yet, the people of rank do not seem oppressed by the heat, which is frequently almost insupportable to a European. The floors, as well as the roofs of the larger houses, are made of chunam, which is sustained by beams, with pieces of plank, or thin sticks of wood, laid across, and close to each other. As they never use a level, the floors are extremely uneven; but this is a trifling inconvenience to people who never use chairs or tables, but are always reclining on couches, supported on every side by cushions. The internal construction of their houses is uniformly bad. The passages are long and narrow, and the staircases so steep, that it is frequently difficult to mount them. At the dola's, numerous doors are well secured on the landing-places, to prevent any sudden hostile attack. Little lime is used in any of their buildings; constant care is therefore necessary to prevent the introduction of moisture; but, with caution, they last for many years. If, however, a house is neglected, it speedily becomes a heap of rubbish; the walls returning to their original state of mud, from which they had been formed into bricks by the heat of the sun alone. The wooden materials very soon vanish in a country where firing is extremely scarce, so that even the ruins of cities which were celebrated for their magnificence in former times, may now be sought for in vain.

"The best houses are all facing the sea, and chiefly to the north of the sea gate. The British factory is

a large and lofty building, but has most of the inconveniencies of an Arab house. It is, however, far superior to the French or Danish factories, which are rapidly falling to decay. The lower order of Arabs live in huts, composed of wicker-work, covered on the inside with mats, and sometimes on the outside with a little clay. The roofs are uniformly thatched. A small yard is fenced off in front of each house; but this is too small to admit a circulation of air. It is singular, that these habitations should be crowded close together, while a large part of the space within the walls is left unoccupied.

"The town of Mocha is surrounded by a wall, which towards the sea is not above sixteen feet high, though on the land-side it may, in some places, be thirty. In every part, it is too thin to resist a cannon-ball, and the batteries along shore are unable to bear the shock of firing the cannon that are upon them. Two forts are erected, for the protection of the harbour, on two points of land which project considerably into the sea, at about a mile and a half from each other. An English man-of-war would level either to the ground with a single broadside. There are two other batteries within the town, but they are in a still more defenceless state. The guns on all these places are useless, except to return a salute. The Arabs, when they purchased them from infidels, considered them as *Sheitan*, or belonging to the devil, and therefore immediately set to work to make them holy. To effect this, they, with the most perfect ignorance, enlarged the touch-hole, till nearly the whole of the gunpowder explodes by it, which is also the way by which it very frequently enters. As, however, they have never had occasion to use these guns hostilely, they are not aware of the mischief they have done. The walls on

the land-side are a sufficient defence against the Wahhabees, who always storm a town by means of their cavalry, and the numerous round towers have a very imposing effect on people who are totally ignorant of the use of artillery. Although under constant alarm from the Wahhabees, they have neglected to repair the fortifications, and seem to consider the many small doors, nearly on the level of the ground, as affording no facility of entrance to an enemy. Near the sea gate, a part of the wall has actually fallen down, and has been repaired with a few boards and matting. The town runs, for about half a mile, in nearly a straight line facing the sea; but afterwards, the walls take a circular direction inland. The space thus included is in part not built upon, and, I should suppose, does not contain a population of above 5,000 souls.

"The garrison, in general, consists of about 80 horse, and 200 matchlock-men, who receive a regular pay of two dollars and a half per month, for which they provide their own arms, and powder and ball for exercise; but when they quit Mocha, they are supplied with every thing, and have four dollars in advance. There is not a vestige of discipline among them, but they are by no means bad marksmen, though they are a long time in taking aim. When on guard at the different gates, they recline on couches, with their matchlocks lying neglected by their sides, while the right hand is occupied in sustaining either the pipe, or a cup of coffee. Their matchlocks are good, and richly ornamented with silver. This, and their crooked dagger or jambea, are their chief pride; and it requires the most rigid economy for several years, to enable a young Arab to provide himself with them. The troops attend the dola every Friday to the

great mosque, and afterwards exercise in the front of his house. I was present several times to see the infantry fire three volleys, which they do with ball-cartridge, or at least ought to do, though, I suspect, economy induces them frequently to leave out the ball. Before they fire, they throw themselves into loose disorder; a plan which the dola strongly justified to Mr. Pringle, when he waited on him to announce the late glorious victories of the British in the east. On that occasion he fairly told him, that he was very much surprised our soldiers ever gained a victory, disciplined as they were: 'Why,' said he, 'your men are all drawn up in a row, so that any man may be distinguished by a person who has an enmity to him, and be shot immediately; whereas my men, by standing in disorder, and continually changing place, cannot be known.' The ball that they use is small and ill formed, so that, at the respectful distance they keep from each other, a wound is seldom received. As the chief Mussulmaun inhabitants attend the dola on the Friday, as well as the soldiers, the procession is handsome, several gay streamers being carried by the horsemen, and, before the dola, the green and red flags of the Imaum: on the former of these is figured, in white, the double-bladed sword of Mohammed, which has a much greater resemblance to the figure of a European, with his head, feet, and hands cut off. The Arab dress looks well on horseback, and is composed of the richest satins and kincaubs of India. The flowing scarf, and the turban with the ends hanging low on the back, add greatly to the elegance of the dress."

The Author of Scenes and Impressions thus describes the procession: "The dowlah rode a beautiful little iron-grey, and was accompanied by about half a

dozen persons, well dressed, and of some condition, and the like number of attendants, mounted on wretched horses, and meanly clothed. A large band of that regular Arab infantry which forms the garrison, followed: their costume is plain; a common blue shirt, small dark turbans, a rude body-belt for their cartridges, and a priming-horn. They marched in a wide front, their matchlocks sloped upon their shoulders, their free hands grasping the fore-arms of their comrades, and they sang in loud chorus some war-song of their country. When the dowlah bridled up at the gateway of his residence, these men ranged themselves on one side of the square, their rear rank considerably behind their front, and fired three volleys in the air, retiring every time to the wall to load. The dowlah now indulged us with a little exhibition of his own horsemanship and address with the lance. He encountered three of his suite in succession, engaging them in a manner quiet, even to tameness. It is not, however, unpleasing to mark, in how *very small* a space the combatants will circle; to see the lances lightly poised, with the points dropped low, and close to each other; to see the eye steadily fixed, and, at times, the sudden turn of the steed, and lifting of the lance; and to mark the feint, the ready recovery, the close following up, and then the circling as before.

"The variety in their costumes, for there were not two robes of a colour, and the ease with which they seemed to move in these loose garments, now filling with, now flying from the wind, gave a grace and animation to the picture; but one trifling circumstance added to the scene, in my eye, a very peculiar charm. Two of the horses had frontlets, or regular

head-armour* of polished steel. Now there can be little doubt that these were old heir-looms, fashioned long centuries ago; and without any great stretch of the imagination, we may suppose them to have glittered in the van of Arabian armies, and given bright warning of the battle hour to the Templar and the Hospitaller, as they looked forth from the tall battlement, reposed in the open camp, or rode 'aye ready for the field' on the scorched plains of Palestine."

Without the walls of the town are three extensive suburbs; one occupied by common Arab labourers; one by the *Samaulies* (Abyssinian mariners)† and Mohammedan traders; and one by the Jews, who carry on an extensive illicit trade in a brandy distilled from the date-tree, which is drunk by the Mussulmauns in private. "The hot and haughty Mussulmaun stealing to the poor dwelling of the cold and self-denying Jew, to break his Prophet's law, and shew himself the slave of a sin so mean, furnishes to the mind no common picture." These villages are not more cleanly than the town; and the gully in which the river of Moosa has occasionally reached the sea, is filled with an accumulation of filth, which, in a more moist country, would certainly breed a pestilence, though here it has no ill effect.

"The Arabs," says Lord Valentia, "are in general a healthy race of people, fevers being very unusual, though severe colds are common during the

* Thick plates of steel covering the head in its length and breadth, and standing well out from the skin, to prevent a jar or bruise.

† In person these Samaulies are neither negroes nor Arabs: they have woolly hair, but not flat noses, well-formed limbs, a dark skin, beautifully white teeth, and an expression of countenance "neither fierce nor unpleasing." They detest the Arabs.

cooler months. Ulcers are so prevalent, that it is rare to see a person without a mark from them on the legs: this is chiefly owing to their bad treatment; they only apply a piece of wax to the wound, which is never changed till it falls off. Cleanliness is indeed no quality of an Arab, either in his person or habitation. The part of his dress which is concealed, is rarely changed till it is worn out; and it was a work of the greatest difficulty, to force the servants to keep even the British factory free from accumulations of nuisances in every part. The form is gone through every morning, of sweeping a path across the square from the dola's house to his stables; yet, at the same time, a dunghill is formed under his windows by the filth thrown out from his Zenana, so extremely offensive as often to induce the Europeans to take a circuit to avoid it.

"The Arabs, when very young, have an expressive, but mild countenance, and a pleasing eye. As they become men, the change is very disadvantageous: their figures are not good, and the beard is generally scanty; but, in advanced age, their appearance is truly venerable. The fine dark eye is then admirably contrasted by the long white beard, and the loose drapery prevents the meagre figure from being observed. The few women who were visible, had rather pretty countenances, but, in contrast to the males, their legs were of an astonishing thickness.

"The food of the Arabians of inferior rank is a coarse grain raised in the country, juwarry, ghee, dates, and, on the sea-coast, fish, which is procurable in any quantity, with very little trouble. The higher orders occasionally had some mutton or beef, boiled to rags, and, on festivals, a little pilau. The cawa, made from the husk of the coffee-berry, is drunk

by most of them several times a day, and the pipe is rarely out of the hands of the men. At the factory, a very excellent table was kept by Mr. Pringle. The beef and mutton, which are procured from the coast of Berbera, and particularly from Zeila, where the Imaum has a garrison, are excellent. Poultry is in great abundance, and cheap. Sweet potatoes, chilies, onions, and water-melons, are cultivated in the small gardens without the town, wherever water is procurable from wells."

"The Arabs in general seem to care very little about their religion. Friday is no otherwise distinguished, than by the flag of the Imaum being hoisted on the forts, and the troops being paraded in the square, while the lower orders carry on their usual occupations. Money will at any time induce an Arab to waive his prejudices. A longer residence among the Arabs settled in towns, has only increased the dislike and contempt with which I behold them. They have all the vices of civilised society, without having quitted those of a savage state. Scarcely possessed of a single good quality, they believe themselves superior to every other nation; and, though inveterate cowards, they are cruel and revengeful. Superstitious followers of Mohammed, they do not obey one moral precept of the Koran; and though they perform the prescribed ablutions with strict regularity, yet I never heard of a vice, natural or unnatural, which they do not practise and avow; and, though they pray at regulated times to the Deity, yet, they also address their prayers to more saints than are to be found in the Romish calendar. Hypocrisy and deceit are so natural to them, that they prefer telling a lie to speaking the truth, even when not urged to do so by any motive of interest. To this they are trained from their youth, and

it forms a principal part of their education. As a government, they are extortioners and tyrants; as traders, they are fraudulent and corrupt; as individuals, they are sunk into the lowest state of ignorance and debauchery; and, in short, require to be civilised, more than the inhabitants of the South Seas. The difference between this character of the Arabs, and that given by Mr. Niebuhr, may at first sight appear extraordinary; but the difference is more in appearance than reality, as it is evident that he takes his opinion from the reception he had met with among the wandering tribes.

"I am perfectly ready to concur with him in his character of the wandering tribes, who, I believe, are less civilised and have fewer vices. The virtue of hospitality, so necessary in the barren deserts which they occupy, is completely theirs; and their bravery and strict sense of honour elevate them far above their countrymen who reside in cities. The Arabs have essentially altered their conduct towards Christians, who may now walk about the streets of their towns without being liable to insult. The different events which have taken place in India, and have so conspicuously elevated the Cross above the Crescent, have struck a panic to the heart of the Mussulmaun throughout the East. It cannot be supposed that he beholds the change without repining; but it has forced upon his mind a conviction of the superior power of the Christian, whom he hates as he ever did, but now fears instead of despising. A disgraceful prohibition ought to be removed: a Christian is not permitted to go out at the Mekka gate, although the Jews and Banians are. This is the more singular, as the latter two classes are considered by the Mussulmauns as inferior to the former."

The Jew is looked upon with an evil eye at Mocha: "the Arab may spit upon and strike them, and they are not allowed to wear a turban." Many of them gain a livelihood by working as goldsmiths and jewellers. They have a synagogue, built of mud, small and mean, in which a little cluster of this every-where oppressed and shrinking race, the remnant of Judah, still listen to their law, and keep up the worship of their fathers.

The government of Mocha is one of the best in the gift of the Imaum, owing to the large sums which the dowlah is able to squeeze from the Banians and foreign traders. "Formerly," says Lord Valentia, "an Arab of high rank was appointed to this office; but now that the authority of the sovereign is greatly weakened, it has been considered as more prudent to give the situation to a slave,* who can always be removed, and from whom it is more safe to take the profits of his government. The shereef of Abou Arish is an instance of the danger of appointing an Arab of the Prophet's family, who are, in fact, an hereditary nobility, that still consider themselves as entitled to all power among the Mussulmauns. He was appointed to Loheia by the present Imaum, and no sooner reached his government, than he prepared to rebel, and, with very little difficulty, resisted all attempts to drive him out. He has now become a Wahhabee, and has perfectly secured his independence." The dowlah of Mocha in 1823, was an Abys-

* "Nothing is more striking in the character of slavery among the Arabs, Turks, and other Asiatics, than that it is a very common road to places of trust, dignity, and power. How very different might be the fortunes of two African boys, torn from the same savannah, and sold, one to the British colonies in the West, and the other marched across the desert to the slave-marts of the East!"—*Scenes and Impressions*, p. 30

sinian black, who had been a slave in the family of the Imaum, and had risen by his good conduct. He is described as "not at all striking in his figure and appearance, quiet and civil to the Europeans, and not oppressive to the people." Lord Valentia, however, styles him avaricious and tyrannical, and ascribes to him the invention of "a new method of extorting money from the Banians, by confining them in a room, and fumigating them with sulphur till they complied with his demands." The second officer in the town is the *bas kateb*, or secretary of state, who is always an Arab, and is considered as a licensed spy over the dowlah. The third is the kadi, or judge; and these three compose the divan, in which the dowlah has only a vote. The kadi, at this time, was an upright and respectable man; and under his vigilant administration the police was strict, and the town peaceable and orderly. Any person found out of his house after the drums had announced the dowlah's retiring to rest, would be apprehended and imprisoned.

The climate of Mocha is extremely sultry,* owing to its vicinity to the arid sands of Africa, "over which the S.E. wind blows for so long a continuance, as not to be cooled in its short passage over the sea below the Straits of Babel Mandel. This monsoon," the noble Traveller further remarks, "continues above eight months in the year with such force, as frequently to render all communication between the vessels in the road and the shore impossible. For the three or four months that the opposite monsoon from the N.W. blows, the heat is much greater, and the airs are light. These winds extend only to Jibbel Teir; from which place to above Djidda, they may be considered as variable

* From 90° to 95° Fahr. in July.

for the whole year, though the prevailing one is generally from the same point in which the monsoon blows in the lower part of the gulf. Above Cosseir, an extraordinary change takes place; from thence to Suez, the wind blows for rather more than eight months from the N.W. At Mocha, during the prevalence of the S.E. wind, a thick haze covers the opposite coast; but the moment the north-wester commences, the opposite mountains and islands gradually appear. The high land of Assab is visible from Mocha, although its distance was ascertained to be seventy miles, by a set of cross bearings taken from the island of Perim. This proves that there is a great degree of refraction in the atmosphere, of which indeed we had still more positive proof, by the appearance of several other headlands at the same time, and which we knew were much too low to be seen directly at the distance they actually were. A very singular phenomenon also occurred, which has been taken notice of by the ancients;—the sun set like a pillar of fire, having totally lost its usual round form,—a splendid testimony in favour of Agatharchides, who says, the sun rose like a pillar of fire.

"The country in the vicinity of Mocha is more dreary than can well be conceived; to the foot of the mountains it is an arid sand, covered with a saline efflorescence, and producing in abundance the common mimosa, and a species of salicornia, whose embrowned leaves and burnt appearance give little idea of vegetation. Near the town the date-trees are in profusion; but their stunted growth shews the difference between the soil of Arabia and the fertile plains of India. Even where a brackish well has given an opportunity of raising a few vegetables, the scene is still cheerless, from the fence of dried reeds, which is alone visible.

Mr. Salt, by the permission of the dola, paid a visit to Moosa, and intended to have gone on to Beit-el-Fakih, but was recalled in consequence of the disputes running high respecting the renegadoes. He describes the country, even there, as uninteresting, though the mountains were fine, and there were fields of grain, and other appearances of cultivation. This is owing to the river, which rises in the hills, and at one season is full of water, though it in general loses itself in the Tehama, without reaching the sea. Once, indeed, it found its way to Mocha, where it carried away a considerable part of the Jews' town, which is built in its usually unfrequented bed. Had Mocha not existed, and had a vessel by accident approached the coast at that time, the mariners might justly have reported, that a river of fresh water there emptied itself into the sea. Future navigators would have positively contradicted them; and they would have been accused as liars without having merited the title. I think it probable, that the accounts of the river Charles, above Djidda, and the river Frat opposite to it, have originated in a similar circumstance.

"Mocha, according to some learned natives, was not in existence four hundred years ago; from which period we know nothing of it, till the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in India opened the Red Sea to the natives of Europe. The first entered it in 1513, under Don Alphonso Albuquerque, with an intention of uniting themselves to the Abyssinians against their common enemy the Mussulmauns, but returned without having reaped any advantage. In 1538, Soolimaun Basha, commanding the fleet of the Soldan of Egypt, stopped at Mocha, on his return from his disgraceful expedition against Diu. It is only mentioned in his voyage as a castle, and was,

therefore, probably a place of little importance, and had a Turk for its governor. In 1609, when the Red Sea was first visited by the English, under Alexander Sharpey, Mocha had greatly risen in importance, and had become the great mart for the trade between India and Egypt. The Turkish governor was, at that time, a man of prudence and liberality, so that the English traded without any injury; but his successor, in the following year, had very different ideas, as Sir Henry Middleton experienced to his cost, who was betrayed, and kept a prisoner for some time. These circumstances were too inimical to trade to admit of its continuance, and there was only a Dutch factory at Mocha, when Monsieur de la Merveille visited it in 1708, and established a factory for his countrymen. Between that period and 1738, the English must have arrived, as, according to Niebuhr, they were there when the French bombarded the town, and obliged the dola to pay his debts, and reduce the duties from three to two and a half per cent. Mocha was probably then at its highest state of prosperity, when the English, the French, and the Dutch, carried on a regular trade with it, and by means of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope, the expense of the freight of coffee was much lessened, and the consumption of it in Europe began proportionably to increase.

"Coffee is the only article of trade produced in Arabia, and formerly the whole of this was carried from Loheia, by dows, to Djidda, and thence, either by the caravan of pilgrims to Constantinople, or in large Turkish vessels by sea to Suez, and across Egypt to Alexandria; whence it found its way to every part of Europe. As early, however, as the beginning of the last century, the large European

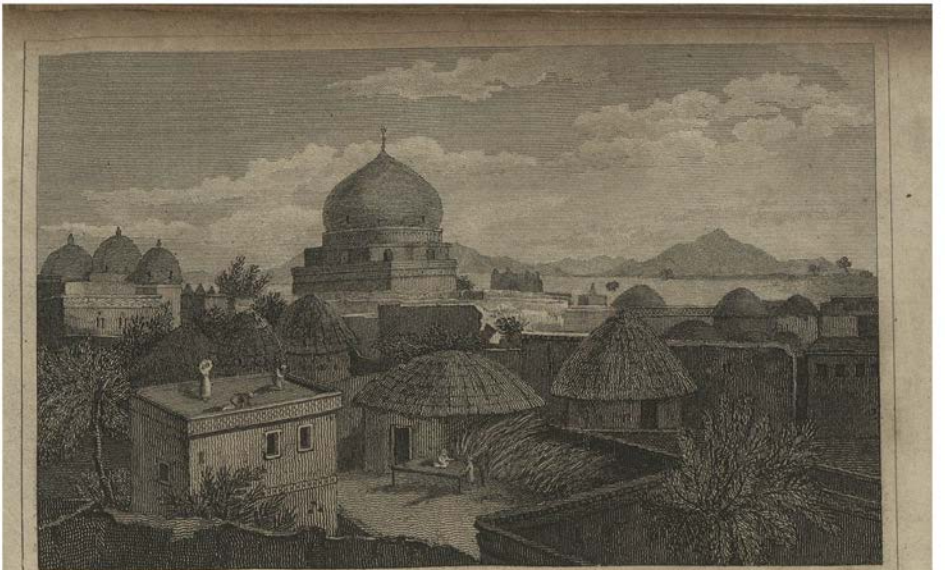
vessels began to carry the coffee round the Cape of Good Hope, which so much reduced the duties in Egypt, that the Porte sent an embassy to Sanaa to complain of this new system of trade, and to request that no coffee might be exported except through Egypt. The average quantity that annually went up to Djidda was about sixteen thousand bales, till the year 1803, when a single American ship appeared, and, by the great profit of her voyage, induced so many others to follow her example, that the quantity sent to Egypt was reduced nearly one half."

Independently of coffee, the export trade of Mocha is very considerable in gum-arabic, myrrh, and frankincense. These are imported from the Abyssinian coast, chiefly from Berbera, from which Arabia draws her supplies of *ghee*, and a great number of slaves, camels, horses, mules, and asses. The riches of Yemen, however, may be considered as solely owing to its coffee, from the sale of which its merchants receive the dollars in Egypt, with which they purchase the manufactures and spices of India. Of late years, the Muscat traders, and French vessels under the Muscat flag, have considerably injured the trade. Arabia itself consumes only a small proportion of its imports: the residue, after paying a duty of three per cent. on the import, and seven per cent. on the export, is sent by dows to Massowah, Djidda, and Aden, for the fair of Berbera. Yemen has probably reached its greatest prosperity, and may indeed be considered as on the decline. The coffee country is gradually falling into the hands of the Shereef of Abou Arish, who has become a follower of Abdul Waheb, and has opened the port of Loheia for the exportation of coffee. The Sultaun of Aden also procures a small quantity, and will probably increase

his territories at the expense of the Imaum. His port is so far superior to any other in Arabia, that I cannot but believe it will soon become the mart for all that is exported, except to Suez. The rise of Mocha has been owing to accidental circumstances which now no longer operate, and its trade will probably remove to Loheia and Aden." "I do not know whether it be of much consequence, as Yemen is changing masters, that the Americans are spoiling the road of Mocha by throwing over their ballast. The evil has already become great, for there is now no clear spot, under four fathom, and at a great distance from the shore. In another season, not a ship will be able to anchor in safety."

Mocha stands in lat. 13° 20′ N., long. 43° 20′ E. The population, which Lord Valentia estimates at 5000, amounted, at the beginning of the last century, according to the French voyager, to double that number, although not so large a city, he says, as Aden. About five hours from this town, in the road to Taas, is the village of Moosa,* "well known to Europeans, who sometimes come here," Niebuhr says, "on parties of pleasure." It is situated just on the confines of the highlands, and is the residence of a sub-dowlah. The buildings are wretched, and the heat is as oppressive as at Mocha; but the water is good, and the richer inhabitants of that town send hither for it. In this country, it is worth a four hours' ride to taste such a luxury fresh from the spring. The French Traveller, to whom reference has been made, styles

* "As it is to be presumed," says Niebuhr, "that the waters of the Arabian Gulf have retired in this place, as elsewhere, there is reason to suppose, that we should here look for the port of Muza, mentioned by the Greek geographers, as well as by Moses, Gen. x. 30." Our Version has Mesha.



Engd on Steel.

by H. Adlard

VIEW OF MOOSA.

Published by J. Duncan, 37, Paternoster Row, Sept. 1825.

Moosa, (which he makes to be about ten leagues from Mocha,) "a small, pleasant country town." "They at Mocha," he adds, "are supplied with almost all their fowls from hence; and hither is brought down all the fruit from the neighbouring mountains, in the way to other parts." The houses here, as in the suburbs of Mocha, are, for the most part, circular huts, with walls of a tolerable height, and a conical or rounded top; they are built of a matting or thatch of the strong leaves of the date-palm, and have a neat, compact, and, when new, very pretty appearance. There are a few stone buildings.*

FROM MOCHA TO SANAA.

THE road to Taas lies, for some way, along the channel of the large river above alluded to, as disemboguing, in the rainy season, into the sea, but which is commonly lost, at no great distance from its head, in the sands of Tehama. On entering the hilly country, the roads are too bad for travelling by night. About forty miles from Mocha is the town of Dorebat, the capital of the territory of Ibn Aklan, seated on the summit of a mountain. At the foot of the hill, near the road, is the place where the *suk* or market is held. Here are a few houses, and a prison excavated in the rock, which has the name of being the most dreadful in all Yemen,—a sort of black hole, like that at Calcutta, into which neither the light of day nor the free air can penetrate. In front of this hole is the common prison, where Niebuhr saw a number of persons, who had been confined there for slight offences, seated before the open door, fastened together by a long chain.

* See plate.

Early on the following day, (the fifth from Mocha,) Niebuhr entered Taas.*

This city, which has already been mentioned as occurring on the road from Djobla to Zebid, is situated at the foot of the fertile mountain of Sabber, on its northern side, in lat. 13° 34′ N. It is surrounded with a wall from sixteen to thirty feet thick, and is flanked by several small towers. But the whole has only an exterior coating of bricks, and the interior is composed of mud. Within the walls rises a steep rock about 400 feet high, on which is built the citadel. The town has now but two gates, *Bab Sheikh Mousa* and *Bab el Kebir*, both constructed after the Arabian fashion, with three towers. There was a garrison of 600 men; but the place is not strong, being commanded by the neighbouring heights. There are several deserted and ruined mosques, evidently the work of Turkish architects. The principal mosque, "the cathedral of Taas," as Niebuhr styles it, is that of Ismäel Mülk (or Melek): under it are subterranean vaults, which serve as a powder-magazine. This royal saint, who is the patron of the city, is said to have been at one time king of the country, and his memory is famous among the Sunnites of Yemen; but no one is now permitted to approach his tomb, which has been walled round ever since the dead king thought proper to perform a very inconvenient miracle. Two beggars, it is said, asked alms of the dowlah of Taas, but one of them only obtained

* Speaking of this place under the name of *Tage*, the French Traveller says: "This city is of great note in that country, large, and enclosed with handsome walls, which, they say, were built by the Turks, with a strong castle on a mountain commanding the town, which may be seen six leagues off. It has thirty large brass ordnance, and is generally the prison for state criminals."

relief; on which, the other repaired to the tomb of Ismäel Mülk, to implore the saint's aid. Ismäel, who in his life-time had been very charitable, stretched his hand out of the tomb, and gave the beggar a written order on the dowlah for one hundred crowns. Upon examining this order with the greatest care, it was found to be in the undoubted hand-writing of the late king, and sealed with his own seal. The dowlah could not, therefore, refuse to honour the draft, but, to avoid all subsequent trouble from such bills of exchange, he shut up the tomb. Near this mosque is a garden, said to have belonged to Ischia, the son of this King Ismäel, in which there is a large basin of water, together with some hydraulic works, which must have been highly ornamental; but all is now in a state of dilapidation. To the east of the city there is a magnificent mosque with two minarets, which have suffered in a siege: and on an eminence near it is another edifice not less superb, erected over the tomb of a personage named Afdal, supposed to have been a pasha of Taas. To the west of the city, outside of the wall, is the mosque of the celebrated saint Sheikh Moosa. There are remains of several palaces built by the lords of Taas. Since the last war, however, the town has been much injured, and part of it has been converted into fields. In the neighbourhood, there are remains of two ancient towns. One of these, called Oddena, situated on the summit of Mount Sabber, and supposed to have been the district capital before the tomb of Ismaël Mülk, at the foot of Mount Kabhr, drew round it the modern town.* The other is called Thobad, and is situated

* Loheia, Beit el Fakih, and Mocha, owe their foundation, in like manner, to their respective saints, round whose tombs they have risen.

about half a mile from Taas, near Mount Sabber. Some parts of the wall and a very spacious mosque still remain. Mount Sabber is said to abound with a rich variety of plants, promising an ample field to the botanist, but Niebuhr and his companions were not permitted to explore it. The surrounding country was found almost depopulated, in consequence of the recent civil wars and the exactions of the dowlah of Taas, who appears to have been a despicable petty tyrant.

Leaving Taas, Niebuhr reached, on the third day, Mount Mharras, beyond which he entered on the more fertile territory of Sheban. The next day, he reached Abb, a walled town on the summit of a mountain, containing several small mosques (two with minarets), and about 800 houses, most of them in a tolerable style of building. The streets are paved, and the town is supplied with water by an aqueduct. At a short distance, between Abb and Djobla, are two rivulets, one of which, running westward, falls into *Wady Zebid*; the other, running southward, takes the name of Meidam, and, in the rainy season, finds its way into the sea in the territory of Aden. The different course of these rivers, two of the most considerable in the country, seems to indicate that this is one of the most elevated spots in these mountainous regions. Descending Mount Abb by a good paved road, Niebuhr entered on an undulating country, having villages and *madjils* scattered over it. No remarkable place was seen, however, except Mechader, a small town on the side of a hill crowned with a castle, the residence of a dowlah. The sixth day's journey led over Mount Sumara, which is much higher than Mount Mharras, and so steep that it would be impassable for camels, were it

not for a paved road which winds up the most difficult part of the acclivity. Half way up is the village of Mensil, where is a superb *simsera*, built of hewn stone; lat. 14° 10′ N. On the very peak of this desert mountain stands a ruined castle. The temperature here was found very keen, and Niebuhr suffered extremely from excessive thirst, and a cold caught by being too lightly clad. Between three and four leagues from Mensil is Jerim (Yerim), a small town, the residence of a dowlah, who resides in the castle, which crowns a steep rock in the middle of the place. It is situated in lat. 14° 17′. At two miles' distance S.W. from Jerim, once stood, according to the tradition of the natives, the famous city of Dhafar, supposed by Niebuhr to be the site of Taphar, or Tephra, an ancient residence of the Hamyarite monarchs.* The Arabs say, that Dhafar was the capital of a celebrated conqueror who reigned over the whole peninsula, named Sâoud el Kammel, and that the city was destroyed by the Abyssinians.† The Abyssinian invasion took place in the beginning of the sixth century. Very few traces of the city are said to remain; but Niebuhr was told, that a large stone still exists, with an inscription, which neither Jews nor Mohammedans were able to read. If any Hamyarine inscription shall ever be discovered, he remarks, it will probably be found among these ruins, which deserve to be investigated.

On the eastern side of Mount Sumara, the season had been so dry, (although it rained almost every day on the western side,) that the locusts had multiplied prodigiously. In a plain near Jerim, they might be

* See p. 52.

† Probably Assaeid ul Tobba is referred to. See page 37.

taken by handfuls. Niebuhr saw a peasant with a sack full of them, which he was going to dry and lay up for winter provisions. In all the markets, they were sold at a very low price, in consequence of the excessive supply. He had seen the peasants of Mensil pursuing these insects, in order to preserve their fields from absolute desolation; but here, it would have been useless. At length a hail-storm, followed by heavy showers, thinned their numbers, and put their legions to flight. In the market at Jerim, Niebuhr saw many tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and other artisans, seated behind low walls, and working at their craft in the open air. He saw also "surgeons, who drew blood with a common knife, and dressed the wound with pieces of hartshorn." He was one day entertained by two gladiators, who, for a few pieces of small money, performed their feats in the streets. They wore masks, the first our Traveller had seen in the East, and were armed with a buckler and poinard. The perfection of their art consisted in leaping to the sound of a tambour, and in agile turns of the body.

At Jerim, the learned Traveller lost his friend and companion, M. Forskal, who sank under the illness produced by the fatigue of the journey and the effects of the climate. After performing the last sad rites, at midnight, and committing his remains to the plot of ground purchased for that purpose,* Niebuhr and his

* They had great difficulty in bribing six men to carry the corpse; so great is the aversion of these people to touch a Christian. Imprudently, they resolved to bury their deceased friend in a coffin, instead of following the Arabian mode, and wrapping the body simply in a sere-cloth. The consequence was, that after their departure, the coffin was broken open at night, on the suspicion of containing treasure, which, it was supposed, it might be the custom of Europeans to bury with their dead, and the grave clothes

surviving companions set out for Sanaa. The route lay along rugged roads and through a barren country, to Damar, a distance of six hours. This is a considerable town, the seat of a dowlah, who resides in a large castle. It stands in a fertile plain, is without walls, but contains no fewer than 5,000 houses, tolerably well-built. The Jews live in a detached suburb; but the Banians are permitted to live among the Mussulmans. Here the Zeidites have a famous college, in which about five hundred young students are taught to read the Koran. To the E. of Damar is a mountain, *Djebel Kiboud*, containing a mine of sulphur; and in another hill, called *Hirran*, to the N.W. of the town, are found the fine cornelians so much esteemed in Arabia, called by the natives *akib*. A small stream, at a short distance from Damar, flows northward, and loses itself in the sand in the country of Djof. Niebuhr supposes that it may be one of the rivers which supplied the grand reservoir of Mareb.* Within a league of Damar is the small city of Mouab, or Mawahhib, formerly the usual residence of the imaum. It was here that the monarch held his court; whom the Author of the voyage published by M. La Roque visited in the beginning of the last century.† He thus describes the place:—

were stolen. The dowlah obliged the Jews to re-inter the body, leaving them the coffin for their pains.

* See p. 27.

† The French deputation left Mocha on the 14th February, 1712, at four o'clock, P.M., and proceeded the first night to Moosa, which they reckon a distance of ten leagues; the second day, fifteen leagues to a small village called Manzery; the third day, to the city of Tage (Taas), "a journey of eighteen leagues through a fine even road;" the fourth, six leagues to Manzuel, where are "two castles of great antiquity, in one of which their kings used formerly to reside in the time of their wars with the Turks."

"It is situated on the south side of a low mountain, and was built by the present king; and at the same distance of a quarter of a league, this prince has built a castle on a mountain higher than that on which the city stands, to which he hath likewise given the name of Mouab, and which is a sort of country-seat, whither the king often retires for his diversion: so that Damar, Mouab, and the castle of the same name, make a triangle, and are equally distant from each other. Two leagues and a half from Mouab, the king hath also built a citadel on a hill, where he keeps a garrison of his best soldiers, with a numerous artillery. Hither he retires when he is at war with the princes his neighbours, or when he fears the approach of an enemy whom he is not strong enough to oppose.....The city is remarkable for nothing but its being the residence of the king; for it is not large, and the walls are built of earth, as are most part of the houses. One of the suburbs is entirely taken up by the Jews, who are obliged to return thither every evening, not being permitted to lie in the city. The palace consists of two large wings, three stories high. The air at Mouab is very healthy, cool in the morning before sun-rise, and in the evening

"From Manzuel, they undertook to go in two days to Yrame, at the distance of thirty leagues, passing through Gabala, a small city walled on one side only, its mosques being beautified with handsome towers or minarets: a son of the present king has the government of it." This is evidently the *Abb* of Niebuhr, as Yrame is Jerim, or Yerim. From Yerim, they proceeded fifteen leagues to Damar. Here, they say, "almost all the fatigue is over, and you now breathe again, for the country begins to open and extend itself into agreeable plains; and but a quarter of a league from Damar, is the city of Mouab. Thus, our deputies, by marching almost day and night, and often changing horses, arrived at length at Mouab on the eighth day, having gone above six-score miles in rough, troublesome ways, for the most part through mountains."

arter sunset, but from nine to four excessively hot. The soil appeared in general good, all the plain being sowed with wheat and rice, and the hills and valleys planted with coffee-trees, many vines, and several sorts of fruit."

The reigning monarch at this time is stated to have been a Turk by nation: he was an old man, eighty-seven years of age, of a complexion inclining to tawny, and an agreeable aspect. In his dress, he maintained the greatest simplicity, never wearing any other habit than a fine cloth of either a green or a yellow colour, without any ornament; and the only mark of distinction was a kind of veil of white silk fastened to his turban, which, covering his head and falling down before, was tied under his chin, "like our women's silk hoods." "It is not easy to conceive," adds the Writer, "why this prince, having founded a new city, with a palace to reside in, not to mention the castle not far from it, hath not built so much as one mosque, so that he is obliged to pray in the open field (under a pavilion or tent). This is a mystery our deputies were not able to dive into, and which proceeds, perhaps, from the great distrust of this Arabian prince, who, not satisfied with having secured himself behind a long chain of mountains, dares not venture his person in a temple, where he might possibly be surprised by his enemies, or betrayed by his subjects. Nor is this without example, since the famous Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, was assassinated in a mosque on a day of public devotion among the Mussulmauns."

From Damar, the route becomes very rugged, and the country is marshy and uncultivated as far as Suradje, a distance of between six and seven leagues. The road thence lies for an hour over a mountain to Audi,

a frontier village of the territory of Suradje, which here borders on the little province of Khaulan. At a short distance from this place is a village named Hoddâfa, seated on a steep, insulated rock, where is said to be a curious inscription on an old wall, resembling neither the Arabic nor the Hebrew, and which Niebuhr suspects to be Hamyarine. After passing through several paltry villages, they reached Seijan, which, together with Suradje, belongs to the "princes of the blood;" then, having crossed a mountain on which is situated the village of Rema, they passed, within a league and a half of Sanaa, a small river, over which is a stone bridge,—a rare thing in Arabia. The stream is lost, however, not far below, in the sand. On the 16th of July, the fourth day from Jerim, they entered the suburb of *Bir el Assab*.

SANAA.

THE city of Sanaa, which may be considered as at present the capital of Yemen, is situated at the foot of a mountain called *Nikkum* (or *Lokkum*), on the summit of which are the ruins of an ancient castle, which the Arabs believe to have been erected by the patriarch Shem. It stands in lat. 15° 21′. A modern castle has been built on a hill called Chomdan, on the side of *Djebel Nikkum*, enclosing two palaces, called *Dar ed Dahhab*, and *Dar Amer*. There are some ruins here of old buildings; but, notwithstanding the antiquity of the place, no inscription, either Kufic or Hamyarine. An old German mortar unexpectedly presented itself, bearing this inscription: *Jorg Selos Gosmich*, 1513. On the same battery were seen seven iron cannons, partly buried in the sand, and partly mounted upon broken carriages; and these,

with six others near the gates, which are fired on festival days, were all the artillery of the capital of Yemen. In the castle is the mint, together with a range of prisons for persons of different ranks. Several princes of the blood reside in the castle, but the imaum resides in the city.

Sanaa has, from its size, the appearance of being more populous than it really is, for gardens occupy a part of the space within the walls. It has seven gates; four large ones, called, *Bab el Yemen*, *Bab es Sabbah*, *Bab Shaub*, and *Bab es Straun;* (the latter, which leads to the castle, is but seldom opened;) and three smaller ones, called, *Bab Sharâra*, *Bab Hadid*, and *Bab Sogair*. There are a number of mosques: the principal one, *El Djamea*, has two minarets, the rest have but one. Some of these have been erected by Turkish pashas. There are not more than twelve large public baths, but several noble palaces, built in the Arabian style: three of these, *Bustan es Sultaun*, *Dar el Nasr*, and *Dar Fatch*, had been erected by the reigning imaum. "These palaces, it is true," says Niebuhr, "are not in the European taste, but they are, nevertheless, constructed with burnt bricks, and sometimes even hewn stones have been employed; whereas the houses of the common people are of sun-dried bricks. I saw no glass windows, except in one palace near the citadel. The other houses have merely shutters, which are closed when it rains; and the house is then lighted by a round wicket, fitted with a piece of Muscovy glass: some of the principal inhabitants have, in their country-houses, small panes of stained glass brought from Venice. In this city, as in most others in the East, there are large *simseras* or caravanseras for merchants and travellers; also, separate bazaars for wood, coal, iron, grapes, corn,

butter, salt, and bread: in the bread market, women only are to be seen. There is also to be found at Sanaa a market where you may barter old clothes for new. The other traders, that is to say, all who traffic in the merchandise of India, Persia, Turkey, and other countries, as well as those who trade in all sorts of spices and drugs, the dealers in *kaad*-leaves, the fruiterers, carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, sadlers, tailors, stone-cutters, goldsmiths, barbers, cooks, book-binders, and writers or scribes,*—have all, during the day, their respective stands in the open street, with their little portable shops. Timber is generally dear throughout Yemen, and fire-wood is not less so at Sanaa, all the hills near the city being bleak and bare, so that wood is brought from the distance of three days' journey, and a camel's load costs two crowns. This scarcity of wood fuel, however, is partially supplied by a little pit coal. I have even seen peat burned here, but it was so bad as to require to be mixed with straw, to make it burn.

"Fruits are very plentiful at Sanaa. Here are more than twenty different species of grapes, which, as they do not all ripen at the same time, continue to afford a delicious refreshment for several months.

* These writers go about with their desks, and draw up petitions, copy-books, or teach writing. "Here" (at Djidda), says the Author of Scenes and Impressions, "I first saw the *true scribe*, —well robed, and dressed in turban, trowsers, and soft slippers, like one of rank among the people. His inkstand with its pen-case has the look of some weapon, and is worn like a dagger in the folds of the sash: it is of silver or brass—this was of silver. When summoned to use it, he takes some paper out of his bosom, cuts it into shape with scissors, then writes his letter by dictation, presents it for approval; it is tossed back to him with a haughty and careless air, and the ring is drawn off and passed or thrown to him, to affix the seal. He does every thing on his knees, which are tucked up to serve him as a desk."

The Arabs likewise preserve grapes by hanging them up in their cellars, and eat them almost through the whole year. The Jews make a little wine, and might make more, if the Arabs were not such enemies to strong liquors. A Jew convicted of conveying wine into an Arab's house, is severely punished; nay, the Jews must use great caution in buying and selling it among themselves. Great quantities of grapes are dried here; and the exportation of raisins from Sanaa is considerable. One sort of these grapes is without stones, and contains only a soft grain, not perceptible in eating the raisin.

"Jews are not permitted to live in the city. They live by themselves in a village named *Kaa el Ihud*, in the suburb of *Bir el Assah*. Their number amounts to 2,000. They are treated, in Yemen, more contemptuously than in Turkey; yet, the best artisans in Arabia are Jews, especially potters and goldsmiths, who come to the city to work in their little shops by day, and in the evening retire to their village. These Jews carry on a considerable trade. One of the most eminent merchants among them, named Oraki, gained the favour of two successive imâms, and was for thirteen years, in the reign of El Mansor, and for fifteen years under the present imâm, comptroller of the customs and of the royal buildings and gardens,—one of the most honourable offices of the court of Sanaa. Two years before our arrival, he had fallen into disgrace, and was not only imprisoned, but fined 50,000 crowns. Fifteen days before we arrived at Sanaa, the imâm had set him at liberty. He was a venerable man, of great knowledge; and although he had received the imâm's permission, had never chosen to assume any other dress than that commonly worn by his countrymen. The young Jew who had been

our servant, was one of his relations, and had mentioned us so favourably to him, that he desired to see us. But we durst not hold frequent intercourse with a man so newly released from prison. The disgrace of Oraki had drawn a degree of persecution upon the rest of the Jews. At that period, the Government ordered the demolition of fourteen synagogues which the Jews had at Sanaa. In their village are as handsome houses as the best in the city. Of these houses, all above the height of fourteen fathoms were demolished, and the Jews were forbidden to raise any of their buildings above that height in future. All the stone pitchers in which they had used to keep their wines, were broken. In short, the poor Jews suffered mortifications of all sorts.

"The Banians in Sanaa, who are reckoned to be about 125, pay 300 crowns a month for permission to live in the city, whereas the numerous Jewish population of *Kaa el Ihud* pay only 125 crowns a month. The heirs of a deceased Banian are obliged to pay from 40 to 50 crowns: if he should leave no near relations in Yemen, his whole property devolves to the imâm. The Banians told us, that two men of their nation had been dragged to prison two months before; and ere they could obtain their liberty, were forced to yield up 1,500 crowns of an inheritance which had fallen to them in India, and of which they had touched no part in Arabia.

"The suburb of *Bir el Assah* nearly adjoins the city upon the east side. The houses of this village are scattered through the gardens along the bank of a small river. Two leagues northward from Sanaa, is a plain named Rodda, which is overspread with gardens, and watered by a number of rivulets. This place bears a great resemblance to the neighbourhood

of Damascus. But Sanaa, which some ancient authors compare to Damascus, stands on a rising ground, with nothing like florid vegetation about it. After long rains, indeed, a small rivulet runs through the city; but, through the rest of the year, all the ground is dry. However, by aqueducts from Mount Nikkum, the town and castle of Sanaa are at all times supplied with abundance of excellent fresh water."

On the third day after his arrival, Niebuhr was admitted to an audience of the imaum. The hall of audience was a very spacious square chamber, with an arched roof, and in the centre was a large basin, with some *jets d'eau* rising fourteen feet in height. Behind the basin, and near the throne, were two large benches, each a foot and a half high. Upon the throne, which was covered with silk stuffs, were placed large cushions, between two of which the imaum sat in the eastern fashion. He was dressed in a bright green robe with large sleeves; on each side of his breast was a rich filleting of gold lace, and on his head he wore a large white turban. His sons sat on his right hand, and his brothers on his left; opposite to them, on the higher of the two benches, sat the vizier; on the lower were placed the European travellers; and many of the principal men about the court were ranged on each side of the hall. Our Traveller was first led up to the imaum, and was permitted, as a mark of extraordinary favour, to kiss both the back and the palm of his hand, as well as the hem of his robe; while a herald proclaimed, "God preserve the Imaum," which was repeated by all present. The Arabic spoken at the court of Sanaa, was found greatly to differ from that of Tehama, which Niebuhr alone could speak, so that the conversation was necessarily carried on by interpreters: it was neither very long nor very interesting, but the

reception was most gracious. On their return to their quarters, the imaum sent each of the party a purse of small coin, in value about three crowns. Niebuhr subsequently saw this Arabian sovereign return in state from the mosque, when, besides the princes of the blood, there were in the procession at least 600 noblemen, ecclesiastics, and officers civil and military, all superbly mounted, and a vast crowd followed on foot. On each side of the imaum was borne a standard, having upon it a small silver box filled with amulets, whose efficacy was imagined to render him invincible; and over his head, as well as over the princes, were borne large parasols,*—a distinction peculiar to the blood royal. The procession was magnificent but disorderly: the riders paced or galloped at pleasure, and the soldiers fired a few rounds with true Arabian awkwardness.

On his departure, Niebuhr, as well as his companion, received from the imaum, a complete suit of clothes, together with an order on the dowlah of Mocha for 200 crowns, as a farewell present. The dress was exactly like that which is worn by the Arabs of distinction throughout Yemen, consisting of a shirt, worn over wide drawers of cotton cloth, and a vest with strait sleeves, covered with a flowing gown. The *jambea*, a sort of crooked cutlass, hangs by a broad girdle, and on the foot are half-boots or slippers without hose. The turban is very large, and falling down, floats over the shoulders.

This was in 1763. Since that time, many political changes have taken place in Yemen, and this ancient

* Rather, a canopy. That borne over the monarch visited by the French traveller, was of green damask, with a trimming of red silk eight inches deep, enriched with gold lace, and on the top was a globe of silver gilt surmounted by a pyramid of the same.

monarchy seems fast waning to its close. The state of things at the beginning of the present century is thus described by Lord Valentia.

"The imaum is at least seventy-eight years old, and fast approaching to dotage; he will not hear of any danger, and endeavours still to amuse himself in his sooty harem of 400 Abyssinian slaves. The vizier attaches himself to the party of Abdallah, though, before the imaum, he treats the brothers with equal respect. As the powers of the old man decay, their hostilities become more open, and the Hadje Abdallah informed me, that, during his residence at Sanaa, they actually drew their jambeas on each other, in their father's presence, but were separated by the vizier. If, while disputing about the succession, they do not exert themselves to raise a force sufficient to resist the Wahhabees, they will have no kingdom to succeed to. The whole disposable force of Yemen did not then exceed 600 horse, and 3,000 foot; not a tenth part of the force that their enterprising enemy could bring against them."

From Sanaa, Niebuhr returned, by way of Beit el Fakih and Zebid, to Mocha, where he embarked for Bombay. Here, therefore, we must take leave of the learned Traveller, which we do with the more reluctance, as no European has hitherto followed up his researches in the interior of this remarkable country. All to the eastward and northward of Sanaa, the territories of Sahaun, Djof, and Yafa, the whole of Hadramaut and El Nedjed, and the greater part of Omaun and Lachsa, are *terra incognita*. A recent Traveller,* indeed, has furnished some interesting

* Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan. By James B. Fraser 4to. 1825.

and important information respecting the dominions of the Imaum of Muscat, and the shores of the Persian Gulf, which might with propriety be introduced in this place. The narrow limits, however, within which the remainder of this description of Arabia must be comprised, compel us to reserve it for another place, in connexion with the countries comprised in the vast basin of the Euphrates, and which, though politically disunited, are both historically and morally connected with Arabia. A few particulars are subjoined, as serving to render more complete the account of the southern coast.

Mr. Fraser sailed from Bombay, on the 14th of May, 1821, and, on the 5th of July, made *Raus ul Hud*, (or *Râs el Hhad*,) vulgarly called Rasselgate, which literally means *Land's-end*. "Very dark weather added to the majesty of the mountains that lie near this promontory, and which are generally mistaken for the Cape itself; the true Cape, however, is comparatively low, and runs much further out to sea. The whole coast is a rocky wall; the mountains of brown and bare rock, streaked with light grey veins and patches, rise in several ranges, one behind the other. The little town of *Raus ul Hud* lies on a small piece of beach, just round the Cape, with a good many date-trees about it, and two castles may be seen, built by the Imaum of Muscat, as a protection against the Wahhabees. The whole looks as dismal and barren as can be: not a blade of grass, or green thing, except the date-trees above mentioned, can any where be detected. It is remarkable, that, on rounding this cape, the south-west trade-wind constantly fails; the heavy sea it occasions, is exchanged for still water; and light baffling airs succeed, which render the remainder of the voyage to

Muscat tedious and uncertain. The whole Arabian coast in this quarter, wears the same sterile aspect, offering, in many places, a precipitous, rocky belt towards the sea, alongside which ships might float unharmed. These rocks, entirely denuded of soil or vegetation, exhibit their external strata crumbled into fragments, which partly adhere, partly lie loose on their surfaces, offering to the mind a remarkable image of ruin and desolation. Several ranges of mountains may be seen from the sea; but none, so far as we could judge, exceeded the height of fifteen hundred feet, and most of them were far below it. The province of Omaun extends from Abouthubee (vulgarly called Boothbee), in the Persian Gulf, to the island Masseira, south of *Raus ul Hudd*. Its produce is confined almost exclusively to dates and wheat." The climate, particularly that of the cove of Muscat, is very unfavourable to the European constitution; and Mr. Fraser suffered not less from the suffocating heat of the nights, than from the fiery heat of day, when the thermometer varied from 92° to 102° of Fahrenheit. The traders here are chiefly Hindoos; and Muscat reminded him, at first, of a very wretched Indian town; but no Indian scene, he says, ever presented the aspect of sterility with which that town is surrounded.

To judge of the Arab and his country, however, one must climb the mountains, and visit the oases of the desert. It is not at Djidda, Mocha, or Muscat, among the mixed and motley population of the sea-ports,—nor even at Mekka, that a fair estimate can be formed of his character; but among the independent sheikhs whose territories have never yet been violated by the Ottoman, the saladins and shereefs of the mountains, the Wahhabees and the Bedoweens.

It remains to notice one of the most singular spots in all Arabia, or indeed in the eastern world,—the ancient capital of Arabia Petræa, which has but recently been brought to light, after being as effectually hidden in its solitude, from European eyes at least, for a series of ages, as the palace of Shedad and the paradise of Irem in the deserts of Aden.

PETRA.

It is the general opinion, Burckhardt says, among the clergy of Jerusalem, that the ancient Petra was at Kerek, two days' journey south of Szalt. This place is, accordingly, the see of the Greek Bishop of *Battra* (Πετρας), who generally resides at Jerusalem; a proof how little stress is to be laid on the traditional information to be derived from such quarters. Kerek may perhaps be considered as at present the frontier town of Syria and Arabia, in this direction.* Its inhabitants consisted, at the time of Burckhardt's visit, in 1812, of about 400 Turkish, and 150 Christian families: the latter are chiefly descendants of refugees from Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Beit Djade. Four years before, the people of Kerek had, nominally, become Wahhabees, but they had never paid full tribute to Ibn Sâoud; and his sovereignty in this direction was little more than nominal. He had conferred on the Sheikh of

* The pashalik of Damascus extends as far southward as *Tor Hesma*, a high mountain, within one day's journey of Akaba, comprising the entire districts of Djabel and Shera, and consequently including Wady Mousa and Petra itself; but the Syrian viceroy has little authority in these parts, and Djezzar is the only pasha who has been able to exact the land-tax from the Arabs of Wady Mousa.—(See BURCKHARDT, p. 433.) This territory belongs, in the strictest sense, to Arabia.

Kerek the title of Emir of all the Bedoweens south of Damascus, to the Red Sea; but the Howeytat Arabs are in possession of the country south of Kerek, and the "*Kerekein*" themselves deem it expedient to pay tribute to them. Tafyle, in the district of Djebal (*Gebalene*), about four days' further south, has, indeed, the character of a Syrian town, but the Howeytat govern the whole of this district. At the village Beszeyra, two hours and three quarters further, the women are seen wearing the *berkoa*, or Egyptian veil: and this change of costume is not the only indication that the traveller is entering upon the territory of a different race from the Syrian Bedoweens. The Howeytat, who occupy the whole of *Djebel Shera** from *Wady Ghoeyr* to *Akaba el Masri*, are the carriers of the Egyptian hadji caravan, as the Aenesè Bedoweens are of the Syrian hadji. They resemble the Egyptians in their features, which are much less regular than those of the northern Bedoweens, especially the Aenese; they are much leaner and taller also than the northern Arabs; the skin of many of them is almost black; and their women, though tall and well made, are disfigured by broad cheek-bones.

The principal place in *Djebel Shera* is Shobak,† called also Kerek el Shobak, which has been a considerable town. It is situated about an hour to the south of the Ghoeyr, upon the top of a hill in the midst of low mountains. At the foot of the hill are two springs, surrounded by gardens and olive-plantations. The castle, of Saracen construction, is one of the largest to the south of Damascus, but is not so solidly built as that of Kerek. The greater part of

* Evidently the Mount Seir or Shehir of Scripture. See p. 210.

† This name occurs Neh. x. 24.

the wall and several of the bastions and towers are still entire. The ruins of a well-built vaulted church are now transformed into a *medhafe* or public inn. Upon the architraves of several gates, Burckhardt noticed mystical symbols characteristic of the ecclesiastical architecture of the lower empire; and the tower of the castle has several Arabic inscriptions, in which may be distinguished the name of Melek el Dhaher. Mr. Bankes found, in the architrave of the principal door, an imperfect Latin inscription, of which he made so much out as to leave no doubt that it was a work of one of the Frank Kings of Jerusalem; and it is suggested that this might be *Mons Regalis*, one of their strong-holds in this direction.* Within the area of the castle, about one hundred of the Mellahein Arabs had built their huts or pitched their tents: they cultivate the neighbouring grounds under the protection of the Howeytat. From the summit is a boundless view, comprising "three dark volcanic eminences," from which lava has evidently streamed, and formed a sort of island in the plain. The road from Shobak to Akaba, is tolerably good, and might, Burckhardt says, be rendered practicable even for artillery;†

* Irby and Mangles, p. 380. The Writer remarks, that the supposed church has more the air of Mohammedan than of Christian architecture: the interior is in the pure Gothic style; the doorway is in the genuine Oriental taste.

† In the Description of Syria, vol. ii. p. 84, the Syrian Hadji route was given as far as the termination of the *Djebel Haouran*. The sixth day's journey is from *Kalaat el Zerka* to *Kalaat el Belka*, to the west of which the *Djebel Belka* terminates. Seventh day, to *Kalaat el Katrane*, which is also one day S.E. of Kerek. Eighth day, to *Kalaat el Hassa*, in a *wady* of the same name, running westward, which discharges its waters, in the rainy season, into the *Sheriat el Kebir* (Jordan). Ninth day, half a day's journey to *Kalaat Aeneze*. Tenth day, half a day's journey to Maan, where the *hadjis* rest two days. Eleventh day, to *Akeba Esshami*.

but he struck out of this road to the westward, to visit *Wady Mousa*, and the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor.

Upon the summit of the mountain over which the

Here, the elevated plain eastward of the *Djebel Shera*, terminates by a steep, rocky descent, at the bottom of which begins the desert of Nedjed, covered, for the most part, with flints. It is this upper plain, together with the mountains of Shera, Djebal, Kerek, and Belka, which formed, Burckhardt thinks, that natural division of the country to which the name of Arabia Petræa was applied. Though once thickly populous, it is now all a desert, and Maan is the only inhabited town. All the castles on the Syrian *hadji* route, from Fedhein to Medinah, are deserted.

From Akaba, the twelfth day's journey is to *Kalaat Medawara*. Thirteenth day, to *Dzat Hadji*, a castle surrounded with wells and palm-trees. Fourteenth day, at four hours, a difficult descent, called *El Araye* or *Kalaat Ammar*, leads from the sandy plain to a tract covered with white earth, extending to *Kalaat Tebouk*, where the *hadji* rests one day. Fifteenth day, from Tebouk to *Kalaat Akhdar*. Sixteenth day, a very long march to *El Moadham*. Seventeenth day, to *Dar el Hamra*. Eighteenth, to *Medain Szaleh*, where are excavations and sculptured figures. Nineteenth day, to *El Ola*, a village of 250 houses, with a rivulet and orchards. The next three days, the halting-places are merely wells, *Bir el Ghanam*, *Bir Zemeriod*, and *Bir Djedeide*. The twenty-third, to *Wady Hedye*, coming from Khaibar, which is four hours distant (see p. 76): here the caravan remains two days, and the people often go to Khaibar to buy fresh provisions. Twenty-fourth, to *El Fahletein*, where apes and tigers are said to be met with, and where is an ancient building of black stones, called Stabel Antar. Twenty-fifth, to *Bir Naszeif*. Twenty-sixth, to Medinah.

From Medinah, there are two routes to Mekka. The eastern route is, 1. *El Khona*, a deep *wady*. 2. *El Dereybe*, a walled village. 3. *Sefyne*, a village. 4. *El Kobab*, wells. 5. *Bir el Hedjar*, wells. 6. *Set Zebeyde*, a ruined village. 7. *El Makrouka*, wells. 8. *Wady Leimoun*, a village and rivulet. 9. *Bir el Baghle*, wells. 10. Mekka.—The western road is, 1. *Bir Ali*, a village with gardens. 2. *El Shohada*, no water. 3. Djedeida (see p. 291). 4. Beder, the scene of Mohammed's famous victory (see p. 73): it contains upwards of 500 houses, with a rivulet. The Egyptian hadji here generally meets the Syrian. 5. *El Kaa*, no water. 6. El Akdyd, twenty-eight hours from Beder. 7. Rabagh (Arabok), a village. 8. Khalyz, a village and rivulet. 9. El Szafan, wells. 10. Wady Fatima, a village with rivulet and gardens. 11. Mekka.

road from Shobak passes, near the spot where it diverges from the great road to Akaba, are numerous small heaps of stones, indicating so many sacrifices to Haroun; the Arabs, who vow to slaughter a victim to Haroun, deeming it sufficient to proceed as far as this place, whence the dome of his tomb is visible, and after killing the animal, they throw a heap of stones over the blood which flows to the ground. *Ain Moosa** is a copious spring, rushing from under a rock at the eastern extremity of the wady. It is about seven hours from Shobak. There are no ruins near the spring, but, a little lower down, is a mill, and above it the deserted village of Badabde, formerly inhabited by Greek Christians, who retired to Kerek. Proceeding along the brook for about twenty minutes, the valley opens into a plain, about a quarter of an hour in length and ten minutes in breadth, in which the stream of *Ain Moosa* is joined by a mountain rivulet from the southward. Upon the declivity of the mountain, in the angle formed by their junction, stands Eldjy, the principal village of Wady Mousa, containing between 2 and 300 houses, enclosed with a stone wall, with three regular gates. It is inhabited by the Lyathene Arabs, part of whom encamp during the whole year in the neighbouring mountains. It is most picturesquely situated; the slopes of the mountain are formed into terraces covered with corn-fields and orchards, which are well irrigated by the two rivulets and numerous smaller springs; and a few large hewn stones and blocks of beautiful marble dispersed over the present town, indicate it to be the site of an ancient city. Pursuing the rivulet of Eldjy westward, the valley soon narrows again; and here a

* Probably the same as Mosera, Deut. x. 6.

scene of wonder soon opens on the traveller, for the description of which we shall avail ourselves of the unpublished travels of Captains the Hon. C. L. Irby and James Mangles, who visited Wady Mousa, in company with Mr. Bankes and Mr. Legh, in 1818.

" Some hundred yards below the spring, begins the outskirts of the vast necropolis of Petra. Many doorways are visible, upon different levels, cut in the side of the mountain, which, toward this part, begins to assume a more rugged aspect. The most remarkable tombs stand near the road, which follows the course of the brook. The first of these is cut in a mass of whitish rock, which is in some measure insulated and detached from the general range. The centre represents a square tower with pilasters at the corner, and with several successive bands of frieze and entablature above; two low wings project from it at right angles, and present each of them a recess in the manner of a portico, which consists of two columns, whose capitals have an affinity with the Doric order, between corresponding antæ; there are, however, no triglyphs above. Three sides of a square area are thus enclosed; the fourth has been shut in by a low wall and two colossal lions on each side; all much decayed. The interior has been a place of sepulture for several bodies."

The taste which prevails in the decoration of most of the façades of these excavations, is fantastical in the extreme; they are loaded with ornaments, in the Roman manner, but in " bad taste," displaying an " unmeaning richness and littleness of conception." In one instance, upon a plain front without any other decoration than a single moulding, are set, in a recess, four tall and taper pyramids. The effect is singular and surprising, but combining too little with the rest

of the elevation to be good. "Our attention," says Capt. M., "was the more attracted by this monument, as it presents, perhaps, the only existing example of pyramids so applied, though we read of them as placed in a similar manner on the summit of the tombs of the Maccabees and of the Queen of Adiabene, both in the neighbouring province of Palestine." As the sides of the valley become more precipitous and rugged, the large and lofty towers, which are represented in relief on the lower part of the precipice, are formed, higher up, by the rock being cut down on all sides. The greater number of them present themselves to the high road, but others stand back in the wild nooks and recesses of the mountain. Such quadrangular towers, Capt. Mangles remarks, were a fashionable form of sepulchre in several inland districts of the East: they abound at Palmyra, and are seen in the Valley of Jehoshaphat; but there, the details and ornaments betray an imitation of Roman architecture, while at Petra they bear the marks of a peculiar and indigenous style. "Their sides have generally a slight degree of that inclination towards each other, which is one of the characteristics of Egyptian edifices; and they are crowned with the Egyptian torus and concave frieze." Chateaubriand has remarked on the manifest alliance of the Egyptian and the Grecian taste in the tombs at Jerusalem. "From this alliance resulted," he says, "a heterogeneous kind of monuments, forming, as it were, the link between the Pyramids and the Parthenon."

Among this multitude of tombs, two only contained inscriptions: the characters of these, Mr. Bankes detected to be exactly similar to those which he had seen scratched on the rocks about the foot of Mount Sinai, and they are supposed to be some form of the

Syriac. It was the eastern approach to Petra which the Travellers were pursuing. As they advanced, "the natural features of the defile grew more and more imposing at every step, and the excavations and sculpture more frequent on both sides, till it presented at last a continued street of tombs, beyond which the rocks, gradually approaching each other, seemed all at once to close without any outlet. There is, however, one frightful chasm for the passage of the stream, which furnished, as it did anciently, the only avenue to Petra on this side. It is impossible to conceive any thing more awful or sublime than such an approach. The width is not more than just sufficient for the passage of two horsemen abreast; the sides are in all parts perpendicular, varying from four hundred to seven hundred feet in height; and they often overhang to such a degree, that, without their absolutely meeting, the sky is intercepted and completely shut out for one hundred yards together, and there is little more light than in a cavern. The screaming of the eagles, hawks, and owls, who were soaring above our heads in considerable numbers, seemingly annoyed at any one approaching their lonely habitation, added much to the singularity of this scene. The tamarisk, the wild fig, and the oleander, grow luxuriantly about the road, rendering the passages often difficult: in some places, they hang down most beautifully from the cliffs and crevices where they had taken root. The caper-plant was also in luxuriant growth, the continued shade furnishing them moisture.

"Very near the entrance into this romantic pass, a bold arch is thrown across at a great height, connecting the opposite sides of the cliff. Whether this was part of an upper road upon the summit of the mountain, or whether it be a portion of an aqueduct, which

seems less probable, we had no opportunity of examining; but, as the traveller passes under it, its appearance is most surprising, hanging thus above his head betwixt two rugged masses apparently inaccessible. The ravine, without changing much its general direction, presents so many elbows and windings in its course, that the eye can seldom penetrate forward beyond a few paces, and is often puzzled to distinguish in what direction the passage will open, so completely does it appear obstructed.....We followed this sort of half-subterranean passage for the space of nearly two miles, the sides increasing in height as the path continually descended, while the tops of the precipices retained their former level. Where they are at the highest, a beam of stronger light breaks in at the close of the dark perspective, and opens to view, half seen at first through the tall, narrow opening, columns, statues, and cornices of a light and finished taste, as if fresh from the chisel, without the tints or weather-stains of age, and executed in a stone of a pale rose colour, which was warmed, at the moment we came in sight of them, with the full light of the morning sun. The dark green of the shrubs that grow in this perpetual shade, and the sombre appearance of the passage whence we were about to issue, formed a fine contrast with the glowing colour of this edifice. We know not with what to compare this scene: perhaps, there is nothing in the world that resembles it. Only a portion of a very extensive architectural elevation is seen at first; but it has been so contrived, that a statue with expanded wings, perhaps of Victory, just fills the centre of the aperture in front, which being closed below by the sides of the rock folding over each other, gives to the figure the appearance of being suspended in the air at a considerable height; the ruggedness of

the cliffs below setting off the sculpture to the highest advantage. The rest of the design opened gradually as we advanced, till the narrow defile, which had continued thus far without any increase of breadth, spreads on both sides into an open area of a moderate size, whose sides are by nature inaccessible, and present the same awful and romantic features as the avenues which lead to it: this opening gives admission to a great body of light from the eastward. The position is one of the most beautiful that could be imagined for the front of a great temple, the richness and exquisite finish of whose decorations offer a most remarkable contrast to the savage scenery. No part is built, the whole being purely a work of excavation; and its minutest embellishments, wherever the hand of man has not purposely effaced them, are so perfect, that it may be doubted whether any work of the ancients, excepting, perhaps, some on the banks of the Nile, have come down to our time so little injured by the lapse of age. There is, in fact, scarcely a building of forty years' standing in England, so well preserved in the greater part of its architectural decorations.

"The area before the temple is about fifty yards in width, and about three times as long. It terminates to the S. in a wild, precipitous cliff. The defile assumes, for about 300 yards, the same features which characterise the eastern approach, with an infinite variety of tombs, both Arabian and Roman, on either side. This pass conducts (in a N.W. direction) to the theatre: and here, the ruins of the city burst on the view in their full grandeur, shut in, on the opposite side by barren, craggy precipices, from which numerous ravines and valleys, like those we had passed, branch out in all directions."

Those which they examined, were found to end precipitously; and there is no getting out of them, except, in one instance, by climbing the precipice.

"The sides of the mountains, covered with an endless variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings, presented altogether the most singular scene we have ever beheld; and we must despair of giving the reader an idea of the singular effect of rocks tinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present to us nature in her most savage and romantic form, while their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades, and pediments, and ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface."

There can be no doubt that this extraordinary spot is, as Burckhardt supposed, the Petra of Pliny and Strabo, the capital of the Nabatæi;* notwithstanding that the Greek Church has transferred the name of Battra, with its metropolitan honours, to Kerek, which Burckhardt concludes to be the Charax of Pliny. Thus, the very existence of the real Petra had been blotted out from memory.—One of the most remarkable of the excavations has evidently served as a Christian church. Near an angle in the walls, is "an inscription in red paint, recording the date of its consecration"—what date, or in what character, is not mentioned. Two days, from day-break to dusk, were spent by the Travellers upon these ruins; but they could not at that time half explore them. At a considerable distance, a temple was descried, larger apparently than that which fronts the

* "The Nabatæi inhabit a city called Petra, in a hollow somewhat less than two miles in circumference, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream running through it. It is distant from the town of Gaza on the coast 600 miles, and from the Persian Gulf, 122."—PLIN. lib. vi. c. 28.

eastern approach; they were unable to discover the path to it. There was enough, in short, to have employed the party four days more at least, but nothing could obtain from the Arabs a further respite. Burckhardt's survey was still more hasty, as he owed his safety to passing for a Moslem; in which character he did not scruple to sacrifice a goat to Haroun (Aaron), in sight of the Prophet's tomb, which overlooks the city. It serves to identify the site, that Josephus expressly mentions the place of Aaron's decease as near the metropolis of Arabia Petræa; and Eusebius says, that the tomb of Aaron was shewn near Petra. The Travellers, therefore, could have no doubt that it was Mount Hor, whose rugged pinnacle towered up before them, adding another picturesque and interesting feature to this extraordinary scene. The supposed tomb, which is accessible only by means of a steep ascent, partly artificial—in some places, flights of rude steps or niches being formed in the rock—is enclosed in a small modern building, not differing from the general appearance of the tombs of Mohammedan saints. Here, a decrepid old sheikh had resided for forty years, occasionally enduring the fatigue of descending and re-ascending the mountain. Not aware that his visiters were Christians, he furnished them with a lamp of butter to explore the vault or grotto beneath. Towards the further end, lie two corresponding leaves of an iron grating, which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb: these have been thrown down, and the Travellers advanced so far as to touch the ragged pall which covers the hallowed spot. The tomb is patched together out of fragments of stone and marble. Rags and shreds of yarn, with glass beads and paras, have been left as votive offerings by the Arabs.

"No where," says the Writer, "is the extraordinary colouring of these mountains more striking, than in the road to the Tomb of Aaron. The rock sometimes presented a deep, sometimes a paler blue, and sometimes was occasionally streaked with red, or shaded off to lilac or purple; sometimes, a salmon colour was veined in waved lines and circles with crimson and even scarlet, so as to resemble exactly the colour of raw meat; in other places, there are livid stripes of yellow or bright orange; and in some parts, all the different colours were ranged side by side in parallel strata; there are portions also with paler tints, and some quite white, but these last seem to be soft, and not good for preserving the sculpture. It is this wonderful variety of colours, observable throughout the whole range of mountains, that gives to Petra one of its most characteristic beauties: the façades of the tombs, tastefully as they are sculptured, owe much of their imposing appearance to this infinite diversity of hues in the stone."

Such a scene might have furnished the Author of Rasselas with a fine model for his happy valley. The Arabian Nights scarcely afford a picture equal in richness to this fantastic city in the rocks,—the monument and mausoleum of a once mighty and now forgotten nation. Thus strikingly is the oracle fulfilled: "Edom shall be a desolation."*

* Jer. xlix. 17.

THE END.

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